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Editors' Note

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The present volume contains selected papers from "Theories and Practice: The Second International Conference on English and American Studies," which took place on September 7th–8th, 2010, and was hosted by the Department of English and American Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic.

While our first conference in 2009 was primarily an attempt to open an international dialogue among scholars from the Czech Republic and Slovakia, in its second year the conference became a truly Central European event, with scholars from all four Visegrád countries (the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia) in attendance. Their contributions were joined by a few others from countries such as Austria and Japan. It was also a privilege for us to have the conference opened by two internationally renowned keynote speakers, Joseph Emonds and Josef Jařab, both of whom graciously contributed to this proceedings.

Our goal for the first year of the conference and proceedings was to establish a new tradition. Of course, a learning curve was involved, so our goal for the second year was to maintain what we previously did well and improve upon the rest. Our desire to offer a cross-section of current Central European scholarship led us to maintain the conference's broadly formulated theme, the relationship between theories and practice. However, whereas in the first year we offered sections for all three fields commonly studied in departments of English and American studies (linguistics in the broadest sense of the word, literature and culture of the English-speaking world, and the methodology of teaching English), this year we decided not to include an independent ELT methodology section. Still, in accordance with the interdisciplinary nature of some research, the pedagogical focus appears at times.

When choosing contributions for the first volume of the planned series, we decided, within the framework of our standards of quality, to be as inclusive as possible. Accordingly, we assembled quite a representative volume monitoring current themes and trends in research in the Czech Republic and Slovakia. In the second volume, we were more selective while still attempting to preserve the diversity of contributions, both thematic and regional.

The two volumes of proceedings have become the foundation blocks of a new book series called *Zlín Proceedings in Humanities*, the goal of which is to serve as a permanent record of the best papers from conferences organized by the Faculty of Humanities, Tomas Bata University in Zlín. Thus, in this volume we adhered to the same format as last year, using both systems defined in *The Chicago Manual of Style*: papers on linguistics use the author-date system, while papers on literature and cultural studies make use of footnotes. The proceedings, as previously, is published simultaneously in both printed and electronic forms.

At the time this volume goes to press, final preparations for the third year of the conference are under way, and we are eagerly anticipating a continuation of the ongoing discussion begun two years ago. Once again, we wish to thank all of the participants, organizers and student assistants whose efforts made our second annual conference a reality. Our thanks are also extended to the Rector of Tomas Bata University in Zlín and to the Zlín Region for their financial support and encouragement, as well as to all of those without whom our conference and proceedings would not have been possible.

Linguistics

English as a North Germanic Language: From the Norman Conquest to the Present

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ABSTRACT: This paper argues that Middle English (and therefore Modern English) originates as an amalgam of West Germanic Old English and North Germanic Old Norse, and that the fusion of the two languages dates back not to early Scandinavian settlement in England, but about 200 years later, especially the 12th century during the full impact of the Norman Conquest. Using examples of large numbers of daily life and grammaticalised vocabulary, I demonstrate that the nature of Scandinavian words incorporated into Middle/Modern English is distinct from and more central than later French loans and reflects a deep and typologically significant impact of Scandinavian on Middle/Modern English. Then I discuss several syntactic properties (e.g., word order, P-stranding, infinitival and directional particles, passive participles and case inflections) to show that with respect to all these characteristics Middle/Modern English groups with North Germanic and not with West Germanic.

KEYWORDS: Middle English; history of English; historical syntax; Old Norse; North Germanic

1. PREVIEW OF THE HYPOTHESIS

English as we know it arose as a language called "Middle English" under very particular linguistic and sociolinguistic circumstances in the East Midlands and North of England in a period of roughly 150 years, about 1080 to 1230. As we will see, this language, both its lexicon and its syntax, was not as much a descendent of Old English (the language of mainly West Saxon texts) as it was a new "*amalgamation*" of Old English and Old Norse (Baugh and Cable 2005, 95–105).

The amalgam, however, was not a fifty-fifty mixture. In line with common assumptions, the new language's lexicon was almost certainly more English than Norse, though Denham and Lobeck (2010, 372) report an estimate "that about 85% of the 30,000 Anglo-Saxon words died out after contact with the Scandinavians and the French, which means that only about 4,500 Old English words survived." That is, the Middle English lexicon is not exactly a robust continuation of Old English, and all sources agree that the Old Norse contributions to the Middle English lexicon were massive. Sections 5 and 6 return to the relative size of the two contributions.

Moreover, what is not widely recognized is that the emergent grammatical system, including many of the most salient grammatical morphemes, was of Scandinavian origin and inspiration. In fact, Middle English grammar is a direct continuation of the grammar of Old Norse, the language of prestige and administration in the northeastern half of England, and spoken there for centuries prior to the Norman Conquest (1066). This paper concentrates on demonstrating this last point. In this light, we must keep in mind

that predominance of open class vocabulary is *never* a criterion for linguistic descent.[1]
Rather, a necessary condition for linguistic lineage is the *syntactic* system of a language.
Since the syntactic system of Middle/Modern English is Scandinavian, then so is the
language as a whole.

An important characteristic of the Middle English amalgam, one that doubtless
facilitated the process of its birth, was a loss/lack of inflections (or in some instances null
inflections). At the end of this essay, after a description and analysis of the amalgamation
itself, I will discuss the source of this at first glance puzzling development.

2. Hostility in Rival Linguistic Communities in Old England

In the first 200 years of co-inhabiting eastern and northern Britain (850–1066),
Scandinavians and English had been in a largely adversarial situation and vied for
political supremacy. Norse-speaking descendants of the Vikings were predominant
before 878, when the victory of English king Alfred led to a roughly equal division
of the country (English in the southwest and Danish in the northeast). The areas of
predominantly Danish control were named the "Danelaw," and covered the entire area
northeast of a line from the City of London to Chester, largely coinciding with Roman
roads. Danish power reached another peak shortly after 1000, culminating in the reign of
the Danish King Canute over all of England. Continuing the see-saw, the English under
King Harold were again regaining the military upper hand around 1060, just before the
Norman Conquest in 1066.

Unsurprisingly, the languages of two rival populations with different political and
cultural allegiances, competing for hegemony and often in a state of war, remained
separate. English texts of this period, by scholarly agreement called "Old English,"
mostly originate in areas west of London with little Scandinavian settlement. English
political power, culture and literature centered in Wessex, which uninterruptedly
produced Old English texts, including those which survive today. Uncontroversially,
Old English was constantly renewed up to the time of the Conquest.

On the other hand, in the areas called the East Midlands and North of England, the
language of the Scandinavian colonists was "Old Norse." In the early decades of their
settlement, York in the North became and remained a Scandinavian city, and in the
period preceding the Norman Conquest, Scandinavian culture expanded and strongly
established itself in the East Midlands area.

> . . . the Five Boroughs – Lincoln, Stamford, Leicester, Derby, and Nottingham – became important
> foci of Scandinavian influence. [Like colonists more generally, Norse speakers found little reason to
> adopt the tongue of those whose lands they were appropriating and settling.] Up until the time of
> the Norman Conquest the Scandinavian language in England was constantly being renewed by the
> steady stream of trade and conquest . . . many of the newcomers . . . continued to speak their own
> language at least as late as 1100 . . . [Overall, relations between the Scandinavians] and the English
> were too hostile to lead to much natural intercourse. . . . The number of Scandinavian words that
> appear in Old English is consequently small, amounting to only about two score, . . . associated with

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1. Maltese has predominantly Italian vocabulary but is an Arabic language. Tagalog has enormous Spanish
vocabulary but is not a Romance language. Examples of this sort abound.

. . . sea-roving and . . . the social and administrative system of the Danelaw. (Baugh and Cable 2005, 96, 99)

The specialized semantics and very limited extent of the few "cultural borrowings" correspond to what we can expect under conditions of unwelcome colonization; the native language borrows terms for novel concepts introduced by the newcomers, but not for those already expressed in its vocabulary. The cited authors in fact observe that, besides a multitude of place names, *only two* (!) Old English borrowings from Old Norse (*law* and a *hold* of land) survive in Modern English.

How is it then that so many words eventually made their way from Old Norse into English? I will argue that this was due to William the Conqueror and his armies occupying England in 1066 and the years following. Under the Norman regime, two previously separate peoples became united in servitude.

3. Consequences of Conquest: Impoverishment → Intermarriage → a Common Tongue

By the 1090s, the Norman builders of castes and cathedrals had consolidated their control. In the same time both the societies of English and Scandinavian speakers in England were laid low by the thorough and merciless Norman Conquest, which wiped out the political and economic influence of both. Joint Anglo-Saxon Norse rebellions were crushed and regions laid waste. One last packet of resistance, a northern rebellion, was savagely answered by massacres, which came to be referred to as the "harrowing of the North." To mark their victory in the region, the Normans began the Durham cathedral in 1093.

All evidence agrees that both English and Scandinavians were thoroughly dispossessed, practically enslaved under the Conquest. These miserable circumstances gave rise to a complete *fusion* of two previously separate populations, speakers of Old English and speakersof Old Norse. Histories of the English Language dwell neither on the social horrors of 12th-century England under the Normans, nor on the sometimes united efforts of English and Scandinavians to resist them. Better sources on such events are social histories of pre-modern England, BBC documentaries and the web.[2] Nonetheless, Pyles (1971, 152) summarizes: "Almost at the end of the Old English period the great catastrophe of the Norman Conquest befell the English people – a catastrophe more far-reaching in its effects on English culture than the earlier harassment by the Scandinavians *who had subsequently become one with them*" (my emphasis).

The greatest cause of misery was the extraction of wealth of any kind from those who held it before the Conquest. Most sources report that by 1100, all property of any note was in the hands of Normans (Baugh 1957, 192–94). One of the main tools of this expropriation was the thorough land and property census carried out by the Normans

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2. A BBC documentary series on the Normans in August 2010 recounted a relatively long united resistance in the late 11th century of the two populations, which used marshlands north of Ely as their base. Their defeat resulted from betrayal by local monks, who revealed safe paths in the marsh for use by mounted knights (Bartlett 2010).

soon after their arrival, called first by its victims and now universally *The Doomsday Book*. The Bishop of Hereford, one of the very ecclesiastics who William had brought to England described it thus:

> . . . the king's men . . . made a survey of all England; of the lands in each of the counties; of the possessions of each of the magnates, their lands, their habitations, their men, both bond and free, living in huts or with their own houses or land; of ploughs, horses and other animals; of the services and payments due from each and every estate. After these investigators came others who were sent to unfamiliar counties to check the first description and to denounce any wrong-doers to the king. And the land was troubled with many calamities arising from the gathering of the royal taxes.[3]

In the wake of common and lasting misfortune, what apparently followed was intermingling of the disenfranchised masses of English and Norse speakers where "the two languages existed for a time side by side [in] the northern and eastern half of England" (Baugh and Cable 2005, 101).

I argue in the following sections that the resulting common tongue, i.e., the basic source of "Middle English," was in fact a real *amalgam* of the two languages (previously to some extent mutually comprehensible) not some surviving dialect of Old English with a number of Old Norse loans. I will demonstrate that Scandinavian daily life vocabulary and also basic syntactic characteristics permeate Middle English in a way that simply does not happen unless separate linguistic populations thoroughly mix, intermarry and converse.

4. Locus of the Linguistic Amalgam: Not Everywhere in England

The area in which the amalgam of Old English and Old Norse took place was the "East Midlands," whose speech would later develop into Modern English. This area almost exactly coincides with the dominant (more populated) southern part of where Scandinavians principally settled in England, i.e., which constituted "the Danelaw." Strong corroborative evidence that Scandinavians settled extensively and for the most part only in the Danelaw are the maps of Scandinavian settlements in England, e.g., in Freeborn (1998, 43).

The Danelaw was an area of *Norse law and administration*, starting with a truce between the English and the Danes after Kind Alfred's military success in 878. As mentioned earlier, it was north and east of a line from Chester to London (then on the north side of the Thames). A geographical point of utmost importance for this study's argument is that the southern half of the Danelaw is essentially the *same* as the area called the East Midlands by dialect geographers; cf. the map in Baugh and Cable (2005, 191). Perhaps counter to what the name suggests, the East Midlands are not just the east; they actually encompass 2/3 of the distance from the North Sea to Wales, i.e., the larger part of central England.

Scholarship on the history of English seems to unanimously agree that Modern English derives principally from the East Midlands dialect. Step by step, Modern English

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3. Further, the findings of this document had the effect of ". . . ending years of confusion resulting from the gradual and sometimes violent dispossession of the Anglo-Saxons by their Norman conquerors." (These Modern English translations are from *The Domesday Book Online*, http://www.domesdaybook.co.uk/.)

arises from "Chancery English" (15th century), in turn based on the East Midlands dialect. According to Baugh and Cable, "[t]he type of English that contributed most to the formation of the standard was the East Midland dialect . . . that became its basis, particularly the dialect of the metropolis, London" (2005, 192). Moreover, the emergence of that dialect as the basis of Middle English was further favored by the fact that "the universities, Oxford and Cambridge, [are] in this region" (Baugh and Cable 2005, 193).[4] In short, all available evidence indicates that *the ancestor of today's Standard English is the spoken language of the southern Danelaw*, in spite of the fact that under the Normans this region no longer had a legal existence.

5. Middle English Is *Not* Old English + Cultural Borrowing

If the Old Norse and Old English speakers in the Danelaw had been or felt separate under the Conquest, community identities would have served to conserve each group's grammatical speech patterns. But the harsh realities of the Norman Conquest leveled these differences and provided the basis for the integration of the Scandinavian and English speaking populations.[5]

This integration was greatly aided, as Baugh and Cable (2005, 96) observe, by the fact that the Anglian dialect (with large Scandinavian settlement) "resembled the language of the Northmen in a number of particulars in which West Saxon showed divergence." Moreover, differences a thousand years ago in pronunciation and vocabulary did not so decisively separate West (Anglo-Saxon) and North (Old Norse) Germanic languages as today.

> . . . many of the more common words of the two languages were identical, and if we had no Old English literature . . . , we should be *unable to say that many words were not of Scandinavian origin*. (Baugh and Cable 2005, 97; my emphasis)

Even under the hypothesis that Middle English is not West Germanic, it still shares with Old English a two millenia old descent from a common ancestor Proto-Germanic.[6]

However, the pervasive presence of *specifically Scandinavian vocabulary* in the English of daily life is what shows how thoroughly Norse and English fused into a new system in 12th-century families speaking (creating) Middle English. A crucial observation is that "the new words could have supplied no real need in the English vocabulary. . . . The Scandinavian and the English words were being used side by side,

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4. A further curious fact supporting the Danelaw area as the origin of Middle English is the conclusion of Baugh and Cable (2005, 193), from dialect evidence, that "Such support as the East Midland type of English received from the universities must have been largely confined to that of Cambridge." Notice that the less influential Oxford is in the small part of the East Midlands outside the Danelaw.

5. Recall that I demonstrated earlier that the period of influence of Old Norse on Old English did not *coincide* with the time of Scandinavian supremacy. The creation of the amalgam is indisputably later, in the period following the Norman Conquest. This fact is well known but hardly ever pointed out as meaningful in the scholarly literature, which follows instead a misleading tradition of situating linguistic events (e.g., language loans) chronologically inside periods of earlier historical events that precede and lead up to them.

6. Similarly, the common ancestor of Italian and Spanish was spoken some 2000 years ago, and neither language today seems to be a total mystery to the speakers of the other.

and the survival of one or the other must often have been a matter of chance" (Baugh and Cable 2005, 100).

Of words not alike in Old English and Old Norse, some 1,800 Middle English words "designating common everyday things and fundamental concepts," by either "fully convincing" or "probable" evidence, come not from Old English but from Scandinavian (Baugh and Cable 2005, 99–105). In order to appreciate this, let's look at about 30% of their examples of Scandinavian "loans" in English. In (1) I have alphabetized every third example of the words they discuss under several different headings.

(1)   *bait*, *band*, *birth*, *bloom* (not meaning *flower* as in German), *brink*, *call*, *cow*, *crook* (as in *crooked*), *die*, *dike*, *dregs*, *flat*, *flit*, *freckle*, *egg*, *girth*, *hale* (in good health), *keel*, *kindle*, *link*, *low*, *nag*, *odd*, *race*, *ransack*, *root*, *sack*, *scant*, *scare*, *score*, *scrape*, *screech*, *sister*, *skirt*, *sky*, *snare*, *tattered*, *thrift*, and *whisk*.

Almost certainly, Old English already had words for say 90% of these objects and concepts. Yet Middle English speakers used the Norse words – not because the concepts were culturally new, but because Norse parents naturally passed on large parts of their own vocabulary to their children. Thus, the "loans" from Scandinavian are not borrowings in the usual sense.

To underscore this point, let's contrast the denotations of the above words with those of a similar number of later "daily life" borrowings from French in (2).[7]

(2)   *lamp*, *table*, *chair* (with a back), *peach*, *pear*, *orange*, *lettuce*, *pea*, *juice*, *cider*, *cup*, *fork*, *plate*, *bottle*, *ink*, *letter*, *add*, *approve*, *argue*, *arrange*, *equal*, *mention*, *offer*, *promise*, *vase*, *napkin*, *fry*, *boil*, *roast*, *servant*, *mansion*, *porch*, *park*, *garden*, *flower*, *ball*, *vest*, *button*, and *scarf*.

The words in (2) plausibly qualify as cultural borrowings, especially since English speakers were largely impoverished medieval peasants while French speakers were frequently literate, well fed, well housed, well clothed, and by no means poor. So it is easy to believe that Old English lacked words for most of these objects and concepts, at least in the way life in medieval towns was organized. These words denoted things and ideas culturally borrowed from upper and middle class Norman descendants and thus differ strongly from those in (1).

Another list of Scandinavian loans in (3) is from Strang (1970) and according to her the words first appear in written English *after 1170*, i.e., a hundred years after the Conquest. She calls them "a handful of examples out of hundreds" (1970, 255).

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7. Just as Scandinavian words were not integrated until two centuries after the Viking invasions, so also the entry of French vocabulary in English was delayed. "In 1170 relatively few French verbs had been absorbed, and although some dialects had borrowed many Scandinavian verbs, the likeness of verb-classification between ON and English was so close that these loans filled and reinforced the strong-weak-anomalous classification. . . ." (Strang 1970, section 154). Jespersen (1905) also documents how significant borrowing from French, outside of military, religious and food terms, began only in the mid-13th century. The borrowings came into the language largely because Norman French speakers started to predominantly write and speak English at about this time, i.e., after Middle English had taken on its characteristic form.

(3)   *bull, grey, cast* (thrown), *dream, want, hap* (luck), *fro(m), ill, though, skill, wing, want, egg, skin, take*

Again, these notions must have been expressible in Old English. It seems inconceivable that such concepts would be "culturally borrowed" into a living language on its home territory.

   How large an open class lexicon for everyday things and concepts did downtrodden and illiterate 12th-century English peasants use? Perhaps between six and seven thousand words?[8] Recall Denham and Lobeck's observation (Section 1) that only about 4,500 Old English words survived. A conservative guess is that 20% of these (900) could be equally well Old English or Old Norse, leaving 3,600 specifically Old English words. Since Baugh and Cable conclude that Middle English has 1,800 Norse words in its vocabulary, the resulting ratio is 3,600 OE words combining with 1,800 ON words and 900 words common to both, i.e., a 2-1 ratio. That is, a third of the Middle English (Danelaw) vocabulary is plausibly of Scandinavian origin.

   The inescapable conclusion is that Middle English speakers of the East Midlands and the North did *not* "borrow" Old Norse words; children simply brought them into their native language in the twelfth and early thirteenth century by appropriating from their parents Old Norse and Old English vocabulary on a nearly equal basis. The parents may still have been speaking a mutually comprehensible amalgam of their native languages, but their children were already creating from this vocabulary a *new* Germanic tongue consistent with Universal Grammar – the language which we today call Middle English.

6. Scandinavian Presence in the Middle English Grammatical Lexicon

Natural language lexicons have two arguably quite separate components: an open class dictionary and a "grammatical lexicon" (Emonds 2000, Chs. 3–4). The open class lexicon contains items in at most four categories: N, V, A (adjectives and productive adverbs, e.g., A+*ly* in English), and P (prepositions and locational particles); section 5 has focused on open class Norse words in Modern English. All other categories are composed solely of items in the grammatical lexicon (including all affixes), which also contains closed subsets of the most common N, V, A and P.

   To exemplify, (4) gives a list of some 40 free morphemes in the English grammatical lexicon (perhaps 10–20% of the total). These words are unmistakably in the grammatical lexicon because they all share the hallmark of "unique syntactic behavior."[9]

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8. This estimated size of Middle English daily vocabulary is prior to its enrichment by borrowings from French.

9. This grammatical component of a lexicon consists of those items whose lexical entries have no purely semantic features. All features of such items activate principles of grammar, so I call such items "grammatical" morphemes. Since each grammatical item differs from every other by some syntactic feature ±F, some grammatical principle or rule must treat each item in every pair differently, so every such item will have syntactic behavior different from every other ("unique syntactic behavior" as in Emonds 2000, Ch. 4).

(4)   *self, one, twice, thing, way, other, any, no, that, which, the, whether, be, have, get, do,*
       let, make, went, should, can, best, well, so, too, less, not, just, even, only, of, to, with,
       for, by, since, away, together, now, there

An observable sociolinguistic property of grammatical as opposed to open class lexical
items is that living languages (those not in the process of language death) borrow
essentially *no* grammatical items that are free standing words or inflections. For example
I know of no English grammatical free morphemes from French other than *just* (*Mary*
***just** left*) and *very* (from the French open class *vrai* 'true').[10]

    The relation of the English grammatical lexicon to Scandinavian sources is entirely
different. Some twenty years of research on the English grammatical lexicon and its
properties have led me to conclude, on independent syntactic grounds, that English
grammatical verbs include those in (5) (Modals are not included here). Given the
discussion in Section 5, it is not surprising that a third of these grammatical verbs, those
in bold, are from Scandinavian.

(5)   *be, **are**, was, do, have, **get**, **go**, come, **give**, **take**, bring, **want**, need, make, let, say,*
       put

Apart from those listed above, Middle English incorporated Scandinavian grammatical
items in several other grammatical categories as well. These include:

— a new set of third person plural pronouns (*they, their, them*) and the form *him*,
— the quantifiers *both* and *some*,
— the prepositions *at* and *from* (Mustanoja 1960, 348–49) and the conjunction *though*,
— *null allomorphs* from Scandinavian for relative pronouns and the complementizer
  that (Jespersen 1905), to this day not allowed in West Germanic (Dutch, German),
— its *only* productive number agreement on verbs (3rd singular −*s* replacing −*th*),
  deriving from Middle English usage in the North of England (Pyles 1971, 176), where
  Scandinavian influence was heaviest.

The Middle English grammatical lexicon is thus peppered with Scandinavian forms.
And additionally, as in the open class lexicon, many other forms were so similar in
Old English and Old Norse that we cannot say today whether some Middle English
morpheme was derived from one rather than the other form. Since such lexical mixing is
not how borrowing into living languages proceeds, it must have another source, i.e., the
mixing was a product of a new language and new grammar created by children whose
parents spoke a kind of English-Norse "pidgin."[11] The question then arises, should we
consider this new language to be West or North Germanic?

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10. Late Middle English extensively borrowed French derivational morphology (−*able*, −*ment*, −*ise*, etc.).
    Perhaps the item *much* is also borrowed from some no longer used French source; cf. Spanish *mucho*.
11. I use "pidgin" here in the technical sense of a language created for communication by adults who don't
    share a common language. Children of such parents are generally said to use universal grammar or a
    "bio-program" to create a "creole" based on the vocabulary of the pidgin. However, it is inaccurate to
    call Middle English a creole, since it is in every way a Germanic language with properties not shared
    even with neighboring Indo-European sub-families such as Romance and Slavic.

7. Why Norse Predominated in the Danelaw (= East Midlands and North)

As medieval East Midlands children mixed the vocabularies of their parents, presumably often already of dual lineage even at home, which basic grammatical system did they use to make sentences? Precisely because they were amalgamating two highly similar syntactic systems, young speakers had no motivation to change the overall grammatical design or "typology" of their fledgling Middle English; i.e., they didn't need to resort to a "bio-program" and create a true creole. *But certain choices still had to be made:*

— Should they use underlying head-initial (North Germanic) or head-final (West Germanic) verb phrases, e.g., in infinitives?
— Shall the new language allow preposition stranding or not? (*The man that I spoke to)*
— Shall the infinitival particle *to* be a free morpheme or a prefix on the lexical V?
— Shall the passive/past participle have a prefix or not (German *ge–*, Old English *y–*)?
— Shall the genitive *–s* be a suffix on N (West Germanic) or on NPs (North Germanic)?
— Should the directional particles sometimes be V-prefixes (West Germanic) or not?

Though doubtless some children started using one system and some the other, they finally settled on a common model. Plausibly the model derived from the families in a social group with more prestige, despite the fact that compared to the French speaking Norman overlords, all those involved were poor. Who might constitute the more prestigious of the poor? In the 11th century preceding the Conquest, i.e., just before the fusion of English and Norse:

— In the East Midlands (the Danelaw), the Norse had political power, due to the reigns of King Canute and previously his father in the first half of the century.
— The Norse families had settled in the Danelaw continuously from the early 800s, some 250 years, and so could not have felt themselves or have been felt to be outsiders.[12]
— The Norse permanently settled in England because of economic success in trade and agriculture. Quite plausibly, their average economic status was higher than that of the native English.

Even under the Conquest, families of Norse descent probably retained more social prestige in local communities than did those of English descent – the latter were politically subservient and lacked a recent history of conquest and trade success. It would be thus natural if during linguistic amalgamation, Middle English speaking children emulated the syntactic patterns of the more prestigious families of Scandinavian descent. The question then becomes, does internal linguistic evidence independently point in this direction?

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12. In comparison, Irish have settled in the United States in large numbers only for about 150 years.

8. Syntactic Evidence that the Middle English Amalgam is North Germanic

Following general practice throughout linguistics, a language is classified by its *syntactic descent*. This view dates from the beginnings of historical linguistics in the 19th century and has no special relation to a generative approach. And in fact, the linguistic differences between Old Norse and Old English strongly and unambiguously point to Middle English being in the North Germanic family, not in the West Germanic. This linguistic argumentation thus confirms the conclusions suggested by the sociolinguistic considerations of section 7.

8.1   Word Order in Verb Phrases

A thorough study of Middle English syntactic development fully documents ". . . the base change from OV to VO (c. 1200) that is related to the loss of morphological case" (van Kemenade 1987, summary). That is, while Old English Object-Verb order is West Germanic (V is final in embedded verb phrases), Middle English has North Germanic Verb-Object order (V is initial in all verb phrases). Along the same lines, Middle English word order nearly perfectly prefigures that of Modern English, which retains no trace of West Germanic verb-final order. As an example, Pyles (1971, 178–79) provides a 19 line passage from Richard Rolle's *The Form of Living*, written in the early 1300s, where "it is possible to put it word for word into Modern English."[13]

   Van Kemenade's rough dating of 1200 for the emergence of VO order in written texts is right in the period of full Scandinavian and English integration; her findings on word order change in English texts thus support the claim that Middle English has the grammatical properties of Old Norse. Old English word order, in fact, did not "change"; it simply died out.

8.2   Stranding Prepositions

Van Riemsdijk (1978) shows that free Preposition stranding, by which prepositions need not move with their objects as in (6), is fully developed among the world's languages in only North Germanic – and English.

(6)   a. *The issue$_i$ was talked [$_P$ about] t$_i$ for hours.*
      b. *The issue$_i$ that he talked [$_P$ about] t$_i$ with the class was trivial.*

West Germanic Dutch allows P-stranding under very restrictive conditions, and most languages disallow it completely. It is not found in Old English, yet van Kemenade

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13. Pyles means that his translation into Modern English vocabulary, without a single modification of word order in the entire 19 lines, yields an entirely natural passage. To my ear, the phrasing in his modern text has awkward word order in only two places: *it is in more sweetness spiritually* and *for that may no man deserve.* Rolle used the Danelaw's Northern dialect, whose modern counterpart survives alongside Standard English.

(1987) documents its occurrence in Middle English. Here are two further examples in the passage from *The Form of Living* cited by Pyles. The stranded Ps in (7) are set in bold.

(7)   . . . it es swa harde to com **to** for the freelte of oure flesch and the many temptacions –
    . . . it is so hard **to** come to for the frailty of our flesh and the many temptations –

    – *that we er umsett* **with** *that lettes us nyght and day.*
    – that we are set about **with** that hinder us night and day.

8.3 Category of the Infinitival Marker[14]

The counterpart to an infinitival marker *to* in at least Swedish (8a) and possibly Norwegian (8b) is a free morpheme *att/å* respectively, which can be separated from a following verb by adverbs or negation. Despite prescriptive prohibitions (in both English and Norwegian), the infinitival *to* in (8c) has exactly this Scandinavian property: i.e., it is fully natural separated from a verb; English *to* can even be stranded with an elliptic verb phrase.

(8) a. Swedish   *Det är viktigt [***att*** alltid komma i tid].*
                        *Vi bad honom [***att*** inte komma tillbaka].*
     b. Norwegian   *Vi ba ham [***ikke*** å komme tillbake].*
     c. English   *It is important [***to*** always come on time].*
                        *We asked him [***to*** not come back].*
                        She hated going out, but I persuaded her ***to***.

On the other hand, the West Germanic infinitival markers, e.g., Dutch *te* and German *zu,* are bound prefixes that can *not* be separated from a V, even by another prefix: *auszugehen* 'to go out' vs. **zu ausgehen* (German). Thus, with respect to this characteristic, English again lines up with North, not West Germanic.

8.4 Unprefixed Passive and Past Participles

West Germanic languages have prefixes for the passive/past participle: e.g., German *ge-* and Old English *y-*. Scandinavian languages have no such prefix, and the prefix *y-* disappeared in the Middle English period.

8.5 Host Category for the Genitive Suffix

The Middle and Modern English inflection −*s* is a suffix on noun *phrases*, as in (9a), and the same holds of the Mainland Scandinavian languages, for example Swedish (9b):

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(9) a. *Anna's house*   *the woman with the red hair's house*
     b. *Annas hus* (no apostrophe is used) *kvinnan med det röda hårets hus*

These forms contrast with West Germanic, where *−s* is a genitive case inflection on head nouns only, e.g., as in German and Old English. This is another argument for English being North Germanic.

8.6   Position of Directional Particles

In *some Scandinavian dependent clauses*, directional particles can be post-verbal free morphemes. But in West Germanic including Old English, directional particles can never follow verbs except when finite Vs are in "second position" in main clauses. Otherwise a post-verbal position of a particle is excluded, as in the German (10a). English in fact takes the North Germanic pattern further, totally excluding most cases of pre-verbal directional particles, as seen in (10b).

(10) a. **Sie will den Brief nehmen aus.*
         Sie will den Brief ausnehmen
      b. *She wants to take the letter out.*
         *She wants to out-take the letter.

In a passage mentioning the mid-12th and early 13th century, Strang comments on the development of this construction in Middle English: "But one factor is clearly of the highest importance. . . . This is the development of the verb-particle combination (phrasal verb), in which the particle may be preposition or adverb. Such combinations were virtually unknown in OE, which used particles with verbs in separable prefix form (as does Modern German), and for some reason this arrangement came increasingly to be preferred" (1970, section 153). The reason is of course its Scandinavian source.

8.7   The Direction of "Case Leveling" on Pronouns

A final syntactic indication of English belonging to North Germanic is provided by its notorious and much researched extension of pronominal object forms (*me, him, her, us, them*) to all positions other than uncoordinated subjects of overt finite verbs (Emonds 1986). The relevant examples are given below in (11). The asterisk here indicates that the examples appear only in highly prescriptive speech and writing.

(11) a. *Mary or him will probably win the prize.*
         *Mary or he will probably win the prize.
      b. *Who wants another beer?*
         Us two! *We two!
         Her over there! *She over there!
      c. *John is taller than them.*
         *John is taller than they.

All Germanic languages in which case distinctions have been restricted to pronouns exhibit some tendency to extend *either* subject forms or object forms (e.g., in coordinate structures) to positions where case theory would dictate the other forms. The North Germanic tendency, at least in regions that contributed most to settlement in England, matches that of English: "Object Form default, vestigial-case Danish is remarkably similar to English in its pattern of case variation in Coordinate DPs, . . . accompanied by salient if slightly less extreme normative attitudes" (Parrott 2010).

In contrast, the West Germanic (i.e., Dutch) tendency is less pronounced and goes rather in the direction of extending Subject Forms such as *ik* "I" to positions where prescriptive and most adult usage requires an object form (A. van Hout, pers. comm.).

There are thus at least seven grammatical patterns where Middle and Modern English show themselves to be North Germanic. And on the other hand, I know of no syntactic patterns in which Middle English acts more as West Germanic than North Germanic. Therefore, by the criterion of syntactic descent recalled earlier, Middle and Modern English are indisputably in the North Germanic family. Middle English was created on the syntactic model of Old Norse by native impoverished children in the East Midlands, during the harshest period of Norman French rule. They used perhaps twice as much English as Norse vocabulary, as doubtless they were surrounded by more speakers of Old English. But the exact sources of Middle English vocabulary do not affect the argumentation or conclusion that its syntax and therefore genetic descent is from North Germanic.

9. Lack of Inflection in Middle and Modern English

Van Kemenade (1987) thoroughly documents an interesting claim of traditional scholarship: the Middle English amalgam was marked by *loss of overt inflection*, focusing her examples on the absence in Middle English of Old English case on nouns. Scholars of this period's Middle English remark that the conflicting overt (but unstressed) inflections of the parent tongues (Old Norse and Old English) were a source of imperfect learning and grammatical confusion. Baugh and Cable (2005, 104) phrase it thus:

> In many words the English and Scandinavian languages differed chiefly in their inflectional elements. The body of the word was so nearly the same in the two languages that only the endings would put obstacles in the way of mutual understanding. In the mixed populations that existed in the Danelaw [and developed Middle English, JE] these endings must have led to much confusion, tending gradually to become obscured and finally lost.

Strang (1970, section 156) expresses a similar view. Consequently, these authors feel, the new generations opted for a simple solution: don't pronounce the inflections; rather, "*drop them*." For example, English finite verbs exhibit greatly reduced number agreement. As seen in Section 6, its only productive inflection *−s* has its origin in the Old Norse of Northern England. Here is a list of the many inflections that disappeared in Middle English:

— All *marked forms* of English subject-verb agreement inflections are null.[15]
— Van Kemenade (1987) dates the *total loss of case on English nouns* at c. 1200.

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15. Third singular verb forms are cross-linguistically the least marked (Benveniste 1966).

— Unlike West Germanic languages, Middle English has *no past participle prefix.*
— Strang (1970) documents the *last instances of impoverished adjectival agreement in the 13th c.* Previously, it was not very different from that in current Dutch.

When a language has a grammatical characteristic not shared with its parent language or nearby cognate languages, such as a general loss of inflection, one looks for sociolinguistic causes. In the case at hand, the particular conditions of the birth of Middle English (a new common language fashioned by unschooled East Midland children under conditions created by the Norman Conquest) account for why English has such notably impoverished inflection.

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How to *Read* and *Write*: On the Importance of the Gothic Language for English Studies

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ABSTRACT: Gothic is the earliest Germanic language to appear in extensive specimens, thus offering a starting point for any comparative analysis within the Germanic group. In view of this, the present paper contains several remarks on the importance of the Gothic language for English studies. Rather than examining Gothic for the purposes of comparative grammar, the author of this paper approaches the topic from a lexical perspective, providing a few etymological examples in an attempt to illustrate how close Gothic and (Old) English are to each other. As words disclose much about the history and culture of the people who use them, the paper reports on selected aspects of the life of Germanic peoples, including the Anglo-Saxons. The final section of the study presents some comments on the status of Gothic as viewed by Czech Anglicists.

KEYWORDS: Gothic; Anglo-Saxon; comparative linguistics; etymology; interdisciplinarity; English studies; Czech lands

1. Introduction

With respect to the generous scope of the conference, let me contribute with a paper from the field of comparative philology. The main aim of this paper is to present a few remarks on the importance of diachronic linguistics for students of English, particularly on the role of the Gothic language in diachronic investigation. I will attempt to introduce Gothic as a language source which – though extinct for more than three centuries – represents an effective means of discovering and/or confirming relevant details about the language, history, society and culture of Germanic tribes, including the Anglo-Saxons. Unlike most studies, which often examine Gothic for the purposes of comparative grammar, I will approach the topic from a lexical perspective. In the final – historiographic – part, I will comment upon the status of Gothic in the curricula of Czech universities.

2. Didactics of Diachrony

Those of you who attended the 9th Brno International Conference of English, American and Canadian Studies, organized and hosted by the Czech Association for the Study of English and the Department of English and American Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University,[1] may know that one of the available seminars was labelled "Didactics of Diachrony." The aim of the seminar was to create a forum that would bring

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1. The conference took place 4th–6th February, 2010, and was subtitled *Diversification and Its Discontents: Dynamics of the Discipline.*

together teachers of the history of English, working within diverse linguistic traditions, methodological frameworks and curricula, to discuss the present-day topicality and desiderata of their discipline.

In particular, the seminar aimed to address three important questions related to interdisciplinary approaches both in research and teaching processes: (1) Does the growth in less traditional linguistic fields represent an onus, or rather a bonus, for the discipline? (2) How much of the curriculum for the development of English should be devoted to general linguistics and sociolinguistic issues? (3) Should efforts to equip students with the ability to read historical texts be abandoned altogether?

Moreover, the participants were invited to discuss their personal views on such topics as diachronic-synchronic analysis in class and in textbooks; reconciling external and internal factors of linguistic change in teaching; differences between teaching the evolution of English to native and non-native speakers of English; digital applications of diachrony, including the use of electronic textbooks, texts and corpora; and the role of philology – particularly the question of whether it has something to offer to students.[2]

Although only a few colleagues took an active part in the seminar and presented their papers, the subsequent discussion was fruitful, and the international forum (including scholars from the Czech Republic, Poland and Germany) agreed that it is beneficial for diachronic linguistics to be open to new trends in linguistic research and training, taking advantage of electronic sources, emphasizing the significance of interdisciplinarity and the interconnectedness of synchronic and diachronic analysis. All participants shared the opinion that the history of the English language should be valued as an essential part of English studies, which further contributes to the much broader interests of comparative philology.

3. The Gothic Language

The Gothic language is the earliest Germanic language to appear in extensive specimens, thus offering a starting point for any comparative analysis within the Germanic group. Compared to (Old) English, for example, with its first written records dating to the seventh century, Gothic, apart from a few runic inscriptions, was recorded in script as early as in the middle of the fourth century. It is thanks to Bishop Wulfila (c. 311–383?) and his translation of the New Testament from Greek into Gothic that we have such early examples of the language; though all the surviving fragments are found in manuscripts from the fifth and sixth centuries (e.g., in *Codex Argenteus*). Wulfila is also known for inventing the Gothic alphabet, which is, in simple terms, an adaptation of the fourth century Greek uncial script with additional letters inspired by the contemporary Latin and Runic alphabets (see Mojdl 2005, 70–71).

Gothic belongs to the eastern branch of Germanic languages (together with Vandalic or Burgundian). Nevertheless, it shares certain features with both the North Germanic

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2. The seminar "Didactics of Diachrony" was prepared by Jan Čermák and Ondřej Tichý. It was they who formulated the seminar proposal.

languages (e.g., a large number of inchoative verbs ending in *-na*, or the so-called Holtzmann's Law) and the West Germanic languages (e.g., reduplication as a marker of the preterite). In contrast to these sub-branches of the Germanic language family, Gothic displays neither the morphological umlaut (cf. Gothic *fotus – fotjus* with English *foot – feet* or Swedish *fot – fötter*) nor the rhotacism of Proto-Germanic **z* (cf. Gothic *drus* and Old English *dryre*). Sociolinguistically speaking, Gothic, particularly its lexicon, reveals numerous contacts with other languages (Latin, Greek, Celtic etc.). Importantly, Gothic never had a standard form; it was rather a conglomerate of dialects, out of which Ostrogothic and Visigothic are the most significant.

In reference to the issues raised in the preceding section of this article, it can be added that Gothic not only is a crucial factor in reconstructing Proto-Germanic (or even Proto-Indo-European) and in providing comparison within the Germanic language group, but it also functions as an important foundation for interdisciplinary inquiry. Due to the fact that for about five hundred years Goths were migrating throughout large regions of Northern, Eastern and Southern Europe, they came into contact with numerous communities, frequently of different socio-cultural backgrounds. Imprints of these contacts are also reflected in their language. As Gothic is a well-documented language,[3] with high-quality online databases available, anybody can take advantage of this invaluable resource. In what follows, I will present a few examples of how Gothic relates to other Germanic tongues, particularly (Old) English.

4. From Words to Culture

I agree with Max Müller that "[t]he history of words is the reflexion of the history of the human mind, and many expressions which we use in a . . . conventional sense are full of historical recollections if we can trace them back to their original form and meaning" (1864, 16). Regarding the Gothic lexicon, it helps us discover or confirm information on diverse aspects of the life of the Germanic peoples, including the Anglo-Saxons. As we are within the field of philology, let me support this view by giving lexical examples related to that field. Due to space limitations, only two Standard English lexemes (or their Anglo-Saxon equivalents) will be subjected to comparative analysis: namely *write* and *read*.[4]

The original words utilized for denoting the activity of "writing" in the Indo-European languages carried the meaning of "cutting" or "scratching" (Latin *scribo*, Breton *skriva*, etc.). Relevant examples can also be found within the Germanic language group (Swedish *skrifwa*, Icelandic *skra*, German *schreiben*). Although today these expressions mean simply "to write," archaic Gothic texts prove that even here the primary signification was "to scratch" or "to cut" (Gothic *skreitan* "to tear"). This fact can further be supported by an evidence from Anglo-Saxon (*screopan* "to scrape"). Interestingly, in addition to the meaning of "writing," Old Norse *rita*, for instance,

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3. See the complete bibliography of writings on the Gothic language summarized in CD-ROM format by Petersen (2005).
4. Most instances of the language material are acquired from Picton (1864), in the second part of his philological paper on the ancient Gothic language.

denoted the concept of "drawing" and "sketching"; in the similar way as Anglo-Saxon *writan* or German *reissen* did (cf. Lithuanian *piẽšti* or "to draw, to sketch"; Proto-Slavic **pьsati* "to draw").

The Gothic word for "writing" is *meljan* and has a different story behind it. It originated from an Indo-European root **mel-*, signifying "to paint" or "to blacken" (cf. German *malen*, Swedish *mala*, or Czech *malovat*). In Modern English we still have the remains of this root preserved in the compound *maulstick*. According to Picton (1864, 53), it was in Gothic that "an entire departure from the primitive idea connecting writing with cutting and engraving in all the other kindred tongues" began. Gothic was the first Germanic language that abandoned the runic script (based on engravings), and constructed its own alphabet (see Wulfila above). As Gothic manuscripts were written on parchments, not curved into wood or stone, we may infer that "the old term no longer applied, and a word expressive of painting or colouring was more applicable" (Picton 1864, 53).

Turning now our attention to the lexeme *read*, it can be seen that in Gothic "to read" was expressed by the very same term as "to sing" – *singvan*. In Luke (4:16), in the passage where Jesus enters the synagogue in Nazareth, we may find the following example: *usstoth singvan bokos* (literally "he stood up to sing the writing"). Another example can be extracted from the 1st Letter to Timothy (4:13): *unte qima gaumei sangva boko* (meaning "attend to the singing of books"). In other words, Gothic gives evidence that the idea of "reading orally" and the idea of "singing" overlapped in Old Germanic languages. Gothic **redan*, in contrast, meant "to plan, to advise, to consider." By the eighth century, the equivalents of **redan* and *singvan* had been stabilized in their modern meanings (cf. the Anglo-Saxon version of Luke (4:16): *he aras thæt he rædde*).

5.   Gothic and English Studies in the Czech Lands

At this point, let me add a few comments on the status of Gothic as viewed from the perspective of Czech scholars, particularly Anglicists. Though you might argue that the knowledge of the Gothic language is essentially important for Germanists and comparative linguists, there is a long-lasting tradition at Czech universities of providing a brief introduction to Gothic – especially at the master's and doctoral levels – not only for students of German and comparative linguistics but also for students of English (cf. Kavka 2007, 118). Usually students are trained in reading shorter Gothic texts and are presented with an overview of Gothic phonology, orthography and grammar.

The first Gothic grammar written in Czech was prepared by Václav Emanuel Mourek (1846–1911) as early as in 1910. His respected colleagues from the universities in Prague and Brno, Josef Janko (1869–1947) and Antonín Beer (1881–1950), made additional contributions by publishing notable articles and treatises as well as by giving inspiration to their students. From the 1930s, Gothic was a central scholarly interest of Leopold Zatočil (1905–1992), who researched not only Gothic grammatical structures but also philologically-oriented literary history.[5] Recently, Aleš Svoboda (1941–2010)

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5. Though Mourek, Janko, Beer and Zatočil are rather known as Germanists, all of them also studied or taught English.

and Stanislav J. Kavka, established courses of Gothic at the departments of English and American Studies in Opava and Ostrava, respectively.

6. Conclusion

Hopefully these few illustrations and remarks have sufficiently demonstrated that the knowledge of the Gothic language should be valued for its ability to enable one to find links among a large number of Indo-European languages, including (Old) English. Furthermore, I hope to have provided some evidence about how our understanding of interlingual relations expands our understanding of intercultural phenomena. Taking all this into consideration, I believe that significant space in curricula of English studies should be devoted to diachronic issues. Our efforts to provide students with the ability to read and analyze historical texts should not be abandoned, and the rich tradition of Czech linguists (including Anglicists) being attentive to the importance of Gothic should be further developed.

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Collocations in English and Czech from a Historical Perspective

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ABSTRACT: The present paper traces the development of collocation studies in the English and Czech environments. Collocations have been studied in English since the middle of the 20th century, especially for the last fifteen years. There are four main approaches to collocational thinking: the linguistic approach, the phraseological approach, the pedagogical and computational approach. The paper analyzes these approaches and mentions the key schools and representatives. Collocation studies in the Czech environment started in the 1990s with computer linguistics. Research is primarily conducted by the Institute of the Czech National Corpus. The main scholars along with their areas of research are documented in this paper.

KEYWORDS: collocation; collocability; collocational unit; idiom; John Rupert Firth; M. A. K. Halliday; František Čermák

Overview of Collocation Studies in the English Language Environment

Collocation was used as a linguistic term in the 18th century when it was used to refer to the meaning that is now commonly covered by the closely related term "colligation," i.e., grammatical juxtaposition of words in sentences (Bartsch 2004). However, Harold Palmer is said to have been the first to actually use the term collocation in its modern linguistic sense to denote units of words that are more than single words (Palmer 1931). In 1933, in his book on phraseological research, Palmer used the term collocation again, stressing the arbitrary, non-rule-governed nature of these word combinations and the fact that they have to be learnt as wholes (Palmer 1933).

Approaches to collocational thinking can be divided into four major groups: linguistic (sometimes referred to as a frequency-based approach), phraseological, pedagogical and computational. In practice, these approaches are interrelated.

Linguistic Approach to Collocations

The linguistic approach does not characterise collocations with respect to other word combinations. Collocations are followed mainly in terms of their frequency, not in terms of semantics. The key representative of the linguistic approach is John Rupert Firth, who established the term collocation as a technical linguistic term (Firth 1951). But for him, collocation was not connected with positioning larger phrasal units as units of meaning. Firth used this concept to define the meaning of a single word. For him, e.g., one of the meanings of *night* is its collocability with *dark*, but he was not interested in the meaning of *dark night* as a unit (Firth 1951, 196).

The scholars who built upon Firth's ideas are often referred to as "neo-Firthians," the main representatives being M. A. K. Halliday and J. M. Sinclair. Halliday is famous mainly for his functional grammar theory, but in the 1960s he also published work on lexis (Halliday 1966), and together with Sinclair he continued the work begun by Firth and further developed his ideas on collocation. In opposition to Firth, who says that it is word forms (e.g., get, gets, getting) that have collocations, not lexemes, Halliday claims that lexical items are the entities involved in collocation, not word forms. Halliday, like Firth, considers collocation a lexical phenomenon rather than a grammatical one. Later he slightly changes his opinion, saying that it is essential also to examine collocational patterns in their grammatical environments and to compare the descriptions given by the two methods, lexical and lexicogrammatical. Halliday also introduces collocation as a statistical concept and says that it is quantifiable, considering co-occurrences of all probabilities as collocations (Halliday 1961).

Next to the above mentioned school there are a number of scholars who do not fall into any group and yet also base their research on the Firthian approach, the most famous being S. Greenbaum, G. Kjellmer and T. F. Mitchell. Greenbaum (1970) claims that syntactic relationships have to be taken into consideration, and he also considers frequency as an important factor when analysing collocations. Kjellmer's research of collocations is widely frequency-based. He defines collocation as a sequence of words that occurs more than once in identical form in a text corpus and which is grammatically well-structured (Kjellmer 1987, 133). The output of his work on collocations is *A Dictionary of English Collocations* (Kjellmer 1994), which is based on the one million-word Brown Corpus. In his dictionary, Kjellmer claims that only adjacent items are regarded as collocations. He considers idioms as a sub-group of collocations and defines an idiom as a collocation whose meaning cannot be deduced from the combined meanings of its constituents (Kjellmer 1994, xxxiii). In Mitchell's opinion (1966), the study of collocations must concentrate both on grammar and semantics, unlike Halliday and Sinclair who separate between grammar and lexis.

Phraseological Approach to Collocations

The phraseological approach to collocations has been strongly influenced by the Russian tradition, the origins of which can be traced to the 1940s and the main representatives of which were the Russian phraseologists V. V. Vinogradov and N. N. Amosova. The most distinguished representatives of this approach are the Neo-Firthians A. Cowie, P. Howarth and I. A. Meľčuk.

Cowie built on the Russian phraseological tradition and applied its results to corpus material and to dictionary-making. He differentiated between two key types of word combinations, namely "*formulae*" and "*composites*." According to Cowie, *formulae* are units of sentence-length which have pragmatic functions (e.g., *Good morning.; How are you?*), while *composites* are types below the sentence level (e.g., *dry run*). In Cowie's opinion, collocations are part of the latter. Cowie views collocations as associations of two or more lexemes occurring in a specific range of grammatical constructions and

defines them as composite units, which permit the substitutability of items for at least one of the constituent elements, the sense of the other element, or elements, remaining constant (Cowie 1981, 224). As an example, he gives the collocation *run a business* in which *a business* can be substituted by *a theatre*, or *a bus company*. In his later work, Cowie uses the term multiword units, which involve different categories, like collocation and idiom. Howarth builds his research on the Firthian tradition as well as on the Russian phraseological tradition. He admits investigating language use through corpora but says that a frequency-based approach is not sufficient (Howarth 1998, 27). Meľčuk, a Russian linguist who was forced to immigrate to Canada, was also inspired by the Russian tradition. He developed a system in which collocations are part of a larger class, which he calls *set phrases* or *phrasemes*. The former corresponds to what Cowie calls formulae, the latter to his composites. The phrasemes are divided by Meľčuk into pragmatic phrasemes and semantic phrasemes. Pragmatic phrasemes include expressions like greetings, proverbs or sayings, while semantic phrasemes are formed by idioms, quasi-idioms/quasi phrasemes and collocations/semi-phrases (Meľčuk 1995, 1998).

Pedagogical Approach to Collocations

Studies of collocations for pedagogical purposes have become largely popular with the increasing possibilities of computers, whereby huge amounts of texts stored in high-capacity computers are analyzed. The beginnings of the pedagogical approach to collocations are connected with H. E. Palmer, who was a teacher of English in Japan. Collocational units are described in the following way by Palmer (Palmer 1933, 13): "It is not so much the words of English nor the grammar of English that makes English difficult, but that vague and undefined obstacle to progress in the learning of English consists for the most part in the existence of so many odd comings-together-of-words." Palmer was fully aware of the need for a classification of these "comings-together-of-words," and he defined collocation as a succession of two or more words that may best be learnt as if they were a single word. He used the term collocation for a range of word combinations, laying the foundation for the study of collocations and idioms by future generations of linguists.

According to McCarthy (McCarthy and O'Dell 2005), today's pedagogical approach to collocations is one of the most practical applications. Learning collocations helps students to increase their range of English vocabulary and to speak and write English in a more natural and accurate way.

Computational Approach to Collocations

In the early 1990s, a new approach to collocations and their importance in language crystallised. Evidence of this is both the publication of a range of collocation dictionaries (Oxford, Cambridge, Longman, Macmillan and Collins) and an increased effort to introduce collocations widely into English language teaching and English language textbooks. There has been a revolutionary change in the possibilities of obtaining information on collocations. Huge collections of texts in electronic form (corpora) provide

authentic information on word combinations. Specialised computer programmes search for word combinations in texts automatically and with a high level of reliability.

The computational approach to collocations is an elaborate frequency-based methodology in collocational studies. The most distinguished personalities in the computational approach are J. Sinclair, a follower of Firth's traditions, and M. Stubbs. Sinclair contributed to solving some of the practical problems connected with the Firthian view of collocations. He used Firth's original ideas in the undertaking of the OSTI project (Sinclair et al. 2004) and later also the COBUILD project, one of the most ambitious and largest lexical research projects ever carried out (Carter 1998, 167).

Sinclair's view of collocations have evolved over time. In the OSTI Report of 1970, Sinclair defines collocations as the co-occurrence of two items in a text within a specified environment. However, in his later publications Sinclair considers collocations as the occurrence of two or more words within a short space of each other in a text (Sinclair 1991, 170). Sinclair consolidated the use of special terminology in collocation research, which is widely used today. According to his definitions, the node is the word under study, the collocate is the word that enters into collocation with it and the span is the distance between the words. The set of all the collocates that can enter in collocation with the node is called the collocational range of the particular word. In compliance with the Firthian tradition which differentiates between habitual and unique collocations, Sinclair distinguishes between significant and casual collocations (Sinclair et al. 2004, 10). Sinclair also claims that in corpus analysis one form of a lemma is usually much more common than others and that different word forms can have quite different collocates (Sinclair 1991, 68–69).

Stubbs deals with different aspects of lexis in his linguistic research, including traditional lexical semantics, lexical fields and collocations. He says that meanings are conveyed directly, by the choice of particular words, but they are also conveyed indirectly by patterns of co-occurrence: which words collocate and which words occur in which grammatical constructions. Such patterns in his opinion are not directly observable, since they depend on abstract categories (Stubbs 1996, 97–98). In Stubbs's view (Stubbs 1995), words have a tendency to co-occur with certain other words, and he adds that culturally and communicatively competent native speakers of English are aware of such probabilities and of the cultural frames they trigger. By collocations he means a relationship of habitual co-occurrence between words (lemmas or word-forms).

Stubbs is convinced that quantitative techniques of corpus analysis can be used to analyse the meaning and use of cultural keywords. The main concept is that words occur in characteristic collocations, which show the associations and connotations they have. He adds that such collocations are open to introspection only in a very rough and ready way; often native speakers' intuitions about collocations are very inaccurate, and intuitions certainly cannot document such collocations thoroughly (Stubbs 1996, 172).

Today, research subjects have slightly shifted towards the study of frequency of words in corpora and the key words appearing in them. Of the researchers involved in corpus analyses, two scholars are worth mentioning, namely Tony McEnery and Andrew Wilson (2005). They focus on the relationship between quantitative and qualitative approaches to corpus analysis and introduce some of the main quantitative

methods used in working with corpora, e.g., frequency counts, significance testing and testing for significant collocations. their aim is not to provide details of the statistical procedures but rather to provide a detailed guide for further studies in this discipline. McEnery and Wilson illustrate the importance of corpora as sources of empirical data in many areas of language study, including lexical studies and semantics.

Collocation Studies in the Czech Language Environment

If English and Czech are compared from the point of view of studying collocations, then in English this study is stressed by the fact that English words are much more polysemous, i.e., they have many different meanings than words in Czech, in which the meaning of words and their forms is much tighter. Thus, the importance of context is crucial in English to differentiate between meanings, not just the part of speech or some other grammatical category.

Prague Linguistic Circle

Collocational studies, although not systematic but rather connected with other phenomena such as compounding, appeared for the first time in the work of representatives of the Prague Linguistic Circle. The first Czech linguist who approached the term collocation, although in a different way than today's understanding, was Vilém Mathesius. According to Mathesius (Mathesius 1975), collocations are fixed combinations of independent words. He differentiates collocations from compounds, which in his opinion are connections of two words the semantics of which no longer convey the independent meaning of the components, and adds that "such definition does not apply to collocations of two words like *psí víno* where the semantic isolation of the whole with respect to its components has admittedly taken place and yet the collocation does not constitute a compound" (Mathesius 1975, 29). Mathesius claims that recently English compounds of the Germanic type changed into collocations (Mathesius 1975, 32), and he provides their characteristic patterns. Using two expressions a "*black*" bird and a "*blackbird*" Mathesius compares their functions. While the former is a free combination of two words in his opinion, the latter is a collocation, i.e., a closed, fixed combination. Mathesius suggests that in collocations consisting of an adjectival and a nominal part, the adjectival component can neither be separated nor modified independently (*a blackbird*), whereas in a compound of the same type the first part can be compared (e.g., *the blackest bird*). In regards to word structure, Mathesius further claims that English can form very extensive collocations, largely of the Germanic type, which are analysed in translating from their last component (Mathesius 1975, 32). He also mentions newspapers and magazines as very common sources of collocations.

Collocational Studies at the End of the 20th Century

A wide interest in computer-based linguistic studies and in collocation studies in the Czech environment started in the 1990s when corpus linguistics arose as a part of computer linguistics. The research in this sphere is connected with scholars circled around the Institute of the Czech National Corpus (Ústav Českého národního korpusu),

which was established in 1994 and which has been working on building the Czech National Corpus since then. Researchers from Charles University, Masaryk University and the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic are involved in this project.

Collocations and phenomena related to them are at the edge of interest amongst Czech linguists in spite of the fact that they have been of considerable importance in the world (especially in British linguistics) for decades (Křen 2006, 223). The definition of the concept of collocation is wide in Křen's view and depends on the approach of the concrete scholar or the application that deals with searching collocations. In his opinion, different linguistic phenomena can be considered collocations, from professional terms through multi-word prepositions, phrasemes and idioms to co-existence of words, which can be more or less random or given by mere preference or coherence of meaning (Křen 2006, 223). Furthermore, he thinks it is not easy to decide what a collocation is and what it is not.

The concept "*kolokace*" (collocation) was first applied to the Czech language by František Čermák in 1982 (Čermák and Šulc 2006, 11). Čermák, today's key personality of corpus linguistic studies in the Czech Republic and at the same time the head of the Institute of the Czech National Corpus, highlights the importance of corpus studies. While in the past, linguistics dealt only with classification of isolated facts and knowledge, exceptionally grouping them in classes, today's methods, according to Čermák, concentrate on interrealitions, co-occurrences and the correlation of these facts as well as their classes in texts (Čermák and Blatná 2006, 10).

It is evident that Čermák widely realises the importance of computers and corpora for the study of different aspects of a language (in his case the Czech language), including the study of collocations and especially for lexicographical purposes.

According to Čermák, collocations are the most common subject of study of concordances inside a corpus. According to Čermák, collocations are the most common subject of study of concordances in a corpus. He defines collocations as statistically significant combinations of words and lexemes, which enable a more comprehensive study and at the same time demonstrate the behaviour of words (word forms) or lemmas in texts, and as a meaningful combination of words/lexemes, predominantly in the form of multiword expressions, the occurrence of which depends on their mutual collocability and thus also their compatibility (Čermák and Blatná 2006, 12).

The term "*kolokace*" (collocation) has replaced the older term "*slovní spojení*" (word combination), which is not suitable any more because it consists of two words and it is difficult to form derivational forms from it. (Čermák and Šulc 2006, 11).

Čermák and Šulc (2006, 12) divide lexical combinations in a text to:

A Systemic
1. regular a: *term collocations* (multi-word terms) (e.g., cestovní kancelář, kyselina sírová)
   b: *multi-word proper names* (e.g., Kanárské ostrovy, Velká Británie)
2. irregular a: *idiomatic collocations* (idioms and phrasemes) (e.g., ležet ladem, údolí stínů)
   b: *extensions and transitions* (stará dobrá Anglie, černá díra)

B Textual

3. regular a: *common collocations* (e.g., letní dovolená, snadná odpověď, dřevná tužka)

b: *analytical forms* (e.g., šel by, byl zapsán, vzpomínající si)

4. irregular a: *metaphoric collocations* (e.g., třeskutě vtipný, virové hrátky)

b: *random combinations in neighbouring position* (e.g., (vývody) vzduchotechniky uvnitř (bytu)

c: *other combinations* (blábol)

C Textual *&* Systemic collocations of common usage

(e.g., prát prádlo, nakrájet nadrobno, umýt si ruce, nastoupit do vlaku)

Čermák sees two key areas of application of collocations, namely lexicography and teaching. In lexicography, collocations are an ideal source of examples with individual head words. In the sphere of teaching, especially teaching foreign languages, whole courses are based on collocations.

In the latest Czech-English dictionary on collocations, Klégr defines collocations as "more or less automatic combinations of verbs and nouns which are one of the basic types of language prefab blocks, whose components are characterised by a distinct mutual or at least one-way preference and predictability (the use of one word predetermines and restricts the choice of another word in a sentence" and adds that, "without this, it is hard to compose a good English text" (Klégr et al. 2005, 8).

Despite this definition, Klégr admits that there are several difficulties associated with collocations, especially in that there exists a lack of consensus on definition and that there is an absence of clear criteria in what would delimit the range of a node's collocates and provide a firm basis for their lexicographic description. According to Klégr, this is a problem encountered in both monolingual and collocational dictionaries but becomes crucial in the latter.

Jan Hajič deals with computational morphology of the Czech language and participates in the project of preparation of the frequency morphological dictionary. Other Czech linguists approach collocations from different points of view, analysing them lexicologically as well as grammatically, e.g., R. Blatná (2004), E. Hajičová (2002), M. Kopřivová (2006), M. Křen (2006), J. Panevová and V. Schmiedtová (2006), P. Šaldová and M. Šulc (2006), M. Šulc (1999).

To conclude, collocations are an inseparable part of both English and Czech, which also reflects on the increased interest to study and analyse them. Further, the proficiency by native and non-native speakers of these languages is tightly connected with themastering of collocations.

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Comparison of English Present Perfect and German Perfekt

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Abstract: This paper compares the English Present Perfect tense and the German Perfekt tense from the perspective of their uses and typical grammatical environments. The analysis considers both theoretical grammar manuals in the two languages as well as results of the analysis of data gained from German translations of English books and film dialogues. The paper employs Comrie's division of Perfect types, namely the continuative, the experiential, the resultative and the recent past functions, arguing that the only point where English and German partly overlap is the resultative use of the Perfect. The paper further mentions different motivations for tense distributions in both languages.

Keywords: tense system; aspect; present perfect; Perfekt; past simple; Präteritum; English; German

1. Introduction

This paper aims to compare the use of the English Present Perfect tense (1a) and the German Perfekt (1b), which is its superficially similar counterpart.

(1)   a.   *I have studied.*
       b.   *I habe studiert.*

The study tries to ascertain to what extent these two tenses are similar, i.e., have similar meaning, use and distribution. The study is predominantly based on contrasting grammar theories presented in well-established grammar manuals in both languages and on the findings gained from the analysis of parallel texts in English and German, encompassing prose texts and film dialogues.[1] This analysis will not consider examples in the progressive aspect since it is assumed that the presence of this aspect does not have any influence on the results of the analysis. The investigation will be carried out from an English language perspective, i.e., English utterances are considered as default, and the analysis examines the variation in their German counterparts.[2]

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1. Texts used for analysis are selected chapters from Rushdie (1999), Thackeray (2003), Scott (1998), Stevenson (1993) and Swift (2004) and film dialogues from *American Beauty* (2000), *Bridget Jones's Diary* (2004) and *Forrest Gump* (2001), and their German translations.

2. This paper draws upon the contrastive analysis of the temporal systems in English and German carried out in the author's master's thesis, "Expressing Past States and Actions in English and German: Comparison of Tenses" (2009).

2. ENGLISH PRESENT PERFECT

Based on Comrie's traditional division (1976), Huddleston and Pullum (2002) point out that the use of the Present Perfect can be divided into four basic functions: *the continuative Perfect, the experiential Perfect, the resultative Perfect* and *the recent past*. The first function, *the continuative Perfect*, exemplified in (2), means that the Present Perfect refers to past actions and states stretching from a point in the past to the present. This type is combined with the compatibility of the tense with the prepositions *since* and *for*.

(2)   *He could have been here ever since.*

Another type, namely *the experiential Perfect* (3), frequently accompanied by the adverbials *ever* and *never*, denotes the meaning of experience gained up to the present time.

(3)   *This is the worst book I have ever read.*

The resultative Perfect expresses the result of a past action for the present situation, i.e., referring to the example (4), the activity of *losing the keys* results in the state that the speaker does not have the keys at the moment of speaking.

(4)   *I have lost my keys.*

The last prototypical use of the Present Perfect exemplified in (5) is to denote *the recent past*, which is often supported by adverbials *recently, just, already,* etc.

(5)   *I have just finished the article.*

Although these functions apparently overlap to a certain extent, still, this division is applied in the analysis. It must be stressed that the English Present Perfect canonically does not denote actions and states that are perceived by the speaker to fully belong to the past time sphere (as this is the sphere of the Past Simple), which leads to the incompatibility of the Present Perfect with temporal adverbials explicitly anchoring an event in the past such as *yesterday, a moment ago, in 2002*, etc.

3. GERMAN PERFEKT

Traditional German grammar books, including Helbig and Buscha (2001), maintain that the German Perfekt has two uses; namely *the Perfekt expressing a result* (in German *Perfekt mit dem resultativem Charakter*) and *the Perfekt denoting a past event* (in German *Perfekt zur Bezeichnung eines vergangenes Geschehens*).[3] The first use of the Perfekt, *the Perfekt expressing a result*, seems to have retained some inherent features of *the perfective aspect* (such as *relevance for the present, completeness and a resultative character*), so when a speaker wants to express a result of a past action, the Perfekt is obligatory in German, i.e., example (6) implies that the child is asleep now.

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3. German terminology translated by the author.

(6) *Das Kind ist eingeschlafen.*

The other type of the German Perfekt is *the Perfekt denoting a past event.* In the English tense system, the above mentioned inherent features of *the perfective aspect* seem to be essential and exploited to a great extent, whereas in German, the situation is different. According to Welke (2005), *the perfective effects* are being neutralized in German, and the Perfekt is becoming semantically similar to the Präteritum (i.e., the past tense). As a result of this, the two tenses are interchangeable in many occurrences, as shown in examples (7 a–b), which are synonymous.

(7) a. *Sie arbeitete gestern den ganzen Tag.*
     b. *Sie hat gestern den ganzen Tag gearbeitet.*

This interchangeability is, however, restricted by several factors influencing the distribution of the two tenses, namely the Perfekt and the Präteritum. According to German grammar manuals, one of the most significant factors is the discourse. The Perfekt has a tendency to appear in dialogues, whereas the Präteritum is frequent in monologues and narratives. Another factor that might result in favouring one of the tenses over the other is the pronunciation of the verb form, particularly its smoothness. Therefore the form *du hast geschossen* is certainly preferred to *du schossest.* Furthermore, regional differences play an important part in tense distribution. According to Fabricius-Hansen (2005), the use of the Präteritum in spoken language is gradually declining, mainly in South German Dialects, and is being replaced by the Perfekt. The exceptions are modal verbs and the auxiliaries *sein* and *haben*, which resist this tendency and appear in the Präteritum.

4. Confrontation of the Two Systems

This part of the study focuses on the use and distribution of the English Present Perfect and the German Perfekt. It compares theoretical concepts and confronts them with examples from the analysis of parallel texts in the two languages; the number of occurrences of the Present Perfect relevant for the analysis is thirty-five. The analysis of the corpus shows that the English Present Perfect may be conveyed into German by three tenses; namely the Präsens (i.e., the Present tense), the Perfekt, the Präteritum.[4] However, the distribution of the given tenses does not seem to be unsystematic and random but is at least partially based on the function of the tense.

4.1 Continuative Perfect

In utterances with the English Present Perfect having the continuative function, the two most frequent ways of conveying the tense into German is the Perfekt (8 a–b) and the Präsens (9 a–b). As the analysis shows, the German Perfekt is used in the continuative function, especially when combined with *seit.*

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4. The Plusquamperfekt (Pluperfect) also denotes past states and actions and thus could be an equivalent of the English Perfect, but since no case of this correspondence was found in the corpus, this tense will not be analyzed here.

(8) a.   *Man, I haven't listened to this album in years.*
     b.   *Die habe ich seit Jahren nicht mehr gehört.*

Contrary to English, German also uses Präsens for expressing the continuative function, i.e., for denoting actions and states that began in the past and have not been finished by the moment of speaking, as maintained by Helbig and Buscha (2001) in examples (9 a–b).

(9) a.   *This hasn't been marriage for years.*
     b.   *Das ist schon seit Jahren keine Ehe mehr.*

Moreover, this function may be expressed in German by the Präteritum, especially in combination with the verbs *sein* and *haben* (10 a–b) and in passive constructions, arguably for the purpose of preserving the simplicity of the verbal form.

(10) a.   *. . . a person, who you know, perhaps from personal reasons has been slightly overlooked professionally.*
     b.   *. . . eine Person, die vielleicht aus persöhnlichen Gründen beruflich etwas übersehen wurde.*

4.2 EXPERIENTIAL PERFECT

Apart from the continuative function, the Present Perfect can convey the experiential function. In English (especially British English), this function is reserved for the Present Perfect, and the corpus analysis demonstrates a prevailing tendency (80 percent of occurrences) to express this function with the Perfekt in German, such as in examples (11 a–b).

(11) a.   *I've never hit you.*
     b.   *Ich habe dich nie geschlagen.*

The reasons for such a tendency may be various. As Helbig and Busha (2001) maintain, the Perfekt is preferred in sentences with adverbs such as *schon, schon immer, schon oft, noch nie*, etc. According to the analysis carried out by Hauser-Suida and Hoppe-Beugel (1972), the adverbial *nie* seems to govern the Perfekt, and these linguists also add that similar behaviour might be traced with the adverbial *schon.* The reason for this quite strong tendency of preference of the Perfekt to the Präteritum might be the fact that German in this case resorts to the inherent properties of *the perfective aspect* in the same way that English does. However, this finding might be distorted by the fact that the Present Perfect in English appeared in the corpus predominantly in dialogues (not in narratives) due to the type of information it conveys. And as mentioned, German tends to favour the Perfekt in dialogues generally, regardless of the meaning expressed.

Besides the Perfekt, several utterances carrying the experiential function appeared in the Präteritum in parallel German texts. The use of the Präteritum was, however, connected predominantly with verbs dicenti and sentiendi, as illustrated in (12).

(12) a.   *That's the most outstanding answer I've ever heard.*
     b.   *Das ist die beste Antwort, die ich je hörte.*

Although the examples of Präteritum use were marginal in the corpus, they prove that the experiential function (in English expressed by the Present Perfect) is not reserved only for the Perfekt in German, and therefore, the tenses used for denoting the experiential function in English and German are not identical.

4.3 Resultative Perfect

In comparison with the previous uses of the tense, the analysis of *the resultative Perfect* and its German counterparts should be deemed exceptional, because taking into consideration the theoretical information outlined above, there should be a total correspondence in the use of the Present Perfect in English and the Perfekt in German as far as the resultative function is concerned. According to Helbig and Buscha (2001), the Perfekt, which describes past actions and states with the resultative character, is obligatory (13 a–b), and therefore cannot be replaced by the Präteritum.

(13) a. *I have lost something, but I'm not exactly sure what it is.*
      b. *Ich habe etwas verloren. Ich weiß nicht genau, was es ist.*

However, as far as the corpus data is concerned, the examples that clearly denote *the resultative Perfect* were not numerous enough to create a representative figure, especially due to the fact that this type of the Perfect is the least identifiable among the four functions.

4.4 Recent Past

The English Present Perfect also has a function of denoting the *recent past* or the *unspecified past.* Although German grammatical manuals neither operate with this term nor analyze the use of tenses in relation to this meaning, there is a significant preference (75 percent) of using the Perfekt for it, exemplified in (14 a–b).

(14) a. *Has she actually moved out, then?*
      b. *Is sie tatsächlich ausgezogen?*

This finding is, again, not fully reliable since the reason for a frequent Perfekt use might be the result of the overall preference of the Perfekt in German, and it might carry no relevance to its function. The proof that the Perfekt is not the only tense involved in the function of *recent past* in German is a considerable number of sentences in this function with the verb in the Präteritum, such as in (15 a–b).

(15) a. *Well, we've become very close.*
      b. *Wir kamen uns sehr nahe.*

5. Conclusion

Having compared the theoretical information with the corpus analysis, it is obvious that the English Present Perfect and the German Perfekt do not fully overlap in use, function or distribution. However, the analysis proved that there are at least some

similarities between the two tenses. The tenses seem to share some qualities in the field of the resultative (and partially experiential) function; in this case, German seems to exploit the inherent properties of *the perfective aspect* (for example *completeness, a resultative character*), which is suppressed in other uses or functions. In other cases, the distribution of the English Present Perfect and the German Perfekt seems to be driven by totally different principles in both languages. Whereas the distribution of English tenses apparently depends on grammatical reasons (i.e., the presence of various adverbials in a sentence), German tenses are influenced by the type of context (i.e., written versus spoken, narration versus dialogue), by the properties of a particular verb (semantic and phonetic qualities) or the potential complexity of a verb phrase (active versus passive). Furthermore, the use of the two tenses becomes even more divergent considering the diachronic and synchronic changes in both languages and the regional differences in both languages.

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Classification of the Verb *dare* in Modern English

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Abstract: The paper deals with the variety of English constructions containing the verb *dare*. It demonstrates that *dare* can appear in the typical contexts of a (primary) Modal as well as a standard lexical verb. When a lexical verb, *dare* can be followed by a bare infinitive *or* by a *to*-infinitive. In spite of the fact that there is no substantial semantic distinction between the various constructions containing *dare*, the paper demonstrates that once the formal classification of an individual use is chosen, the patterns are quite systematic and regular, comparable to other English verbs of the same kind. The individual lexical entry of *dare* is not irregular or idiosyncratic but follows all the expected properties of its respective classes.

Keywords: English *dare*; auxiliary verbs; modal verbs; lexical verbs; inversion

1. Introduction

The English verb *dare* appears in three distinguishable constructions. The example (1) below shows them labelled as A, B and C. Notice that the A-form of the verb *dare* in (1) does not have the agreement morphology *–s*, which is overtly present in the B and C-forms. On the other hand, the A and B-forms of the verb *dare* are followed by a bare infinitive, which makes them distinct form the C-form of the verb *dare*.[1]

(1)   A.   i.   *Only John **dare** <u>enter</u> the house alone.*
          ii.   **John **dare** <u>enter</u> the house alone.*
       B.   *(Only) John **dares / will dare** <u>enter</u> the house alone.*
       C.   *(Only) John **dares / will dare** <u>to enter</u> the house alone.*

Quirk et al. (1985) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002) are representative grammar manuals that summarise the more or less traditional (descriptive and structuralist) framework. Both studies notice the variety of patterns of the verb *dare*, and they classify it as (a) one of the Modals, (b) a lexical ('full', 'regular') verb and (c) a blend (mixed) variety.[2] I will demonstrate this traditional classification, first concentrating on the lexical versus non-lexical distinction.

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1. The focus particle *only* in (1Ai) licenses negative polarity items (i.e., its usage is restricted to nonaffirmative contexts such as negatives, interrogatives and related structures). The ungrammatical (1Aii) shows that its presence is required for the acceptability of A-form *dare*. See also section 3.4.

2. In Quirk and Duckworth (1968) the reader can find a list of mid-20th century grammarians including J. Ellinger, O. Jaspersen, G. Mulder, W. Sattler, A. E. H. Swaen, R. W. Zandwoort, and others who discuss the idiosyncrasy of *dare* in a diachronic perspective, pointing out also the stylistic values of different forms.

2. Diagnostics for Lexical versus Non-lexical Verbs

Asking a student about the distinction(s) between lexical and non-lexical verbs in English, one can usually hear something about the distinction in meaning, expressed with words like "full meaning" contrary to "partial/secondary/complementary/no meaning." However, given that the lexical and non-lexical verbs *dare* are both standard morphemes and that morphemes must have a meaning by definition, it would follow that the lexical and non-lexical verbs should each have a kind of meaning of their own. It is not easy to measure the meaning to draw a clear line between the "full" meaning and the "partial/secondary/complementary" one, and consequently an explanation based on this distinction does not stand up to many empirical tests. Moreover, to concentrate on the distinction between lexical and non-lexical verbs in terms of meaning makes one wonder why students of grammar are not taught to distinguish also, e.g., English verbs of eating from the verbs of sleeping or running, given that all these have even more clearly distinct meanings.

The English verb *dare* is a good example of a verb that does not show any big variety in meaning, but all the grammarians are aware of the fact that it should be classified as either lexical or non-lexical. It demonstrates an obvious fact that the distinction between lexical and non-lexical verbs is not discussed in grammar in order to contemplate the richness of the meanings expressible in the English language (which are infinite), but to point out a crucial *formal* distinction between the ways verbs are used in a sentence – namely which kind of regular *structures* they are able to form. This fact is obvious but unfortunately often not made explicit in the instructions and descriptions of students' grammar manuals. To restrict or attribute the distinction in form to meaning is not a traditional grammar approach; it is a bad grammar approach, because it has no descriptive adequacy, it cannot stand up to testing, and therefore it has no scientific value.[3]

To relate terminology to some testable formal properties, we can refer to the short list of diagnostics given in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 92–102). The authors specify the properties of auxiliary (non-lexical) verbs, contrasting them with the lexical ones, and their diagnostics are usually cited under the acronymic abbreviation NICE. In the following paragraphs I will show the behaviour of the A-C varieties of the verb *dare* with respect to the NICE criteria.

(i) Negation: Consider the distribution of the English clausal negation in the form of the bound suffix *-n't*. Only non-lexical verbs (and the copula) can be followed by *n't* in standard Modern English (ModE). In contrast, lexical Verbs require *do*-support (the periphrastic form of negation). The data in (2) demonstrate that only the non-inflected A-form of the verb *dare* can be classified as non-lexical, while the B/C forms behave as

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3. Maybe the reason for classification based on meaning is a kind of attempt to help foreign students to learn the list of English non-lexical verbs so that they can then use them properly. If so, such an attempt is condemned to failure, and in reality students have to memorise the exact list anyway.

lexical Verbs. The examples are complemented by structurally similar Verbs: *must/will* for the A-type and *go/try* for the B/C types.[4]

(2)   A.   *John daren't / mustn't (*to) enter the house alone.*   (BNC:24)
      B.   i.   **John daresn't enter the house alone.*   (BNC:0)
           ii.   *John doesn't / won't dare / go enter the house alone.*   (BNC:36)
      C.   i.   **John daresn't to enter the house alone.*   (BNC:0)
           ii.   *John doesn't / won't dare / try to enter the house alone.*   (BNC:4)

(ii) Inversion: Interrogative sentence patterns provide another diagnostic distinguishing lexical and non-lexical verbs in ModE. The examples in (3) confirm the observation made above, namely that it is only the A-form of the verb *dare* which behaves as non-lexical.[5]

(3)   A.   *Dare / Must John (*to) enter the house alone?*   (BNC:30/0)
      B.   i.   **Dares / Goes John enter the house alone?*   (BNC:0)
           ii.   *Does / Will John dare go enter the house alone?*   (BNC:1)
      C.   i.   **Dares / Tries John to enter the house alone?*   (BNC:0)
           ii.   *Does / Will John dare / try to enter the house alone?*   (BNC:3)

(iii) Code / Ellipsis: These are terms that describe the behaviour of the English lexical and non-lexical verbs in a variety of elliptical contexts. The structures are represented here by Question Tags in (4a) below, short YES/NO answers in (4b) below, and Questions of surprise (the speaker-listener's exchange) in (4c) below. The general distinction between lexical and non-lexical verbs, in fact predictable based on the patterns for negation and question formation as demonstrated in (2) and (3) above, can be summarised as follows: All non-lexical verbs appear in those constructions, while the lexical ones are not present and the structure exhibits the Auxiliary *do* instead.[6]

(4)   a.   A.   *None of them dare enter the house, dare he?*
                B/C. *None of them dares (to) enter the house, *dares he?/ does he?*
      b.   A.   *Dare he not enter the house alone?*   – *No, he daren't.*
                B/C. *Does he not dare (to) enter the house alone?*   – **No, he daresn't.*
                                                                  – *No he doesn't.*
      c.   A.   *He dare not enter the house alone.*   – *Dare he?*
                B/C. *He dares (to) enter the house alone.*   – **Dares he?/ Does he?*

Another construction that can be grouped among the elliptic contexts is the structure which follows the positive/negative formatives *so/neither*. The distinction between the

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4. The numbers in the brackets after the examples give the number of occurrences in BNC of the *dare* form combined with the non-specific *(s)he* subject. See also the Appendix.
5. The number of occurrences in BNC is given for both polar and WH question types and *(s)he* subjects. For individual occurrence see the Appendix.
6. I use a negative clause in (4a) because the A-type of *dare* is a negative polarity item. As for the corpus results, see Appendix.

A-form of the verb *dare,* which behaves as non-lexical, and the lexical B/C forms is again confirmed.[7]

(5)   A.   *I dare not enter the house alone and neither dare anyone else.*
        B/C. i.   *I often dare (to) enter the house alone and * so dares John.*
                                  – and so does John.
              ii.   *I don't often dare (to) enter the house alone and *neither dares John.*
                                  – and neither does John.

In conclusion, the English verb *dare* can appear in all the structures typical for both lexical and non-lexical verbal patterns. When lexical, it appears in two forms: one can be followed by a bare infinitive and the other by a *to*-infinitive. I will discuss all the forms separately in the following sections.

3. DARE AS A MODAL

According to Quirk et al. (1985, 135) the A-type of *dare* can be (together with *need, ought to, used to*) labelled as a marginal Modal, i.e., as a verb closely resembling the central Modals. In the preceding Section 2, I gave most of the characteristics typical for many ModE non-lexical (Auxiliary) verbs.

(6)   a.   Auxiliaries/Modals can take the bound negative morpheme *−n't,*
        b.   Auxiliaries/Modals invert in questions,
        c.   Auxiliaries/Modals represent the predicate in elliptic contexts.[8]

The above properties are those that ModE primary Modals share with ModE primary Auxiliaries.[9] Apart from (6), however, there are some properties that make the two groups distinct. Those are

(7)   a.   Modals lack most paradigmatic inflection,
        b.   Modals occupy a unique, initial position in the morpho-syntactic template
               of the English predicate (i.e., they precede the other Auxiliaries),
        c.   primary Modals subcategorize for a bare infinitive,
        d.   Modals modify the thematic frames of the lexical verb predicates.

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7. All the examples in (4/5) can be used as counterarguments for another typical answer the students are ready to give when asked about the distinction between lexical and non-lexical verbs: Namely that '*lexical verbs, given that they have their own meaning, can be used in separation, while non-lexical verbs only accompany (modify) the lexical one.*' The examples (4/5) clearly demonstrate that the reality is close to the contrary: those are structures in which non-lexical verb not only can, but in fact must be used without lexical ones.

8. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 108) give a more complex list as follows: (A) primary verb negation, (B) Subject Auxiliary inversion, (C) emphatiac polarity, (D) ability to strand, (E) no *do*-Support, (F) pre-adverbial position, (G) negative forms (as in [6a] above) and (H) reduced forms. For simplicity, I restricted the examples in section 2 to a simple version of NICE only.

9. According to Quirk et al. (1985, 135), the English primary Auxiliaries are *do/be/have*, and the primary Modals (primary modal Auxiliaries) are *can, could, may, might, shall, should, will/'ll, would/'d, must.*

The following sections summarise the properties that locate the non-lexical *dare* in the group of ModE Modals.

3.1   Morphology of Modals

ModE primary Modals have developed a non-inflected format ("primary forms" only, as labelled in Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 108)). Therefore, in my examples of the Modal *dare* (the A-type) I did not use the form *dares*. The lack of the agreement morpheme −*s* can be demonstrated also in combination with other properties of the ModE Modals.

Considering the negation criterion mentioned in (2), the form *daresn't* should be excluded if −*s* is not possible with Modals, and I found no occurrence of *daresn't* in the BNC and neither did the form *dares* ever invert. (For the BNC data see APENDIX.)

As for another bound inflection morphology productive with ModE Verbs, take the −*ed* past tense morpheme. Some ModE primary Modals resist it (**musted*), while others still use it (*could/ couldn't, would/ wouldn't*) though in somewhat different contexts. With *dare*, the archaic form *dorste/ durst* have a modern counterpart in the form *dared* and this form is relatively frequent.[10] Therefore, in itself, the presence of the −*ed* morpheme does not signal the modal characteristics, as mentioned also in, e.g., the limited survey of uses of *dare* in Quirk and Duckworth (1968).[11]

Looking for the combination of the morpheme −*ed* with negation, Quirk and Duckworth (1968) illustrate a negated form *dared not* + bare infinitive. However, they do not give a precise analysis of the position of the negation *not,* which can in principle be structurally grouped either with the Modal or with the following bare infinitive. The purely Modal form *daren't* + bare infinitive did not occur in their data at all, and I found no occurrences of *daredn't* in the BNC either. The typical 'modal' characteristics of inflected *dared* therefore cannot be proven by the simultaneous presence of the −*n't* morpheme.[12]

On the other hand, combining the morphological criterion with inversion, the relevant ungrammatical example (8a) has already been demonstrated in (3B) for *dares*. The corpus results for *dared* given in (8b) show that the −*ed* morphology does not follow the pattern of the −*s* morphology.

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10. As the Appendix shows, there were 60 samples of *(s)he dared* in the BNC, both bare and with *to*-infinitive.

11. For more discussion of the form *dared* see also Quirk et al. (1985, 138). As for the BNC, it gives 255 entries for *dared* followed by a bare infinitive (which could be ambiguous between the A- and B-types of *dare*) and 95 for the *dared* with *to*-infinitive (i.e., of the C-type). Such statistics, however, do not confirm any analysis.

12. One may explain the lack of the form *daredn't* (and *daresn't*) by a ModE specific rule prohibiting the sequence of two productive inflectional morphemes (**−+infl+infl*). However, the acceptability of the forms *doe-s+n't / di-d+n't / woul-d+n't / shoul-d+n't / coul-d+n't* etc. makes such a claim problematic. To avoid analysis claiming the presence of two inflectional morphemes in *doesn't / didn't / wouldn't / shouldn't / couldn't* it is necessary to either analyse the ModE −*n't* morpheme as a non-inflectional kind of (a contraction) suffix or to take the forms *does/did/should/would* for supletive, i.e., not containing any (synchronically productive) inflection −*s/-ed*. The latter claim would explain the lack of *daredn't/ daresn't* forms, but it would miss an explanation for the contrast in inversion of *dares/dared* mentioned in (8). Therefore, I am going to leave the problem unsolved here.

(8) a. *Dares he enter the house alone?*   (BNC:0)
     b. *Dared he (*to) enter the house alone?*   (BNC:57/0)

Also Quirk and Duckworth (1968) show a few examples of the form *dared* inverted after a fronted negator (*neither dared I* + bare infinitive). Though I did not find an example of this structure in the BNC, their data suggest that the form *dared* is not restricted to the lexical *dare* but can also be analysed as a Modal.

   Summarising the discussion about morphology, we can see that

(9) a. The presence of the *–n't* correlates with bare infinitive.
     b. The presence of the *–s* correlates with *to*-infinitive.
         The absence of *–s* correlates with *–n't* and inversion and bare infinitive
     c. The presence of *–ed* morpheme can correlate with inversion.

In other words: with *dare,* the morpheme *– n't* signals Modal, and the morpheme *–s* signals Lexical Verb. Therefore, with respect to the morphological format, the Modal *dare* is well within the range of other English primary Modals - it resists the subject agreement *–s,* which is typical for the lexical Verbs and allows the negation morpheme *–n't* and the past *–ed.*

3.2   Initial Position of Modals and their Subcategorisation

In (10) to follow, the verb *dare* is combined with a primary Modal. All NICE tests signal that in (10a) the initial position is occupied by *will / must / can / could / should.* The example of *dare* in (10a) must be an example of a lexical *dare* (the B-type), which can also be supported by the fact that the structures in (10a) are acceptable in positive, affirmative contexts.

(10) a. *He will / must / can / could / should dare (to) come.*   (BNC: 46/50)
     b. **He dare will / must / can / could / should not come.*   (BNC: 0)

(10b) demonstrates that the order in (10a) is not optional. It demonstrates that a typical ModE primary Modal occupies a unique position that precedes Auxiliaries/ lexical Verbs. (10b) therefore confirms the claim that *dare* in (10a) can only be the lexical B-type of *dare.*

   As for a subcategorisation typical for ModE Modals, (11) shows that the Modal *dare* (as any other ModE primary Modal) has a unique subcategorisation for a bare infinitive only, in both present and past forms.

(11) a. *He dare / must (*to) say nothing (*saying nothing / *no book).*
     b. *He dare / must (*to) have said nothing.*

3.3   Thematic Frames

Another characteristic of Modals mentioned in (7d) concerns the interpretative specificity of Modals in terms of thematic roles of their arguments (argument selection).

Generally non-lexical verbs are expected not to have their own arguments and not to influence the thematic frame (valency) of the following verb either. In the examples (12) below, the selection of Agent (= *John*) and Patient (=*the book*) of the verb *read* is the same regardless the presence or absence of the Auxiliaries *do/be/have*: no other argument can be added or omitted either syntactically or semantically.

(12) a.   *John reads that book every evening.*
      b.   *John does read that book every evening.*
      c.   *John is reading that book every evening.*
      d.   *John has read that book every evening.*

(13) show that the presence of Auxiliaries does not influence the (re)distribution of arguments in, e.g., passivisation.

(13) a.   *John reads / is reading / has read the book.*
      b.   *The book is / is being / has been read by John.*

Central Modals, contrary to Auxiliaries, are however not vacuous with respect to semantic roles. Using a Modal (especially a deontic usage) introduces into the scene a concept of authority which is added to the thematic roles of the following predicate. In the example (14), the selection of Agent (= *John*) and Patient (=*the book*) of the verb *read* is kept as in (12), but apart from these two thematic roles the interpretation contains a concept of authority (external or internal) which prohibits, allows, or conflicts with/ intervenes in the event in some other way (usually via the doer of the action).

(14) a.   *John must not read that book.* = Something/-body prevents him
      b.   *John can not read that book.* = Something/-body disallows him
      c.   *John dare not read that book.* = Something/-body disallows or prevents him

Moreover, though passivisation 'across' the Modals and the re-distribution of arguments is standard, the interpretation of (15a) is not the same as in (15b) – the authority intervenes with respect to the argument appearing in the position of subject, i.e., *John* in (15a) and *Mary* in (15b).[13]

(15) a.   *John must / dare not contact / introduce Mary.*
      b.   *Mary must / dare not be contacted / introduced by John.*

The examples in (14/15) demonstrate the priority of formal over purely semantic classification especially for such vague terms as "full lexical" versus "partial/ secondary/ no" meaning. If the examples (12/13) are ever used to argue that Auxiliaries do not change meaning, the same is clearly not true about (14/15), given that Modals do substantially change the interpretation even in terms of valency.

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13. More discussion of the criterion labelled 'independence of subject' appears in, e.g., Quirk et al. (1985, 126)

3.4   Negative Polarity

Another quite clear contrast between the Modal *dare* and the main verb *dare* concerns polarity. As mentioned repeatedly, the Modal *dare* (but not the lexical *dare*) requires a "negative" polarity context,[14] and this characteristic of the Modal *dare* is similar to the characteristic of another ModE Modal *need*.

(16)   a.   *He dare / need go.*
         b.   *He dare / need not go, dare / need he?*

The Modal *need* also has a double as a full lexical verb with a *to*-infinitive complement (the structure classified here as a C-type of *dare*), and like *dare*, when *need* is a lexical verb the polarity requirement is not present. The similarity is demonstrated in (17) in which the lexical *dare/need* is followed by an infinitive.[15]

(17)   a.   *He dares / needs to go, doesn't he?*
         b.   *He doesn't dare / need to go, does he?*

With respect to the formal characteristics, the Modal/verb *need* is therefore the closest equivalent of Modal/verb *dare*, and the similarity is suggested also by putting both the Modals in one group in, e.g., Quirk et al. (1985, 135), Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 118) or Duffley (1992).

Modals, however, are grammatical elements, and those elements are typically not identical. Therefore, looking more closely at the Modals *dare* and *need*, one can find distinctions as well. The first, most visible is the fact that the Modal *need* does standardly take a reduced form *−n't* of negation (*He needn't ever go.*)

Another distinction is that while *dare* appears in three forms (A, B, C-types demonstrated above), the examples (18) show that the verb *need* lacks the B-form usage with a bare infinitive.

(18)   A.   *We think that John dare / need not read that book.*
         B.   *We think that John may / will dare / *need read that book.*
         C.   *We think that John doesn't dare / need to read that book.*

Missing the 'blend/mixed' B-form, where the lexical characteristics of *need* is signalled by, e.g., word order (the position of the adverb *often* in example (19)), the bare infinitive is impossible with *need* but fully acceptable with (the B-type of) *dare*.

(19)   a.   *I (don't) often dare (to) enter the house alone.*
         b.   *I (don't) need *(to) enter the house alone.*

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14. As for the examples like (i) below, they are morphologically ambiguous, but because the context can be assertive, the B-type analysis is preferred. i. *I/ We/ They dare say what is true.*

15. Comparing the B and C-types of lexical *dare*, Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 110−11 and ft. 23) state statistically equal affirmative and non-affirmative contexts attested for the B-type *dare*, i.e., the one followed by a bare infinitive, and a high preference of the affirmative context for the C-type followed by a *to*-infinitive. I will leave more precise statistical analysis to others, assuming that both polarity contexts are grammatical for the lexical *dare* in English.

The paragraphs of Section 3 have demonstrated that when a primary Modal *dare* behaves like other primary Modals in English, it still keeps its own formal specificity, i.e., though similar, it is not identical with any other Modal, not even its closest syntactic relative the negative polarity Modal *need*.

I accept this characteristic as 'standard,' because to have unique characteristics is typical for all grammaticalised morphemes/ lexical entries (Emonds 2000, Chapter 3). Such elements are clusters of a small number of grammaticalised features only, and languages do not tolerate synonymy in this part of (grammaticalised) lexicon. Stylistic variations are more typical for the open class lexical entries (e.g., lexical Verbs), which apart from grammatical features contain also purely semantic features of unlimited number.

The forms introduced in (1) can therefore be classified as follows in (20).

(20) A = Modal   *Only John dare enter the house alone.*
      B = Lexical(i)   *(Only) John dares / will dare enter the house alone.*
      C = Lexical(ii)[16] *(Only) John dares / will dare to enter the house alone.*

4. *Dare* as a Lexical Verb

The syntactic patterns typical for a standard lexical Verb in English were illustrated in Section 2. They can be described in terms of the need for *do*-support, as demonstrated in all the B and C examples in (2)–(7), and listed in (21a–c).

(21) Lexical Verbs in English require the *do*-support, i.e., they
      a.   cannot take the bound negative suffix −*n't,*
      b.   do not invert in questions,
      c.   do not represent the predicate in elliptic contexts.

Apart from the NICE characteristics summarised in (21a-c), lexical Verbs in ModE have the following additional characteristics (22), also seen in (2)–(7):

(22) a.   Lexical Verbs have more or less standard 'verbal' paradigms,
      b.   when predicates, they can be preceded by non-lexical verbs, and
      c.   some of them can subcategorise for another V.

While (a) and (b) in (22) are uncontroversial properties of most regular lexical Verbs in English, the property in (22c) is related only to some of them and it deserves more attention.

Subcategorisations of lexical Verbs vary. There is no narrow categorial restriction on possible complements of these Verbs; many so called transitive Verbs in English, subcategorised for NP, can also select complements in the form of PP or with clausal

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16. According to the terminology used in Emonds (2000), the C-form of the Verb *dare* in (20Cii) is an open class lexical verb, while the B-form of the Verb *dare* in (20Bi) is a close class grammaticalised item with more idiosyncratic characteristics. This distinction is not discussed here.

alternates. There are also non-trivial groups of English Verbs which allow a single VP complement in the form of V(P), i.e., gerund or infinitive. As for its subcategorisation, the lexical verb *dare* belongs among the Verbs that select infinitives. I demonstrate some of them in (23/24).[17]

Given the characteristics of lexical Verbs in Section 2, the examples in (23) show examples of lexical Verbs requiring a bare infinitive and in (24) Verbs selecting a *to*-infinitive. Notice that the Verbs in (23) and those in (24) do not have much in common as for their meaning although they do share the formal subcategorisation.

(23) V, [— Vbare inf][18]
    a. *He often dare-s / help-s open that window.*
    b. *He didn't/will dare / go / come / help / open that window.*
    c. *He must have dared / helped / open that window.*
    d. *He was daring / helping / open that window.*

(24) V, [— V*to*-inf]
    a. *He often dare-s / want-s / intend-s to go.*
    b. *He didn't / will dare / intend / want to attend uninvited.*
    c. *He must have dared / wanted / intended to come late*
    d. *He was daring / intending / starting to enter the pool naked.*

As with many English Verbs, a VP in the form of infinitive can be in the position of the second complement/adjunct, i.e., following another (usually) NP object. The examples in (25/26) test whether the lexical *dare* belongs to this group as well.

(25) V, [— NP, Vbare inf]
    a. *She saw / made / had / helped / bid him go home alone.*
    b. **She dared him go home alone.*

(26) V, [— NP, Vto inf]
    I dared / wanted / asked / begged Mary to go home alone.

The acceptability judgements in (25/26) prove that with the verb *dare* the infinitive preceded by NP object must be a *to*-infinitive, i.e., only the C-type of *dare* as in (26)

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17. Some of the verbs listed in (23/24) have variable subcategorisation in the form of V, [— NP / — Vinf / — V-ing] but I will not discuss all these distinctions here because the verb *dare* has quite limited variation.
    i. *He dares (to) go / *a book / * reading a book.*
18. The group of ModE lexical verbs which allow/require a single VP complement in the form of a bare infinitive, as the B-form of *dare* does, is not large. Still, the B-form of *dare* is not a unique example of this sort, and the same bare infinitive complementation appears with some verbs of movement (especially in a colloquial style) and a few others as given in (23). Quirk et al. (1985, 139) suggest that the B-type of *dare,* the 'blend' type in his terminology, is accepted more in the AmE than in BrE, suggesting also that it follows from the 'rare' usage of *dare* in AmE. The same, however, is true about the verb *help* in AmE, which is not so rare, and still in AmE it is often followed by a bare infinitive.

selects an NP followed by infinitive. As for the B-type of *dare*, i.e., (25), though there are lexical Verbs in English which select the NP object + bare infinitive, the verb *dare* is not among them. The B-type of *dare* has a more restricted subcategorisation frame than the C-type.

In the introductory section of this paper, I argued that a random not-systematic approach to language data allows no generalisations. With no theoretical framework, the behaviour of the verb *dare* seems to appear in a number of unpredictable structures, some acceptable, others, very similar, ungrammatical. In sections 2–4 I demonstrated that a traditional framework, which uses a more or less detailed classification, allows us to distinguish all three kinds of *dare* as standard members of their respective classes. In this framework many descriptive generalisations and tendencies could be stated, although the more refined classification used, the less general properties for each individual item. When the classification became 'descriptively perfect,' each lexical element proved to be in fact rather unique.[19]

5. SUMMARY INCLUDING A NOTE ABOUT VARIATION

In this paper I have dealt with the variety of formal structures available for the English verb *dare,* arguing against non-systematic classifications based on flimsy interpretative distinctions. Although the variety and optionality of acceptable patterns might suggest some kind of individual unpredictable irregularity of the verb *dare*, I have argued that the verb *dare* can with no proviso be integrated into the existing system of English grammar.

Apart from the descriptive sections of this paper, which give the relevant paradigms and clarify the non-trivial classification in a more or less traditional framework, the apparently idiosyncratic behaviour of the verb *dare* is based entirely on the fact that the lexical entry can represent several (independently existing) lexical items, i.e., there are three homophonous lexical entries for *dare*:

(27) A.   *dare*, a primary Modal of negative polarity;
     B.   *dare*, a lexical verb V, [− NP, Vbare inf];
     C.   *dare*, a lexical verb V, [− NP, Vto inf].

When classified as in (27), no *dare* is irregular or idiosyncratic, but each follows all the expected properties of its class.

In their short paper addressing the past negative form of *dare* Quirk and Duckworth (1968) mention in passing that both the A-form and the B/C form of *dared* seem to co-exist for individual speakers. They show that in their informant group, several speakers chose both Modal (A-type) and lexical (B/C-type) forms in the same text. The authors

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19. Still, if the purpose of this study were to provide some practical recommendation to Czech teachers of English, one could certainly say that the C-type of *dare* is the 'easiest' since it is as regular as an English lexical verb can ever be. Using the C-type of *dare* in their active speech, the students could avoid making mistakes (though they would have to be ready to understand also many 'other' forms of *dare* as well).

explain the choice as a stylistic variation, with the modal usage getting more archaic and the lexical usage becoming more standard. The same authors, however, explicitly mention that no individual speaker produced both B and C-forms simultaneously, i.e., they suggest that individual speakers use the lexical verb *dare* only either with a bare or with a *to*-infinitive complementation.[20]

This distinction in variations can be explained by the class distinction proposed for the varieties of *dare* in terms of their positions. The distinction between the initial (pre-*n't*, pre-Negation, pre-short adverbs) position of the Modals and the right-hand-side position of the lexical Verb (post-*n't*-Negation, post-short adverbs) is the distinction of high priority in ModE with vital importance in the structure of a sentence. Lexical entries for both the classes (Modals and Verbs) exist independently of the existence of the verb *dare,* their positions are available synchronically and they are all frequently used by each English speaker simultaneously. Moreover, the primary Auxiliaries *have* and *do* also have their lexical counterparts, i.e., they typically occur in both positions. Therefore it is not difficult to add dual categorisation to the lexical entry of *dare* as well.

On the other hand, the distinction between the B and C forms, i.e., the distinction within one class, is between two kinds of lexical Verbs, the former showing characteristics of a grammaticalised item in being restricted to a unique subcategorisation. The process of grammaticalisation (i.e., of a lexical verb becoming a functional verb) is a diachronic process which can be signalled by a possible gradual loss of some (semantic) characteristics but becomes evident above all by a distinct syntax, e.g., a specific change of subcategorisation frame. However, subcategorisation frames of lexical Verbs are acquired individually, and once a lexical entry is acquired with a specific subcategorial frame, there would seem to be no big reason to modify it, especially if the interpretation distinction is minimal or perhaps non-existent. In any case, the level of grammaticalisation usually cannot be traced in an individual active (productive) dialect.

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20. Quirk and Duckworth (1968) give statistics for the usage of the negative past form, demonstrating the variation used by 55 student informants. The table summarising their data suggests that the usage of the B/C-forms ('lexical' V) is becoming more frequent and constitutes about 50% of the sample, leaving about the same amount to the apparently 'modal' usage of the A-form. Comparing the frequency with data from older statistics, the authors conclude that the 'modal' usage is getting more and more formal, while the lexical patterns are apparently losing their colloquial characteristic. The authors did not check the acceptability of the B and C-types of *dare* but only made statistics of the forms produced by their informants. The informants might well accept both forms as grammatical, but they did not use them during the test.

Appendix

British National Corpus (BNC), 100 million words in length (90 p.c. written and 10 p.c. spoken English). Both parts were checked using the search engine XAIRA.

	structure used for the query	BNC	in text above as example…
1.	(S)he + dare + bare inf	14	example (1)
2.	(S)he + dare + to-inf	0	example (1)
3.	(S)he + dares + bare inf	2	example (1)
4.	(S)he + dares + to-inf	3	example (1)
5.	(S)he + dared + bare inf	30	section 3.1
6.	(S)he + dared + to-inf	30	section 3.1
7.	(S)he + daren't + bare inf	24	example (2)A
8.	(S)he + daren't + to-inf	0	example (2)A
9.	(S)he + daresn't + bare inf	0	example (2)B
10.	(S)he + daresn't + to-inf	0	example (2)C
11.	(S)he + daredn't + bare inf	0	section 3.1
12.	(S)he + daredn't + to-inf	0	section 3.1
13.	(S)he + Mod/Aux+n't dare + bare inf	36	example (10)
14.	(S)he + Mod/Aux+n't dare + to-inf	4	example (10)
15.	(WH) + / Dare + (s)he + bare inf	25/5	example (3)A
16.	(WH) + / Dare + (s)he + to-inf	0/0	example (3)A
17.	(WH) + / Dares + (s)he + bare inf	0/0	example (3)B
18.	(WH) + / Dares + (s)he + to-inf	0/0	example (3)C
19.	(WH) + / Dared + (s)he + bare inf	45/12	example (8)
20.	(WH) + / Dared + (s)he + to-inf	0/0	example (8)
21.	(S)he Mod + dare + bare inf	46	example (10)
22.	(S)he Mod + dare + to-inf	50	example (10)
23.	(S)he dare + Mod + bare inf	0	example (10)
24.	(S)he dare + Mod + to-inf	0	example (10)

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CORPUS

The British National Corpus. 2007. Version 3 (BNC XML Edition). Distributed by Oxford University Computing Services on behalf of the BNC Consortium. http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/.

Subject-operator Inversion in Sentences with Fronted *only*

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ABSTRACT: This paper reports results of a corpus-based analysis of subject-operator inversion in sentences with fronted *only* in British English as represented by the British National Corpus. Sentences with sentence-initial *only* were examined, and the presence or absence of inversion was pondered with respect to the function of *only* in these sentences. Special attention was paid to the word order after *only* focusing a fronted adverbial element, where the usage is split between inverting and not inverting. It turns out that the most reliable criterion is the form of the adverbial: subject-operator inversion always occurs if the adverbial is expressed by an adverb phrase, prepositional phrase or a clause, and it does not occur if the adverbial is expressed by a noun phrase.

KEYWORDS: S-O inversion; fronting; sentence-initial *only*; scope of *only*; corpus analysis; BNC

1. Introduction

In English sentences with clausal/sentential negation, sentence-initial negative adverbials trigger subject-operator inversion. As Jacobsson (1986, 161) argues, "negative inversion serves a twofold purpose: syntactically, it brings about a closer connection between negative and verb (negative attraction or, more generally, connectedness); semantically, it has the effect of making the clause non-affirmative, thus eliminating the undesirable sequence negative opener + affirmative S-V." In sentences with local/constituent/partial negation, no S-O inversion occurs.

We can thus distinguish between 1a and 1b (see Rudanko 1982, 351):

(1) a. *With no job would John be happy.* ("there is no such job that John would be happy with")
     b. *With no job, John would be happy.* ("John would be happy if he were out of job")

While 1a with S-O inversion is a case of clausal/sentential negation (the scope of negation stretches over the whole sentence), 1b is a case of local/constituent/partial negation (the scope of negation only stretches over a phrase). Rudanko goes on to say that "the lack of an intonational break correlates with inversion, whereas the absence of inversion is compatible with an intonational break . . . . In writing, the intonational break can be indicated with a comma" (Rudanko 1982, 351).

The same seems to apply to sentence-initial *only* in the function of a restrictive focusing modifier.[1] While "*only* is not a marker of negation: *he has only seen her once*

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1. For this term, see Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 587).

. . . is a positive clause . . . , it has a close connection with negation, for such an example entails that he has not seen her more than once . . . . And this connection with negation is reflected in the fact that as far as inversion is concerned it behaves just like a negative" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 95–96). If the scope of *only* stretches over the whole sentence, the sentence has a negative entailment and inversion takes place, as in 2a. If the scope of *only* does not stretch over the whole sentence but only over its constituent, inversion does not take place, as in 2b:

(2)　a.　*Only two of them did he find useful.*
　　　b.　*Only a few days later, he moved to Bonn.*[2]

Sometimes, however, it is not quite clear how far the scope of *only* goes, or what the entailment is:

(3)　a.　**Only twice I went there.*
　　　b.　*Only twice did I go there.*

(4)　a.　*Only yesterday I went there.*
　　　b.　**Only yesterday did I go there.*

"In [3] *only* has a restrictive or negative meaning: roughly, the sentence means that the number of occasions on which I went there does not exceed two. By contrast, in [4] the meaning is 'as recently as'" (Rudanko 1982, 357),[3] that is, the whole sentence is positive. In Rudanko's own terms, "non-negative paraphrase necessarily blocks inversion." But 4a can just as well be interpreted as having a negative entailment "I did not go there before yesterday."

Quirk et al. (1985, 781) are not very helpful either: "if [only] focuses on a fronted initial element other than the subject, it may occasionally (but need not) take subject-operator inversion:"[4]

(5)　a.　*Only on Sundays do they eat with their children.*
　　　b.　*Only his mother will he obey.*
　　　c.　*Only his mother he will obey.* ['It's only his mother that he will obey.'][5]

This paper attempts to investigate factors influencing the S-O word order in sentences with fronted *only*, which would enable predicting the S-O inversion. Apart from the

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2. Examples 2a and 2b are taken from Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 96); example numbering is mine.
3. Rudanko's (1982, 357) examples (20) (a), (20) (b), (21) (a) and (21) (b) are quoted here as 3a, 3b, 4a and 4b respectively.
4. Examples 4a, 4b, and 4c are taken from Quirk et al. (1985, 781); example numbering is mine.
5. "*Only* is to some extent negative. When it focuses on a subject noun phrase, the latter is followed by nonassertive items: *Only two of us had any experience in sailing*" (Quirk et al. 1985, 781). Unlike noun phrases after *hardly,* however (*Hardly *some/ any of us had any experience in sailing*), "the noun phrase on which *only* focuses may contain an assertive item, but not a nonassertive item: *Only some/ *any of us had any experience in sailing*" (Quirk et al. 1985, 781n). Compare also the significant difference in frequency between *only few* (8 tokens) and *only a few* (1,765 tokens) in the BNC.

scope of *only* and a potential negative entailment, which, however, sometimes proves quite hard to define, there can be other relevant factors, such as

a. the syntactic function of the focused element (subject, object, adverbial)
b. the form of the element (type of phrase or clause)
c. the role of the element in the FSP of the sentence (is the element focused by *only* also the focus of the whole sentence?)[6]

In this pilot study, only the first two factors were systematically analyzed. Factors other than those connected with the focused element, such as the presence of certain tenses or some specific Mod/Aux, are not systematically examined in this paper either.

2. Methods

The methodology used was a corpus-based analysis. I was working with the XML edition of the British National corpus (BNC-XML) through the search engine Xaira. As the BNC is not a parsed corpus, *only* cannot be searched for in the position before a specific sentence element, only as a sentence-initial word. The Query Builder was used to do this, for spoken and written texts of the BNC separately.

As there are 7,000 sentences with sentence-initial *only* in BNC written texts and 756 sentences with sentence-initial *only* in BNC spoken texts, for each written and spoken part of the BNC, 500 sentences with sentence-initial *only* were randomly selected, downloaded and subjected to a systematic analysis. If more data were needed, they were downloaded through additional, more specific searches throughout the BNC.

3. Data Analysis

While the frequencies of sentences with sentence-initial *only* in written texts and in spoken texts of the BNC (7,000 and 756 respectively) seem to reflect the general proportion of words in BNC written and spoken texts (90 million and 10 million respectively), a closer analysis of the structure of these sentences reveals significant differences. Table 1 compares structures of sentences with sentence-initial *only* in spoken and written texts of the BNC. Table 1 shows that

A. in a large majority of sentences with sentence-initial *only* in spoken language either the subject or the finite verb is absent, which makes S-O inversion technically impossible. Very frequent are noun phrases (6a), preposition phrases (6b), standalone adverbial clauses (6c), and ellipses of subject (6d). Also sentences with the imperative were found (6e).

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6. Haegeman (2000) analyzes the difference between clausal negation (the fronted negative constituent causes S-O inversion) and constituent negation (with non-inverted S-O word order after a fronted negative constituent) in terms of topic-focus articulation: "The preposing of neg1 with inversion leading to sentential negation is an instance of focalization, while neg2-preposing without inversion and leading to a constituent negation is an instance of topicalization" (2000, 34).

TABLE 1: STRUCTURE OF SENTENCES WITH SENTENCE-INITIAL *ONLY*
IN SPOKEN AND WRITTEN TEXTS OF THE BNC

	number of sentences with sentence-initial *only*	elliptical sentences (either the subject or the finite verb is missing) or imperatives	*only* followed by subject	*only* followed by fronted adverbial	*only* followed by fronted object
spoken texts	756; analyzed 500	415	72	12	1
written texts	7,000; analyzed 500	48	321	131	0

(6) a. *Only one bedroom?* [F82 82]
     b. *Only for fun.* [KBH 4082]
     c. *Only cos he wants to snog.* [KPH 1092]
     d. *Only moved there last month or so Doctor.* [FXH 184]
     e. *Only look what I've er* [KB7 677]

These structures can be found also in written language, but much less often (48 tokens out of 500):

(7) a. *Only a thousand pounds a week, yacht included.* [AC2 1312]
     b. *Only don't say I didn't warn you.* [GUK 3558]

B. sentences with sentence-initial *only* followed by the subject are much more common in written than in spoken language. No inversion can take place since no sentence element is fronted. Further analysis reveals that sentence-initial *only* occurs here not only in the function of a restrictive focusing modifier,[7] but also in the function of an adversative conjunct meaning "except that," "but," which is marked in the 7th edition of the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* as "informal." This is very common if the subject is a personal pronoun (e.g., 8a, 8b). In spoken language the far most common is the 1st person singular personal pronoun (30 tokens of the 72, e.g., 8c):

(8) a. *Only he never turned up, did he?* [CB 2627]
     b. *Only it wasn't a wild animal he was hunting, it was her.* [H7W 1373]

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7. It may focus either on the subject (*Only a non-economist could ask* [CRC 2497]), or its part (*Only the final (approved) version will be returned to the Main Database, other versions will be abandoned* [EAU 223]), or some other sentence element (*Only I have closed the shop for siesta, and I wanted to talk to you about my husband* [JYA 3157]). This last usage is often mentioned in linguistic literature: "When *only* precedes the focus and the latter is contained within the VP, *only* is commonly non-adjacent, functioning syntactically as modifier to the whole VP [*We only found one mistake*] . . . . There is a long-standing prescriptive tradition of condemning this construction and saying that in writing *only* should be placed immediately before its focus . . . . This is another of those well known prescriptive rules that are massively at variance with actual usage" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 590).

    c.   *Only I won't be around to live to see it.* [KB7 11227][8]

C. fronting a non-subject element modified by *only* is far more frequent in written language than in spoken language. After all, grammar books often note that this kind of fronting happens "in formal style."[9] My analysis revealed that in spoken language this kind of fronting is more common in the context governed texts, i.e., in radio broadcasts, or in public encounters rather than in spontaneous conversations among friends. However, my analysis also revealed that if such fronting does occur in spoken language (in 13 of the 500 sentences analyzed), sentence-initial *only* triggers inversion as it does in written language. The remaining part of this paper will analyze these sentences with fronted non-subject sentence members as the focus of *only* in greater detail.

3.1   Fronted object

There is no sentence with a fronted direct object among the randomly selected 500 sentences with sentence-initial *only* in BNC **written** texts, and only one sentence (9a) with a fronted prepositional object. S-O inversion is used. Though the source is a book from the domain "world affairs,"[10] reference is clearly made to the New Testament:

(9)   a.   *Only to St Peter had the plenitude of power thus been given.* [HPW 94]

In the sample of **spoken** language, there is one sentence with a fronted direct object. The speaker is a 53-year-old housewife from North-West Midlands and S-O inversion is not used:

(9)   b.   (*Aunty Emma had children but she miscarried didn't she?*) *Only one she had that's all.* [KSS 1136]

Apparently, the data analyzed do not provide enough examples to allow for any serious conclusions about the frequency of S-O inversion after the fronted direct or prepositional object as the focus of *only*.

3.2   Fronted adverbials

There are 130 tokens of fronted adverbials as the focus of *only* in the sample of written language and 12 in the sample of spoken language. These appear to be the most problematic cases as S-O inversion sometimes occurs and sometimes not. I paid attention to the form of the fronted adverbial, i.e., whether the adverbial is expressed by a clause, prepositional phrase, adverb phrase, or noun phrase.

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  8. In the 500 sentence sample of written language, there are even four tokens of sentence-initial *only that* (e.g., *Only that I've heard it before* [HWN 2872]), and it might be of interest that its Czech literal equivalents *jenomže* and *jenže* also function as conjuncts with adversative meanings.

  9. "In formal style, the negative element may be moved out of its usual position to the initial position, in which case subject-operator inversion is often required" (Quirk et al. 1985, 779).

10. Sayers, Jane E. 1993. *Innocent III: Leader of Europe, 1198–1216.* London: Longman.

3.2.1 THE FRONTED ADVERBIAL IS AN ADVERBIAL CLAUSE

Table 2 presents frequencies of individual conjunctions in fronted adverbial clauses as the focus of *only* in the sample of **written** language in the BNC.

TABLE 2: FREQUENCY OF FRONTED ADVERBIAL CLAUSES AS THE FOCUS OF *ONLY* IN THE SAMPLE OF WRITTEN LANGUAGE IN THE BNC

conjunction introducing the adverbial clause	S-O inversion in the main clause	no S-O inversion in the main clause
when	19	0
if	6	1
after	3	0
once	2	0
as	1	0
as long as	1	0
where	1	0
total	**33**	**1**

From Table 2 it follows that in the sample of **written** language the fronted adverbial clause introduced by *only* causes S-O inversion in 33 sentences (e.g., 10a and 10b) out of 34, that is to say, S-O inversion is clearly dominant. Most of these clauses are temporal clauses, and it might be argued that they have negative entailments (*only when* = "not before"), well expressed with the Czech negative particle *teprve*.

(10) a. *Only when that topic is fully discussed can you sit back and think "what next?" and move on to the next paragraph.* [FEU 1654]
   b. *Only if you do that will you be able to say with confidence that I am wrong.* [A08 1374]

In 10c, the only sentence with no inversion, *only* focuses on an *if* clause, and arguably the scope of *only* is blocked by the conjunction *then*:

(10) c. *Only if the module is of type package then the auto DC assessment flag may be updated.* [HWF 8154]

In the sample of **spoken** language, no sentence with *only* focusing on a fronted adverbial clause was found.

3.2.2 THE FRONTED ADVERBIAL IS A PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE (PP)

Also here S-O inversion clearly dominates. Of the 500 sentences introduced by *only* in **written** language, there are 34 sentences with a fronted PP with S-O inversion and three with no inversion. Inversion always occurs after *only* followed by prepositional phrases with *by* (four tokens), *at* (two tokens), and *during* (two tokens), *on, over, up, through* (one token each), and it is very likely to occur after *only* focusing on PPs with *in* (17 tokens) and *with* (three tokens), as in 11a and 11b:

(11) a. *Only in more recent years have our dietary habits changed.* [FEX 813]
    b. *Only with its abolition will unemployment fall and prosperity return.* [CBC 6202]

In the three sentences with no S-O inversion (12a, 12b, and 12c), arguably, *only* is rather a conjunct than a restrictive focusing modifier:

(12) a. *Only with her, it was still very much an ongoing thing.* [F9C 1330]
    b. *Only in this case you decided that putting an old lady out of her home would be a suitable gesture' Lucy said scathingly.* [HHB 2301]
    c. *'It's about your father.' – 'What about him?' 'He's dead, Anna — murdered.' Anna stood motionless, potato in one hand, knife in the other. There was nothing she could say, nothing she could think because she felt nothing. Only in her mind's eye she saw the image of her father, rather big, fleshy, with bulging expressionless eyes.* [HWP 1089]

In the sample of **spoken** language, there are four sentences with fronted PPs as the focus of *only*. S-O inversion was used in two of them, 13a and 13b:

(13) a. *Only in i i in in exceptional circumstances, and I do mean absolutely exceptional circumstances, would we even consider going to Ingleston!* [FX5 127]
    b. *Only with a Labour government can we ensure the N H S will be safe and secure.* [H4A 13]

In 13c with no S-O inversion *only* is an adversative conjunct, 13d is a response to a previous affirmative statement:

(13) c. *Only in the end it isn't an ordinary fox, it's a thought fox.* [JSU 264]
    d. *those are far more expensive then buying Oxos. – Only at the moment they are, in time they won't be, Paul stop swinging* [KP1 3602]

3.2.3 The fronted adverbial is an adverb phrase (AdvP)

Again, S-O inversion is the default. In the sample of **spoken** language, S-O inversion was always used after a fronted adverb as the focus of *only* (14a and 14b):

(14) a. *Only then can we begin to repair the damage caused since the Tories came to power.* [HLU 293]
    b. *Only then, they say, will more of us get the chance to taste their brew.* [KRM 2621]

In the sample of **written** language, there are 38 sentences with S-O inversion, and four with no S-O inversion. Inversion occurs after *only then* (18 tokens, e.g., 15a), *only once* (five tokens, e.g., 15b), and *only recently* (three tokens), after *only afterwards* (15c), *only thereafter*, *only considerably later*, *only very rarely*, *only gradually*, *only dimly* and *only thus* (one token of each).

(15) a. *Only then could she really afford to relax.* [JXS 1894]
    b. *Only once did our guests mutiny and that was when I served up pastry soup.* [CES 639]
    c. *Only afterwards did she realize how foolish her request sounded.* [AOU 2378]

S-O inversion almost exclusively comes after *only occasionally.* There are 22 tokens with S-O inversion in all written texts of the BNC (e.g., 16a) and just one without inversion (16b):

(16) a. *Only occasionally will a movement throw up interesting solutions to everyday design.* [CD6 1801]
      b. *Only occasionally he would say something that struck with a vague sense of warning, like the sudden, cold wind that blows along the ground just before a change in the weather.* [HH9 1424]

S-O inversion is also very likely to occur after *only now.* In all the written texts of the BNC there are 34 sentences with S-O inversion after *only now* (e.g., 17a), and though the number of sentences with no inversion after *only now* is not negligible either (15 in all written texts of the BNC, e.g., 17b), in most of these cases *only* is not a restrictive focusing modifier but an adversative conjunct (17b).

(17) a. *Only now do I realise my series of mistakes.* [CHA 3816]
      b. *Only now there's a profit.* [C85 1556]

Neither in 17c is *only* a restrictive focusing modifier:

(17) c. *Only sometimes, alone with sleeplessness or through one of the long evenings of early dark, Dorothea became afraid.* [AD1 513]

17d, however, is a truly problematic case, since inversion is systematically avoided after *only yesterday* not only in the sample analyzed (one token), but also in the whole written part of the BNC (7 tokens), and this fact will need to be accounted for.

(17) d. *Only yesterday in Oxford Frank Baughan called for the youngsters who beat him and broke his wrist to be birched.* [K1C 3225]

3.2.4 The fronted adverbial is a noun phrase (NP)[11]

All of the fronted NPs focused by *only* are temporal adverbials. Unlike the other fronted phrases, the default for fronted NPs introduced by *only* is no S-O inversion. In the sample of **spoken** language, no S-O inversion is used after these fronted NPs as the focus of *only*, within the sample of **written** language there are 16 sentences with no S-O inversion (18b, 18c, 18d, 18e, 19a, 19b, 19c) and just one sentence with inverted S-O word order (18a).

(18) a. *Only this year will revenues from its open system products begin to outstrip sales of Cyber kit.* [CTG 311]

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11. While Emonds (1976) considers phrases such as *last week* to be PPs with an empty P, in Quirk et al. (1985, 526) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 698) they are analyzed as NPs. An objection could perhaps be raised to my classification of phrases such as *only a few months earlier* in 18d as NPs. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 96), *a few days later* in *Only a few days later, he moved to Bonn* is an AdvP, but "*only* applies just to *a few days* within the initial AdvP." In the British Component of the International Corpus of English (ICE-GB) the phrase *ten years earlier* is annotated as an NP and *years* as its head.

In 18b *only* is an adversative conjunct (translated into Czech as *jenomže*), not a restrictive focusing modifier, and so the absence of inversion is predictable:

(18) b. *Only this time the subjects of their attention fought back.* [HA1 236]

In 18c and 18d there is a contrast with 'now' and *only* can be translated as *ještě* "still":

(18) c. *Only two months ago you were a schoolgirl, and now!* [BMU 1814]
d. *Only a few months earlier the USDOE had decided that the prospect of nuclear fusion by the 'conventional' route was still too many years away to meet the Pentagon's urgent needs for tritium.* [CER 761]

However, in 18e *only last week* entails "not before last week," that is, *only* could be translated as *teprve*, like in most sentences with fronted temporal adverbial clauses and in 18a, where S-O inversion was used:[12]

(18) e. *Only last week she had told Henry (who had lived in Maple Drive for twelve years) that she wished to welcome him to the neighbourhood.* [ASS 196]

A negative entailment thus proves itself not to be a fully reliable criterion, in written texts as well as in spoken texts; in the sample of spoken texts there were four sentences with a fronted noun phrase as the focus of *only* and S-O inversion was not used in any of them.

Table 3 summarizes the frequency of S-O inversion in sentences with different types of fronted adverbials focused by *only*:

TABLE 3: S-O INVERSION IN SENTENCES WITH FRONTED ADVERBIALS FOCUSED BY *ONLY* IN THE SAMPLE OF WRITTEN LANGUAGE

FORM OF THE ADVERBIAL	S-O INVERSION	NO S-O INVERSION
adverbial clause	33	1
adverb phrase	38	4
prepositional phrase	34	3
noun phrase	1	16
TOTAL	106	24

Numbers summarized in Table 3 show a clear tendency to invert S-O if the focus of *only* is a fronted adverbial clause, a fronted PP and a fronted AdvP and a tendency not to invert if the focus is a fronted NP, which leads a corpus analyst to conclude that the presence or absence of S-O inversion after fronted adverbials as the focus of *only*

12. *Only* focusing on a fronted NP never triggers S-O inversion, irrespective of whether it translates as *teprve* or *ještě*. After all, in *Příruční mluvnice češtiny* (1995, 361) both *teprve* and *ještě* are placed within the same category of temporal particles, which are very close to focusing particles: "Funkčně mají k vytýkacím částicím blízko také výrazy *už, teprv(e)* a *ještě . . . . Teprve Herald mi ukázal, jak se to dělá* apod. Tyto výrazy se někdy označují jako takzvané temporální částice. Příslovečné určení času zpřesňují tím, že vyjadřují jisté očekávání mluvčího (hlavně) ve smyslu časovém *Z lázní přijela už ve čtvrtek* (implikuje např.: A ne až v pátek)."

depends on the formal properties of the adverbial fronted, i.e., whether it is a clause, PP, AdvP or an NP. Before jumping to this conclusion, one apparent exception, i.e., the systematic absence of inversion after *only yesterday* has to be accounted for. In other words, is there anything that can explain the systematic absence of inversion after *only last week* and *only yesterday*?

At this point, one is tempted to say that all phrases that do not trigger inversion seem to contain deictic expressions, i.e., deictic in Fillmore's sense (Fillmore 1997).[13] This would be plausible, since deictically anchored elements often introduce the scene and thus they tend not to present any new information.[14] In other words, though the focus of *only*, they do not have to be the focus of the whole sentence. As such, they can occur freely at the beginning of the sentence, without triggering S-O inversion. Table 4 brings the frequencies of sentences with S-O inversion after *only* focusing on adverbials expressed by phrases containing deictic expressions in all written texts of the BNC:

TABLE 4: INVERSION AFTER *ONLY* FOCUSING ON FRONTED ADVERBIALS CONTAINING DEICTIC EXPRESSIONS IN ALL WRITTEN TEXTS OF THE BNC

	INVERSION	NO INVERSION
only last N	1	48
only _ N ago	0	42
only this N	1	41
only next N	1	0
only yesterday	0	7
only today	0	6
only tomorrow	0	0
only now	34	15

Note: The underscore _ stands for any word.

Table 4 shows a strong tendency not to invert S-O after *only* focusing on a fronted deictic element (not only *yesterday*, but also *today*). Two of the three sentences with S-O inversion can be accounted for by simply noting that the grammaticality of 19a

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13. Charles Fillmore wrote: "In my lecture on the sentence 'May we come in?' I spoke about lexical items and grammatical forms which can be interpreted only when the sentences in which they occur are understood as being anchored in some social context, that context defined in such a way as to identify the participants in the communication act, their location in space, and the time during which the communication act is performed. Aspects of language which require this sort of contextualization are what I have been calling deictic" (Fillmore 1997, 59). Thus, also expressions such as *yesterday, today, tomorrow* are deictic as they can only be interpreted if the location of the speaker at the time the utterance was made is identified (see also Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 695). It is also exactly these deictic elements that have to change in reported speech, i.e., in object nominal clauses introduced by a reporting clause with a verb in the past or past perfect tense (backshift).

14. In Halliday's terms, "non-lexical, closed system items are intrinsically 'given': that is to say, they are either anaphoric, like third-person pronouns, or situation-dependent, like first- and second-person pronouns – therefore if a closed system item carries information focus it must be contrastive or contradictory. This is the reason why *yesterday*, which is likewise situation-dependent (it is interpretable only by reference to 'today') does not carry the unmarked information focus" (Halliday 1976, 177).

is arguable (should *the next day* not be used instead?) and 19b contains also a fronted adverbial clause.

(19) a. *Only next day did we discover that he had no part whatever in the plot — to Mr Wrong of Colchester, our apologies!* [AAV 759]
      b. *Only last year, when he came back from college, did he go to live with her.* [FPF 1125]

19c, however, presents a problem, and so does S-O inversion after the fronted adverb *now* focused by *only* (e.g., in 19d and 19e):

(19) c. *Only this year will revenues from its open system products begin to outstrip sales of Cyber kit, even though mainframe revenues are decreasing by around 25% a year and sales of open systems rising by some 100% a year.* [CTG 311]
      d. *Only now did I realize that I loved this man to whose power I had been subject all my life.* [HA0 423]
      e. *Only now are they starting to organise training for their staff.* [FT1 1109]

It is very tempting to argue here that some of these tokens of *now* are not deictic (a verb in the past tense is often used), and/or that the focus of *only* must be the information focus of the whole sentence (which even a deictic expression can be) to cause S-O inversion (see Haegeman 2000). Such a line of argument, however, calls for a more detailed and systematic analysis of the information structure of all sentences involved and taking large contexts into consideration. Even then, I believe, it would still be difficult to account for a different function of *today* and *now* in the information structure of 20a and 20b:

(20) a. *Only today the Government's joyriding bill went through the House of Lords.* [K1C 1750]
      b. *Only now did they realise how enormous a man he was.* [BMX 546]

What I suggest in this paper is that there is a connection between the scope of *only* and how the fronted adverbials as the focus of *only* are expressed: with fronted PPs, AdvPs and adverbial clauses, prototypically the scope of *only* as a restrictive focusing modifier stretches over the whole sentence, while with NPs, the scope of *only* is just the NP.[15]

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15. It is now appropriate to consider the reliability of the absence of a comma as a criterion for inverting S-O and the presence of a comma for non-inverting (see Rudanko 1982, 351). First, commas cannot be taken into serious consideration in analyses of spoken transcribed texts of the BNC, where transcribers might have taken idiosyncratic decisions on inserting punctuation. In fact, as Meyer (2002, 74) argues, "by punctuating speech, the corpus compiler is in fact 'interpreting' the spoken texts for future users of the corpus and therefore making decisions that the users really ought to make themselves as they analyze a spoken text." But neither in the written texts is the presence or absence of a comma a reliable criterion. According to the data analyzed, the presence of an intonation break, expressed in spelling with a comma, does not always indicate that the scope of *only* stretches just over a constituent. Commas can be used for different reasons, e.g., if another phrase is inserted (e.g., *Only in a small number, with conditions and parameters like our own universe, will it be possible for intelligent life to develop and to ask the question.* [FYX 736]), and if *only* focuses a fronted dependent adverbial clause (*Only when you*

The reason might be that these NPs usually refer to moments not distant from either the present moment, i.e., they contain deictic expressions (hence the meaning "only recently") or some other moment which is either explicitly mentioned or understood from the context. The data seem to support this: of the 43 sentences beginning with *Only _ _ ago* in the written part of the BNC, 17 involved the expression *week* (6 tokens of *a week ago*, 8 of *two weeks ago*, 3 of *three weeks ago*), 5 the expression *day*, and 3 the expression *month*. Also in 21a, 21b, and 21c, where the time span is apparently long, the contexts and contrasts with 'now' make it relatively short:

(21) a. *Only 100 years ago a zoo meant a series of caged animals set up exclusively for recreation.* [KA1 610]
      b. *Only 20 years ago that meant almost certain death.* [CH1 7767]
      c. *Only a century ago, a fair proportion of us would have died in childbirth, or been dubbed dowagers by 40.* [CB8 1029]

Absolutely or relatively short spans occur also in the 30 tokens of sentence-initial *Only _ _ after*, 24 tokens of *Only _ _ before,* 13 tokens of *Only _ _ earlier,* and 12 tokens of *Only _ _ later.*

The only exception left to be explained are thus the deictic 'adverbs' *yesterday* and *today*. As we have seen, *only yesterday* and *only today* never trigger inversion in the data from the BNC, even though the entailments are clearly negative:

(22) a. *Only today Dave revealed how the conversation really went: 'Hi, my name's Dave.'* [BMF 333]
      b. *Only yesterday he received a letter from Mr Clinton thanking him for his support.* [K25 222]

I argue that these are no exceptions. Frequent analyses have shown the nominal properties of the deictics *yesterday* and *today*, such as their capacity to take the possessive case (see Larson 1985, 598).[16] Huddleston and Pullum exclude *yesterday*, *today* and *tomorrow* "from the adverb category" (2002, 564), ranking them among nouns "illustrative of those that head temporal location NPs" (2002, 698). Larson (1985, 596) lists them among "bare NP-adverbs."[17] Therefore, it should not be surprising that like other NPs, they do not trigger S-O inversion if fronted and focused by *only*.

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have achieved this mastery of theory and practice, will drudgery disappear [ARS 255]). Neither does the absence of comma indicate that the scope of *only* stretches over the whole sentence (e.g., 18d above).

16. There are 1,166 tokens of *yesterday's* in the BNC, the most frequent nominal collocates being *meeting, hearing, announcement, decision* and *world*, and 1,060 tokens of *today's*, the most frequent nominal collocates being *steps, standards, world, date, game* and *society*.

17. The problem is, however, that Larson ranks also *now* and *then* among "bare-NP adverbs" which in my data showed a different behavior than *yesterday* and *today* as far as S-O inversion is concerned. Larson also notes that "if these items are indeed bare-NP adverbs, they are bare-NP adverbs with a much more limited distribution than their fellows" (Larson 1985, 612). They "do not occur in the genitive specifier function" (ibid). *Then* and *now,* like PPs, easily co-occur with *right,* which again differentiates them from NPs such as *yesterday* and *last* week: "with certain bare NP adverbs [*right*] does not cooccur smoothly": *Peter arrived right *yesterday / ?* last week* (Larson 1985, 609).

4. Conclusions

My analysis of BNC data demonstrated some interesting facts about S-O inversion in sentences with fronted *only* in British English. First, there are significant differences in the structure of sentences with sentence-initial *only* in written and in spoken texts of the BNC. Fronting a non-subject sentence element as the focus of *only* is very rare in spoken language, and is restricted to fronting a PP, AdvP or NP, not an adverbial clause. However, if such fronting occurs, the same tendencies can be observed in spoken and in written texts: a clear tendency to invert S-O if the focus of *only* is a fronted adverbial clause, a fronted PP and a fronted AdvP and a tendency not to invert if the focus is a fronted NP. These tendencies are so strong that they can be stated as rules. The only seeming counter-examples are the expressions *yesterday* and *today*, which do not trigger inversion if fronted and focused by *only*. I argued that these are not counter-examples, as there are numerous arguments for categorizing *yesterday* and *today* as nouns. I also noted that all the NPs analyzed are temporal expressions referring to short time intervals (either absolutely or in the context given), and so the scope of *only* does not extend beyond these NPs, which blocks the S-O inversion. These conclusions, however, apply only to NPs in the function of adverbials. For fronted NPs in the function of direct object, unfortunately, the corpus did not provide enough data, and thus the frequency of S-O inversion after a fronted direct object as the focus of *only*, which according to grammarians is optional, remains to be investigated.

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Source Oriented Pathways
in English Prepositions

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ABSTRACT: This paper discusses the cause/reason meanings expressed by English prepositions and then details the applicability of this discussion to several subfields of linguistics, especially cognitively and functionally oriented linguistics. More specifically, this paper attempts to discern why cause/reason meanings are expressed by many prepositions in English (see Dirven 1995). It argues that semantic extensions of English prepositions always follow either "structure preservation pathways" or what may be called "source oriented pathways." This latter general semantic extension pattern explains why many English prepositions have causal meanings, for whenever semantic changes do not preserve original image-schematic structures from source domains to target (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987), semantic roles always develop toward these causal meanings, never toward the purpose meanings subsumed under GOAL.

KEYWORDS: English preposition; cause/reason meaning; semantic role; structure preservation pathway; source oriented pathway

1. Introduction

This paper discusses the cause/reason meanings expressed by English prepositions and then details the applicability of this discussion to several subfields of linguistics, especially cognitively and functionally oriented linguistics. Consider the following examples:

(1) (a) He laughed *for* joy.
  (b) She began to laugh *at* these words.
  (c) Taro complimented his son *on* his good grades.
  (d) *In* her excitement, she was unable to speak.
  (e) We were surprised *by* his appearance.
  (f) We trembled *with* fear.
  (g) She was excited/crazy *about* him.
  (h) Tourists were killed *in* accidents.
  (i) He died *of* cancer.

The prepositional phrases above refer to determining factors for the situations expressed by these sentences. One may argue that cause and reason should not be regarded as the same; the reason for something is a fact or situation that explains its cause (what causes it to happen), and as such reason and cause might be regarded as distinct phenomena. However, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue that a reason meaning is a metaphorical and epistemic cause meaning, and this paper will support their argument.

The examples in (1) show that many English prepositions express cause/reason meanings. Concerning these, questions come to mind, and one question is this: why do many prepositions express cause/reason meanings? From the perspective of communicative needs, it seems unnecessary for one language to possess more than one cause/reason meaning. Why do English and other languages possess many causal prepositions? And prepositions are not the only grammatical forms to express causal meanings in English; several subordinators express cause/reason meanings, such as *because*, *as*, and *since*. Notice that other meanings or semantic roles of English prepositions such as "result meanings," "instrumental meanings," "purpose meanings," or "manner meanings" are not expressed by many prepositions as cause/reason meanings, which makes the latter meanings so unique. Then, how can we explain this puzzle?

2.   How do these Causative Meanings of English Prepositions Arise?

This study assumes that spatial relations are linguistically and psychologically more basic than non-spatial ones, and other senses may be appropriately hypothesized as ultimately derived from spatial senses (see, for example, Anderson 1971; Croft 1991, 192; Lyons 1977, 718; Stassen 1985, 36–37). This assumption will be supported by the following justifications. First, this approach has in fact been assumed by most functionally and cognitively oriented linguists (see especially Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Langacker 1991). Second, historical data, although limited, justify this assumption, showing that spatial meanings always develop into non-spatial ones, never vice versa. Third, children acquire the locative before any other, more abstract use (Clark and Carpenter 1989, 11).

One might ask why the spatial senses should be the sources for other, more abstract senses. For this question, Jackendoff (1983, 210), for example, argues that "if there is any primacy to the spatial field, it is because this field is so strongly supported by non-linguistic cognition; it is the common ground for the essential faculties of vision, touch, and action. From an evolutionary perspective, spatial organization had to exist long before language." And since spatial relations are more fundamental to our experience, so that they are the basis for conceptualization of non-spatial relations (also see Heine et al. 1991a, b; Heine 1997; Lakoff 1987; Lakoff and Johnson 1980; Langacker 1991).

Following this assumption, it does not seem to cause any controversy that the causal meanings of the English prepositions in (1) are derived from their spatial meanings.

2.1   Four Basic Spatial Schematic Meanings

To reveal some aspects of causal meanings of English prepositions, I briefly introduce one typological study. Based on sixty-eight languages of the world, Yamaguchi (2005) argued that there are four natural semantic categories or semantic spaces expressed by their pre/postpositions and case markers: the allative-related space, the locative-related space, the path-related space, and the ablative-related space. Furthermore, their spatial meanings, that is, an allative meaning, a locative meaning, a path meaning and

an ablative meaning are the basic meanings from which other meanings are derived. These meanings are expressed by the following English prepositions.

(2) (a)   Apples fell *from* the tree. (Ablative)
     (b)   He goes *to* the office by bus. (Allative)
     (c)   He played *in* the yard. (Locative [interior])
     (d)   The post office is *near* the station. (Locative [proximity])
     (e)   He put the book *on* the table. (Locative [exterior])
     (f)   He flew to Paris *via* London. (Path)

This seems to be in harmony with previous studies on this topic and does not cause any controversy (see, for example, Anderson 1971).

2.2   Relations of the Four Spatial Functions

For conceptual locations of these four spatial schematic meanings, the following configuration will be assumed.

Figure 1

Ablative   Path   Locative   Allative

As previous studies have suggested (e.g., Anderson 1971; Ikegami 1987, 132), the locative and allative senses are closely related to each other. This can be supported by at least the following two facts. First, they show implicational relations, as found in the following pairs of sentences: (3a) implies (3b), as (3c) implies (3d).

(3) (a)   He has come here.
     (b)   He is here.
     (c)   He has gone to London.
     (d)   He is in London (now/already).   (Anderson 1971, 119)

These examples indicate that the allative sense logically and psychologically implies the locative sense; that is, "If X goes to Y, then X is at Y" (see also Ikegami 1987, 132).

Second, they frequently co-occur in many languages (see Yamaguchi 2005). On the other hand, the language sample used in Yamaguchi (2005) suggests that the conceptual distance between the ablative and the locative senses, for example, is much greater than that between the allative (and path) and the locative. There are only two cases (Maori *i*, and Sumerian *ta*) in Yamaguchi (2005) that show a syncretism between the ablative and the locative with no involvement of the allative sense.

Concerning this point, consider the following implicational relations.

(4) (a)   He has gone from here to London.
     (b)   He is not here.

These examples provide us with further justification for positing more conceptual distance between the locative and the ablative (compared to that between the locative and the allative), since the ablative sense in (4a) implies a feature of negation in addition to the locative sense, as seen in (4b).

The path sense should be located conceptually somewhere between the ablative and the locative senses, for the reason that many languages that do not possess a genuine grammatical form for the path sense utilize either ablative or locative expressions, or both. This is in agreement with Anderson's (1971, 169–71) treatment of the path sense as being simultaneously ablative and locative. As Figure 1 indicates, the ablative function should be located conceptually closer to the locative than to the allative sense.

2.3   SEMANTIC STRUCTURES OF THE SEMANTIC ROLES

Previous studies allow us to argue that the previously mentioned four spatial meanings (and their related non-spatial meanings) possess one of the following four structures.

TABLE 1

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE	GLOSS	SEMANTIC FUNCTION
<● (●)>	LOCATION	Locative, Comitative, Possessive
<●→o>	SOURCE	Ablative, (passive) Agent, Cause/Reason
<o→●>	GOAL	Allative, Benefactive, Purpose, Result
<o→o>	VIA	Path, Instrument, Manner, Means

The semantic roles or functions on the right of Table 1 possess the schematic structures on the left. As for correspondence between the schematic representations and semantic functions, this study follows previous studies (for LOCATION, see Quirk et al. 1985, 674; Sweetser 1988, 393; for SOURCE, see Langacker 1991; Lindstromberg 1998, 26; Quirk et al. 1985, 674; Sweetser 1988, 393; for GOAL, see Langacker 1991, 399; Lindstromberg 1998, 26; Quirk et al. 1985, 674; Sweetser 1988, 393; for VIA, see Langacker 1991, 404; Lindstromberg 1998, 26). It is worth noting that there have been very few objections to these correspondences between semantic functions and semantic structures. Even in the case of scholars who do not use schematic representations, their explanations agree with the correspondences in Table 1.

To begin with, consider the semantic structure LOCATION. The diagram should read as follows: one or more entities are located in the same spatial, temporal, or conceptual domain. The locative sense expresses a static relation between a physical entity and some physical space. In the case of GOAL, the diagram should read as "something moves to (or toward) a certain location or entity." This is the mirror image of SOURCE. The schematic representation of VIA should be interpreted as "some entity via which something moves toward a destination." The path function refers to an entity (e.g., "tunnel," "road") through which a physical entity moves, while the instrumental,

means, and manner functions (e.g., "He did it with great skill.") can be construed as an intermediate entity or event through which some energy exerted from an agent goes toward its target.

Based on the previous information, the following semantic extensions can be constructed in Figure 2.

FIGURE 2
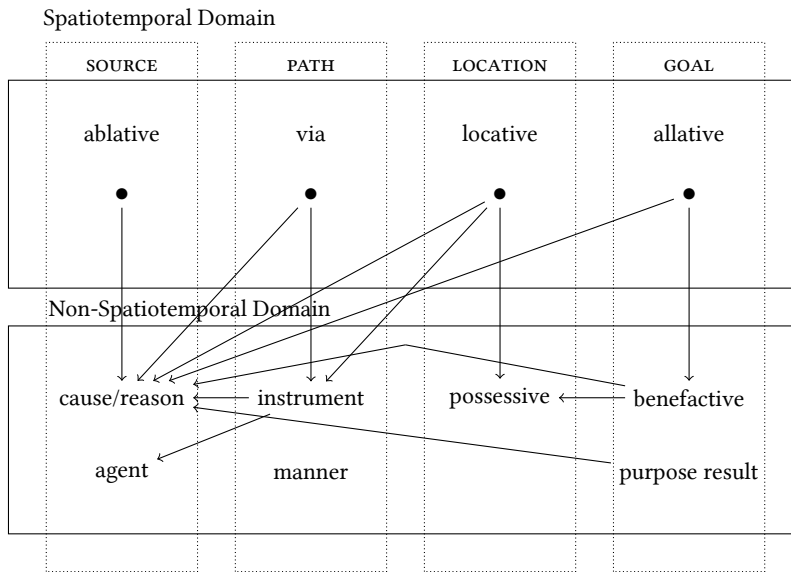
Figure 2 displays semantic changes from spatial domains to non-spatial domains. The semantic roles in the same vertical box inside dotted lines share the same semantic structure (SOURCE, PATH, LOCATION, GOAL), although they may belong to different domains (the spatial or non-spatial domain), as indicated in the horizontal boxes. The figure reveals that there are two general pathways of semantic change traced by the semantic functions of English prepositions. One is what may be called the structure preservation pathway: when semantic shifts take place, meanings develop into others with the same relational structures. This semantic extension pattern has been discussed in many previous works. For example, Sweetser (1988, 390) argues that schematic meanings are preserved when meanings change across domains. But this explanation alone is not enough, as many exceptions in (1) are seen. These exceptions are easily explained by what may be referred to as the source oriented pathway: whenever semantic change does not preserve an original image schematic structure, semantic roles always develop toward the agentive and causal senses, never toward senses subsumed under GOAL.

3. DISCUSSION

Returning to the discussion about why cause/reason meanings are expressed by many prepositions in English, I have identified three possible solutions.

The first possible answer can be attributed to the findings in Figure 2: semantic extensions of English prepositions always follow either of the two pathways, and when spatial meanings change to other meanings with different semantic structures, then they must change toward Source meanings. This explains why English prepositions have many cause/reason meanings. The second possible solution comes from grammaticalization studies, which repeatedly argue that the more grammaticalized an item becomes, the more abstract it's meaning is. Heine et al. (1991a, 159) argue that the cause meaning is more abstract than most meanings expressed by grammatical items such as prepositions, and then it seems natural for relatively concrete meanings to change into such abstract meanings as cause/reason meanings. The third possible solution is the philosophical importance of this concept:in order to achieve our purposes, we as humans are naturally concerned with causation in our everyday lives.

4. CONCLUSIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THIS STUDY

This paper argued that cause/reason meanings are derived from a variety of spatial prepositions in English. This fact has been discussed by some such as Dirven (1993) and Radden (1985, 184), but these works seem rather exceptional, and most in the field of cognitively and functionally oriented linguistics have neglected the importance of what this paper called the Source pathway change. For example, Heine et al. (1991a), having noticed that the purpose meaning (GOAL) often changes to the cause meaning (SOURCE), mention that "future research will determine links for 'abstract' topological structures that allow us to establish that there exists in fact some kind of image-schema preservation even in cases of this nature" (Heine et al. 1991a, 163).

This paper also contributes to historical linguistics and what has been called grammaticalization; source oriented pathway strongly supports the unidirectional hypothesis proposed by many previous studies on grammaticalization.

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Exploring Aspects of Humour and Irony in Literary Discourse: A Pragmatic Stylistic Approach

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Abstract: The paper explores a variety of ways in which humour is attached to social and cultural contexts. In an attempt to unpack humour in literary texts, an approach of pragmatic stylistics has been adopted and ways of applying traditional pragmatic concepts and principles in literary discourse analysis considered. The study exemplifies linguistic interaction involving only written language, where paralanguage and extra-linguistic cues for interpretation of humour are lost. Main research problems include 1) perception and understanding of aspects of (satirical) humour in literary discourse, 2) aspects of mutual understanding and shared background knowledge, 3) Raskin's Semantic Script Theory of Humour, 4) the notion of oppositeness employed in creating humour in single jokes and building humour as sequences of oppositeness and 5) pragmatic approaches to irony and the Co-operative and Politeness Principle. The language material analysed is a collection of short stories by Doris Lessing, *London Observed* (1993).

Keywords: pragmatics; stylistics; satire; humour and irony; frame theories; literary discourse

1. Introduction

In this study, aspects of humour in literary discourse are analysed from the point of view of Pragmatic Stylistics. Pragmatics, Stylistics and Pragmatic Stylistics are all understood in different ways by different researchers. My aim is to consider how the pragmatic approach focusing on Grice's Co-operative and Politeness principles can be applied to a stylistic approach aiming to explain how texts give rise to particular humorous effects. Humour often develops into or overlaps with irony, and thus Leech's Irony and Interest Principle will be studied too. Work in pragmatic stylistics has also largely focused on the psychological processes involved in understanding or developing interpretations of texts, and thus concepts such as schemata, frames and scenarios will also be included in the presented pragmatic stylistic approach.

A natural assumption is that Gricean or Neo-Gricean approaches can explain how characters understand each other and how we understand characters. Analysing the ways in which characters develop and engage in humorous talk, how they use humour and irony to express their personal views and attitudes, can increase understanding and allow for better interpretion of literary discourse. Another aspect to consider is how the British author Doris Lessing (b. 1919) encodes aspects of humour within her text, and what help the readers are getting in making appropriate inferences to understand specific historical, cultural and social values.

The approach of Pragmatic Stylistics increases understanding of all kinds of inferences involved in interpreting texts, assuming viewing the analysed short stories are viewed as a discourse in which particular messages are negotiated in the process of cooperation between the author and the reader, accounting for an immediate context of situation. However, the absence of a natural immediate environment, which is necessary for working out implicatures, has to be overcome by acknowledging fictional settings, situations and contexts provided by the author.

2. CONVENTIONAL ASPECTS OF A SITUATION: ASPECTS OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING
   AND SHARED BACKGROUND KNOWLEDGE

Psychological and computational approaches to discourse understanding have suggested that the type of predictable information, also known as conventional or a stereotypic representation of knowledge of the world, should be viewed as a basis for the interpretation of discourse. Conventional aspects of a situation that are generally assumed, and as such are not described or mentioned explicitly in discourse, can be treated as default elements. These default elements will be assumed to be present, even when not mentioned, unless the recipient is told otherwise. The recipient's "knowledge of the world" enables him to interpret the frame of a situation described below:

(1)   He had been so happy, moving to a small town not far from London. London was
      not what it was, it was full of people he didn't think were Londoners at all. And
      they talked in a funny way. (Lessing 1993, 128)

Several schemata such as "being happy" or "living in a small town" are easily recognised by the recipient. Rooted in the situation described, conversational implicatures can also be communicated and interpreted by the recipient based on a broader context of this short story. The outlined scenario indicates that the speaker is sharing his feelings, which is also a commonly recognized situation. What is understood within a scheme "full of people" and "talking in a funny way" will depend on one's cultural and sociological background (i.e., personal experiences such as living in a big city, memories of the past and perception of the changes in society, one's age, education, job, family background, etc.).

3. DATA AND KNOWLEDGE STRUCTURES IN INTERPRETING LITERARY DISCOURSE

3.1   FRAME THEORIES

Data structures called frames represent stereotypic situations, and we select them from memory every time we encounter a new situation. The remembered framework is to be adapted to fit reality by changing details as necessary (cf. Brown and Yule 1983, 238). It follows that (literary) discourse understanding can be seen as a process of fitting what we are told into the framework established by what we already know. This enables us to make sense of incomplete, more or less open and ambiguous messages such as the literary discourse of a work of fiction.

3.2 Scripts, scenarios and schemata

Compared to scripts, scenarios indicate the "extended domain of reference" (Sanford and Garrod 1981, 110) while schemata are "higher-level complex knowledge structures" (van Dijk 1981, 141). Like frames, scripts and scenarios represent the background knowledge we all use and assume that others can use too when producing and interpreting discourse. The schemata allow for a relatively quick and allusive style; they enable us to process language quickly. If we can rely upon the recipient's knowledge to supply appropriate contextual elements to complete our discourse, we need not be explicit. Accounting for the main pragmatic principles, providing more information than necessary, or giving over-specification might be considered as non-cooperative and impolite. As pointed out by Black (2006, 37) the interpretation of any verbal message is affected by the schemata used in interpreting it. In recognition of humorous effects, the schemata and scripts are crucial and helpful for the reader. The notions of script, frame, scenario and schema have been popular in much contemporary stylistic work. They have also influenced a tradition of humorology represented by Raskin's study, which introduced the *semantic script theory of humour* (Raskin 1985).

4. Raskin's Semantic Script Theory of Humour

The core notion of the model is *script opposition.* According to this hypothesis the humour arises from two aspects: the first is that the text has to be compatible with two different scripts. The second is that the two scripts are opposite in a special sense (cf. Simpson 2003, 29). A script-based framework facilitates a conceptual understanding that operates beyond lexical and grammatical levels of a text.

In Raskin's model, the chunks of knowledge activated in a text (the scripts) are to be opposed in a "special sense" (1985, 109). Raskin's emphasis shifts towards a more generalised contrast between "real" and "unreal" situations. As noted by Simpson, the oppositeness is manifested in three subtypes: a) an actual situation is contrasted with a non-actual situation, b) a normal, expected state of affairs is opposed to an abnormal, unexpected state of affairs, c) a possible, plausible situation is contrasted to a fully or partially implausible situation (2003, 32).

The three types of oppositeness are predominantly illustrated in single jokes. In this paper, the notion of single jokes represents short narrations which are identical with single speech events. They usually follow commonly recognized narrative models and, as linguistic forms or texts, are formally autonomous. In the analysed collection of short stories, utterances similar to single jokes are used mainly to illustrate the sense of humour typical for Londoners. The following extract shows the message written on one of the blackboards the Underground's staff uses to communicate their thoughts to passengers:

(2) You are probably wondering why the escalators so often aren't working? We shall tell you! It is because they are old and often go out of order. Sorry! Have a good day! (Lessing 1993, 87)

As Lessing further remarks, the message is " . . . absolutely in the style of London humour, sardonic and with its edge of brutality, was enough to cheer one up, and ready to make the long descent on foot" (Lessing 1993, 87).

However, the notion of oppositeness is also employed in building humour gradually within a framework of a conversation. Humour and irony result from a sequence of more or less familiar and recognizable frames (scripts and scenarios). In literary discourse satirical humour and irony are inherent parts of a story and as such arise from more complex strategies. In the following extract, I consider specific functions of pre-sequences employed to create humorous effects. Similarly to a single joke telling, several steps or phases of narration can be suggested and special types of oppositeness recognised:

I. Preparatory phase:
The narrator outlines a particular situation, preparing the ground for building humorous effects:

> *It was hard to hear him, for my ears hurt badly, and I was leaning forward.*

II. Explanatory phase:
More pre-sequences follow, adding intensity and gradation. A touch of irony is palpable:

> *This gave me a look of willing attention, but I had decided I'd rather he didn't talk at all,*

III. Refinement phase:
Specific elements are added to a generally known scheme. The frame of a situation (a passenger sitting in a back seat of a taxi feeling sick and tired) and its schemata (typical behaviour of taxi drivers to passengers) are refined, and elements which are not typical are provided:

> *. . . for he did not seem at his ease,*

IV. Final intensification – creation of humour (and irony):
The use of a simile and its perception as one of a commonly recognized scheme make the reader laugh. Humorous effects are created exclusively via a gradual accumulation of schemata within the frame of the given situation:

> *. . . but drove like grandfather being given his turn to drive the family car on a Sunday afternoon.*

At this stage, (satirical) humour has been recognized by the recipient on the basis of familiar frames and schemata (e.g., slow reactions/ slow driving of old people, occasional/ Sunday drivers, etc.).

V. Keeping up humorous effects:
More schemata are offered to further develop and prolong humorous effects, building on the recipient's personal experiences and knowledge (e.g., stereotypic behaviour of

drivers), his social and cultural background (specific cultural background knowledge is required from non-native recipients), etc.:

> *He gripped the wheel and peered over it and muttered about other drivers' behaviour, and exclaimed, 'Did you see that? Did you see what he did then?*

VI. Finalisation:
Functioning as a coda, the final utterance is a statement that implicates satirical humour:

> *I thought: Well, better be philosophical, this is one of the journeys you are going to be pleased to see the end of.'* (Lessing 1993, 125–26)

The extract illustrates that laughter comes as a result of gradation and raising the absurdity of the described situation. The recipient's perception of humour, his conceptual understanding of humorous (literary) discourse, operates beyond the lexical and grammatical levels of a text. The notion of oppositeness discussed by Raskin (1985, 109) can also be applied in the analysis of building up a humorous literary discourse. The situation depicted in the analysed extract exhibits several specific types of oppositeness (e.g., taxi drivers should know the routes; they should be comforting their passengers, they should talk and behave politely, etc.), which provides grounds for the creation of humourous effects. On the background of the depicted situation, a particular utterance becomes foregrounded and a particular sentence functions as a laughter accelerator. The (pragmatically competent) recipient bursts out laughing, understanding the message on the basis of his personal experiences and background knowledge. The laughter comes as a result of a series of particular discourse strategies and humorous effects arise as part of the literary discourse package.

5. Irony in echoic discourse

As stated before, humour often overlaps with irony. Unlike humour, irony does not always create laughter. It can be appreciated by recipients if they share the same point of view. In this case they are flattered, entertained and amused. Irony can cause offence, especially when developed into sarcasm. The following extract illustrates the complexity of the interplay between humour and irony. A broader context is necessary to recognise a set of conversational implicatures communicated among interlocutors. Based on the perception of a series of commonly recognised frames and schemata (e.g., changing partners, marriage for money, joviality of a sister's talk, etc.), the competent reader processes the language quickly. In support, extra-linguistic cues are provided in the form of descriptive comments by the author:

(3) 'You always did say you would marry for money.'
'Yes, I did. And I am. But I wouldn't marry him if I didn't feel like this about him.'
'But do you feel like this about him because he is so eligible?' enquired Joan, laughing.
'Probably. But what's the matter with that?'

'Would you marry him if he was poor?'
The sisters were now leaning forward, faces close, laughing and full of enjoyment.
(Lessing 1993, 105)

In reporting the thoughts of other characters, the speakers (the narrator and other characters of the analysed short stories) often indicate their personal attitudes towards them. These utterances are seen as echoic; a term introduced by relevance theorists (cf. Sperber and Wilson 1995), and may convey a whole range of attitudes. In the following example, the speaker dissociates himself from the conversation of two women he has overheard, and his attitude is humorous and ironic:

(4)   If you can't get the hang of condoms, then just get in touch with me . . . no, no, any time, a pleasure! (Lessing 1993, 107)

The point is that irony can be analysed in terms of the interpretative use of representations; for instance the hearsay markers (i.e., particles which are used by speakers, whenever the information they are reporting is obtained from someone else), can be used to indicate irony (Blakemore 2005, 104–8). In stylistics, irony is traditionally seen as a literary device. However, as illustrated by the previous examples, there is nothing literary about the echoic – second speaker's utterance, though it is certainly ironic. There is nothing deviant (i.e., foregrounded or stylistically marked) about irony except that the speaker may be said to have deviated from the truth. This complies with a conventional understanding of irony as an utterance in which a speaker says one thing and means another – an opposite one. Pragmatically speaking, this provides evidence that speakers do not always abide with the Co-operative principle's maxim of quality and do not always present a true description of a state of affairs. Sometimes the speaker wants to express her attitude towards the opinion of another person. This is often done by echoing the first person's utterance (i.e., his or her opinion) and indicating that the other speaker is dissociating from it. Irony is often accompanied by extra-linguistic means (e.g., the tone of voice, facial expressions, gestures, etc.), usually presented via comments in written texts. In the following extract, the topic of conversation is taking an AIDS test. It demonstrates how humour and ironic undertones can express a close relationship between interlocutors. The principles of co-operation and politeness are not violated. Critical remarks and irony are communicated via implicatures:

(5)   Well, I can't afford it, I don't have the money, but Oliver can and he'll pay for me.'
       Joan smiled. 'Certainly one way of making him responsible for you.' (Lessing 1993, 106)

It follows that pragmatic approaches to irony will see irony as a result of violating one of the maxims of the Co-operative principle, the maxim of quality, which is related to truth telling. To a certain extent, saying the opposite of what is meant also relates to the Politeness Principle. This has been pointed out by Leech, who adds a number of principles to Grice's conversational principle and urges the speaker to express irony (and potentially cause offence) in a way that allows the hearer to arrive at the offensive

point indirectly, by way of implicature (1983, 82). In the following extract, the female politician comments on her male staff. In reaction to her utterance, critical judgments are pronounced by other women who express their attitudes quite openly and move from irony towards sarcasm:

(6)   'I'll give them a minute to get clear . . . ' and went on to tell how any woman Member of Parliament, entering the Chamber or leaving it, no matter how they effaced themselves, could expect sexual heckling of the kind you'd expect from – 'well, schoolboys'.
'Louts on a street corner,' suggested the journalist.
'groups of workmen on a site shouting sexual epithets after a pretty girl,' said another woman. (Lessing 1993, 136)

As illustrated, irony is commonly used to express disapproval and is not limited to causing offence or expressing rude remarks. Complaining about negative aspects of living in London, the narrator pronounces critical comments and, via irony, shows her dissociation from the criticised phenomena. Her utterance is not motivated by politeness in these circumstances, but her interest to comment on a particular phenomenon. Leech's Interest principle can be applied to cover some cases of irony (cf. Leech 1983, 146–49). In the following example, irony and criticism are encoded, indirectly communicated via a set of conversational implicatures:

(7)   I know an old woman, I am sure I should say lady, who says, 'People like you . . . ' She means aliens, foreigners, though I have lived here for twenty years . . . 'have no idea what London was like. (Lessing 1993, 82–83)

Interpreting irony ("I'm sure I should say lady") and conversational implicatures (e.g., nostalgia for the past, apishness of native Londoners, their prejudices towards foreigners) require the recipient's co-operation. A competent reader will have personal experiences (e.g., has visited or lived in London) and specific cultural background knowledge, which will enable him to interpret the literary discourse adequately.

6. Conclusion

In the analysed stories and sketches about living in old and modern London, humour and irony are inherent parts of producing and interpreting culture-specific messages. No single approach to analysing these complex phenomena can be presented; however, several concepts have proven useful. In the analysis of humour the concept of oppositeness can be applied. When discussing irony the concept of echoic discourse, which shows that irony engages recipients of various levels, is very efficient. Both humour and irony arise from the interplay between the utterance and a particular situation. It follows that their understanding involves inferential processes including considerations of broader contexts. This process can be conveniently described within the framework of Gricean and neo-Gricean pragmatics.

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The Conceptual Metaphor Underlying Literary Characterisation

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Abstract: This study begins with an examination of a Shakespearean pun, in which abstract and physical aspects are mixed. In the first part, a compilation of expressions mirroring a similar way of thinking is presented from Shakespeare's plays. This list is completed with colloquial examples from our time. The examples can be listed in a very traditional dictionary entry. In the next part, it is cognitive linguistics as a theoretical background that accounts for this seemingly contradictory feature of linguistic expressions as well as cogitation. The framework of the essay is Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory. Within this framework, the hierarchy of idealised cognitive models worked out by George Lakoff underlies the explanation of how the human mind works while connecting bodily features and abstract ideas. In the analysis, the common basis of the senses of the adjectives *high* and *low* is explored. In this way, light is shed on mechanisms of the human acquisition of knowledge, understanding and interpreting phenomena of the world.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor; cognitive linguistics; polysemy; semantics; characterisation; William Shakespeare

1. Introduction

The aim of this study is to explore the linguistic background of inventing and understanding puns. As puns are based on ambiguity and/or polysemy, the initial point is a semantic analysis of a Shakespearean pun.

In Parts 4 and 5, data are compiled. At first, similar expressions are listed from Shakespeare's works. Then a list of colloquial examples is presented from the British National Corpus. The senses of the collected examples are classified in Part 6. Students' dictionaries underlie the classification, which is explained by reference to polysemy.

Once polysemy has been discussed in the traditional way, a further account of it is given from a cognitive point of view. That is, the basic hypothesis of this paper is that this kind of use of the word *low* (and *high*) is possible because it is the conceptual metaphor which is the basis of metaphorical extension. This is expounded in Parts 7 and 8.

In Part 9, conclusions are drawn so that the links between the given examples and the theoretical points are highlighted.

2. Comic Characterisation

In Shakespeare's *Much Ado About Nothing*, when Benedick, a misogynistic young man is asked about a young lady, he answers straightforwardly:

(1)   Claudio

> *Is she* [Hero] *not a modest young lady?*
>
> [. . .]

     Benedick

> *Why, i' faith, methinks she's too low for a high praise, too brown for a fair praise, and too little for a great praise. Only this commendation I can afford her, that were she other than she is she were unhandsome, and being no other but as she is, I do not like her.*
>
>   (*Much Ado About Nothing*, I i 157–67)

Although the end of the extract is forthright, the beginning is quite sophisticated. Hero's characterisation is based on puns: couples of adjectives are listed. While one half of the pair refers to physical features, the other one relates to *praise*, an abstract notion. But as *low* is a polysemous word which refers to a bad or unacceptable quality, the adjective can be interpreted as *the lady is too low in manners and morals for a high praise*.

Is it a random interpretation or a usual one? Is there a real ambiguity in these words? Is Hero really *low in manners and morals*, and brown and short in appearance? Can physical and mental/psychological features be connected?

The questions must be separated into two groups. One group includes questions related to characterisation in literature. Can physical appearance characterise a person on the stage? The answer is definitely yes. It is a usual technique to delineate a figure with bodily features. Many examples can be mentioned. An outstanding example is the person of Richard III created or re-created by Shakespeare. The imaginary duke's self-characterisation is revealing (*Richard III*, I i 14–31). But opposing examples from literature must be admitted. The reader need not be reminded of Quasimodo in *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (*Le Notre Dame de Paris*) by Victor Hugo.

With respect to Shakespeare, Hero, who is a short and shy brunette, is the opposite of Beatrice, who is tall, fair and witty. There is another pair of heroines in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Hermia and Helena. The former is short and dark (but fierce in times of stress) and therefore similar to Hero. The latter is tall and fair (but gentle), so resembling Beatrice. So we can suppose that there are two stock figures on Shakespeare's stage: one is a short brunette, the other is a tall blonde.

We meet Katherine and Bianca, a third pair of sisters in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Katherine has a sharp temper and a dark complexion. By contrast Bianca is deceptively sweet. So there is again a pair of women siblings having opposite mentality and psyche as well as corporeal traits.

As regards Shakespeare, he can be considered a playwright who created opposite personalities in very different figures, making use of a very effective comic technique. Granted, he had a subtle knowledge of human psyche and a talent to portray it in dramatic plots.

The other group of questions relates to interpretation, and it is these questions that will be dealt with in the next part.

3. Questions of Interpretation

Can psychology help a theatre-goer comprehend the expression *she's too low for a high praise*? Can a person's internal world be characterised on the basis of physical appearance? Although society is deeply divided by many kinds of discrimination, it is evident that nobody should be judged solely by their appearance. If it were so, it would be prejudice. Although prejudice is a common human emotion, the resulting biases are most often irrational and not rooted in fact. So the answer is no.

Can imagination help the reader/spectator understand and interpret the phrase *she's too low for a high praise*? The answer is yes. But what cannot be helped by imagination? A child's imagination can transform his/her bed into a swimming-pool or an aeroplane. So the answer cannot lie in this direction.

Now let us turn to the linguistic aspect of interpretation. Apart from literary analysis, stylistic evaluation and social circumstances, from which aspects the dialogue can and must be examined, can linguistics form the basis of this pun? Can it be the semantics of the word *low*? In my opinion, yes it does, and yes it is.

In the following parts of the study, data are compiled. In the next part similar expressions are listed from Shakespeare's works. Then a list of colloquial examples is presented from the British National Corpus.

Is this pun (*she's too low for a high praise*) unique and therefore particularly effective or can similar expressions be found in Shakespeare's works?

4. Data 1: *High* and *Low* in Shakespeare's Works

Is the pun in (1) (*she's too low for a high praise*) unique and therefore particularly effective or can similar expressions be found in Shakespeare's works? Did Shakespeare have an extended poetic licence, or is an understanding of the expression underpinned by other examples from the writer, even from everyday talk?

There are several similar phrases in Shakespeare's plays. First, let us see examples contrasting the two adjectives similarly.

(2)   Hermia [to Helena]
     And are you grown so high in his esteem;
     Because I am so dwarfish and so low?
     How low am I, thou painted maypole? speak
     [...]
          (*A Midsummer Night's Dream*, III ii 295–97)

(3)   *Up, cousin, up. Your heart is up, I know,*
   Thus high at least, although your knee be low.
        (*Richard II*, III iii 192–93)

(4)   Silvia
          Too low a mistress for so high a servant.
      Proteus
          Not so, sweet lady, but too mean a servant
          To have a look of such a worthy mistress.
                              (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, II iv 104–6)

The rest of the compilation has quotations including only *low*.

(5)   *And with a low submissive reverence*
                              (*The Taming of the Shrew*, Induction i 51)

(6)   *With soft low tongue and lowly courtesy*
                              (*The Taming of the Shrew*, Induction i 112)

(7)   *How low soever the matter, I hope in God for high words.*
                              (*Love's Labour's Lost*, I i 190)

(8)   *Stoop low within those bounds we have o'erlook'd*
          And calmly run on in obedience
                              (*King John*, V iv 55–56)

(9)   [. . .] *in low simplicity*
          He lends out money gratis
                              (*The Merchant of Venice*, I iii 41–42)

(10) *Could such inordinate and low desires,*
          Such poor, such bare, such lewd, such mean attempts
                              (1 *Heny IV*, III ii 12–13)

(11) [. . .] *I mean, sweet words,*
          Low-crookèd curtsies, and base spaniel-fawning.
                              (*Julius Caesar*, III i 42–43)

(12) *My low-declinèd honour*
                              (*The Rape of Lucrece*, l 1705)

(13) *He woos both high and low, both rich and poor*
                              (*The Merry Wives of Windsor*, II i 108)

(14) *For government, though high and low and lower*
                              (*Henry V*, I ii 180)

(15) *Whose roof's as low as ours! Stoop, boys*
                    (*Cymbeline*, III iii 2)

(16) *A crown for York, and, lords, bow low to him.*
                    (*3 Henry VI*, I iv 95)

(17) *Not so much noise, my lords! Sweet prince, speak low.*
                    (*2 Henry IV*, IV v 147)

(18) *That can sing both high and low*
                    (*Twelfth Night*, II iii 40)

(19) *Didst hear her speak? Is she shrill-tongued or low?*
                    (*Antony and Cleopatra*, III iii 12)

As the collection contains a selection of all occurrences of *low*, it must be pointed out that this kind of use of the adjective cannot be accidental, but it can be used in many contexts. On the one hand it has a reference to some types of perception; on the other hand *low* can be used to refer to social status, or to emotions.

5. Data 2: colloquial examples compiled from the British National Corpus

The British National Corpus is a resource of everyday examples of language in use. It is also a selection of all possible cases. The list proves that *low* has many senses, or connotations, and is adaptable to many contexts. Here is the list:

(20) *MPs enjoy such low status, because the work is so poorly paid*

(21) *Jane went out to sit on a low wall.*

(22) *like the low cloud on the mountains*

(23) *When we woke, the light was low and yellow.*

(24) *low density*

(25) *at low prices*

(26) *Drakes* [are] *silent, except for low cooing or whistling notes in courtship.*

(27) *Care programming may come fairly low down the list of priorities for social services.*

(28) *In these countries, the incidence of low birth weight tended to be lowest among babies.*

(29) *causing ill feeling and low morale*

(30) *he heard the low rumble of his father's voice*

(31) *A very crusty Irishman with a low opinion of Royal Navy regulations*

(32) *His landscapes are notable for the broad, low horizons*

(33) *in the adult lives of people of low social class*

(34) *Fenella, trying to keep her voice low, so that Goibniu and the others would not hear it*

(35) *despite the low number of patients*

6. Polysemy

Traditionally, polysemy is determined as the multiple meaning of a single lexeme. Manifold meaning implies two criteria. Firstly, there is a common source of senses expounded etymologically. Secondly, meanings are related to each other (Lyons 1996, 58–59). (In fact, there are many cases in which it cannot be decided whether the word is polysemous or the words are homonymous.)

The occurrences of *low* are linked to senses in Table 1. There are two examples in which the concrete meanings are literal, (15), (21).

Two dictionaries often recommended to students (*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* and *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*) are used so that the different meanings can be classified. This way of grouping is not subtle, and some cases may be disputable. On the whole, the table is a useful one. That is, it is evident that concrete meanings connected to the physical world make the majority of cases (22 examples), and only 19 examples turn up within three abstract fields. Empty boxes reveal more: there are 19 empty categories in the abstract fields that cannot obviously be linked to any senses.

7. Cognitive Approach

Cognitive semantics is concerned with investigating the relationship between common experience, the system and the semantic structure of concepts encoded by language. So it breaks with traditional semantics. Although it accepts that the meanings of a lexeme are related, it is not etymology that is elucidated by a cognitive approach. Rather, it concerns itself with how everyday experience underlies certain concrete meanings,

Table 1: Occurrence of senses of the word *low* (Based on Mayor 2009 and Hornby 2010)

		Senses related to the physical world	Senses related to society	Senses related to mental features	Senses related to ethics
Senses	Amount	(25), (28), (35)	—	—	—
	Level	(3), (8), (11), (16), (24), (32)	(5), (6), (8), (27)	(1), (9)	(1), (7), (12), (29), (31)
	Height	(1), (2), (4), (15), (21), (22)	—	—	—
	Quality	—	—	—	(10), (11)
	Loudness	(6), (17), (34)	—	—	—
	Tone	(18), (26), (30)	—	—	—
	Status	—	(2), (13), (14), (16), (20), (33)	—	—
	Brightness	(23)	—	—	—

more precisely, it concerns certain concrete notions in comparison with and in contrast to abstract ideas.

Cognitive linguistics deals with concepts in the human mind. The corpus is language but concepts are analysed. What is studied in stylistics and literature is a metaphorical linguistic expression. What is dealt with in cognitive linguistics is a concept. Concepts are named conceptual metaphors.

The starting point is a metaphor: *she's too low for a high praise*. If *low* is meant her height, the meaning is literal. But *high praise* cannot have a literal meaning as it is not meant as height. It is a metaphor; I admit it is a dead one. It is used so frequently that nobody considers its real meaning, but everybody uses the expression in the most natural way.

George Lakoff and Mark Johnson claim that metaphor is a property of concepts rather than of language. Its function is to understand concepts rather than linguistic expressions (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

Thought is embodied, in that the structures used to put together our conceptual systems grow out of bodily experience and make sense in terms of it. Moreover, the core of our conceptual systems is directly grounded in perception, body movement, and experience of a physical and social character (Lakoff 1987, xiv).

Lakoff argues with objectivist linguists and philosophers that concepts are not independent of human knowledge so ideas do not form part of the world. He states that "human language is based on human concepts, which are in turn motivated by human experience" (Lakoff 1987, 206).

This way a new meaning is attributed to polysemy. It "arises from the fact that there are systematic relationships between different cognitive models and between elements of the same model" (Lakoff 1987, 13). Etymology is replaced by conceptual metaphors.

Conceptual metaphors are highly abstract notions lacking characteristic details. This abstraction makes application possible in the sense that it provides a basis for many

(metaphorical) linguistic expressions. Conceptual metaphors are arranged by mappings across two conceptual domains. Some mappings are due to pre-conceptual embodied experiences while some build on these experiences from early childhood to form more complex conceptual structures. Some examples taken from Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Kövecses (2002) are listed below:

(36) CAREER IS AN UPWARD JOURNEY[1]

(37) CONTROL IS UP

(38) LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN

(39) HAPPY IS UP

(40) SAD IS DOWN

(41) MORE IS UP

(42) LESS IS DOWN

(43) HEALTHY IS UP

(44) LACK OF VIRTUE IS DOWN

A pair of conceptual metaphors, (39) and (40), is picked up, and some metaphorical linguistic expressions are added to it:

(45) *I'm feeling up.*

(46) *My spirits rose.*

(47) *You're in high spirits.*

(48) *I'm feeling down.*

(49) *He's really low these days.*

(50) *I fell into a depression.*

According to Lakoff and Johnson the bodily experience of all these metaphorical linguistic expressions as well as the conceptual metaphors are as follows: "Drooping

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1. I keep the convention established by the two authors. Conceptual metaphors are printed in block letters.

posture typically goes along with sadness and depression, erect posture with a positive emotional state" (1980, 15).

Many examples taken from Shakespeare and everyday speech can be added to the above list, e.g., (3), (5), (11), (16), (22), (32).

How can the rest be interpreted? How can concrete and abstract meanings be connected?

8. Metaphorical Extension

Shift in meaning is explained with the help of metaphorical extension. The main point in the theory is that a physical domain (source domain) is employed to encode an abstract domain (target domain). In other words, a physical entity which is experienced bodily is extended to a non-physical domain (Johnson 1987, 107). This kind of sense development was first articulated by Heinz Kronasser (1952, cited by Haser 2003, 174).

The key feature of extension is unidirectionality. The unidirectionality of extensions can logically be explained by the inherent unidirectionality of a metaphorical connection (viewing X as Y is not the same as, and does not imply, viewing Y as X) (Sweetser 1993, 19). Unidirectionality and the logical order of levels of concreteness/abstractness are represented in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1: SOURCE DOMAIN HIERARCHY (HEINE ET AL. 1991, 55)
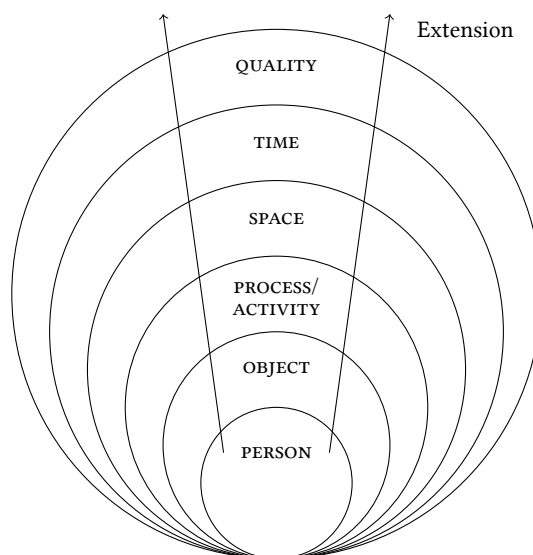
Taking the series of entities in Figure 1 into account, it is possible to set up a hypothetical order of senses of the word *low*: PERSON ↔ tallness/height, OBJECT ↔ height, PROCESS ↔ brightness, SPACE ↔ level, QUALITY ↔ characteristics of abstract domains (society, mental faculties, ethics).

9. CONCLUSIONS

Firstly, all "metaphors," that is metaphorical linguistic expressions, are based on concept metaphors. Though the dictionary of metaphors is always being enlarged, all metaphors remain understandable owing to conceptual metaphors in cognition.

Secondly, the chain of metaphorical extensions provides an explanation of all senses of the adjective *low* irrespective of age, style, or author.

Thirdly, apart from the grammatical peculiarities of Shakespeare's language, the text is understandable because conceptual metaphors in "cognitive" Shakespeare are the same as in modern thinking. Language always changes but the system of conceptual metaphors is relatively stable.

Fourthly, one's mentality can be explained by less abstract, physical features but it cannot mean that there is a direct connection between physical appearance and the inner world. Bodily and inner faculties are not linked logically or biologically, but the former is extended to the latter to help the hearer to understand the message. To suppose a direct connection implies prejudice.

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A Linguistic Analysis of Political Discourse: Justification of the Iraq War

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Abstract: This paper deals with aspects of political discourse in speeches given by President George W. Bush during the initial phases of the campaign for a preemptive strike against Iraq in 2003. I use the Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach, which is described by van Dijk (2008, 85) as a "type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context." I will also explore the argumentative structure of these speeches, as well as persuasive strategy used by the orator.

Keywords: political discourse; critical discourse analysis; justification; political speeches; war on terror; George W. Bush; Iraq War

1. Introduction

The 9/11 attacks on the United States became a pretext for a series of overseas military operations executed by the administration of George W. Bush. The main purpose of these military operations was to fight a war against terrorism. As a result of the events of 9/11, there developed a consistent rhetoric aimed at justifying military action on the grounds that American citizens both at home and abroad were in danger. After some time, the Bush administration, with the bipartisan support of Congress, initiated a "War on Terror" that also involved a special kind of rhetoric. As a part of this effort, the world witnessed a concerted effort to discursively justify overseas military operations.

Politicians are great producers of discourse, and their speeches touch on many aspects of everyday life. Moreover, few forms of oral discourse are as well known, quoted on a regular basis or presented in the mass media as those put forth by prominent politicians such as a president or prime minister. The aim of this article is to examine the persuasive side of political discourse and discursive strategies that are present in the Bush's speeches concerning the "War on Terror." Furthermore, this paper will focus on depictions of the enemy in excerpts of political discourse delivered in two speeches by Bush.

2. Political Discourse

Politics involves, to a great degree, the use of language. Language in this sense is perceived as the key factor in situations where politicians try to persuade people to adopt particular point of view. Chilton (2004, 14) claims that "[p]olitical actors recognize the role of language because its use has effects, and because politics *is* very largely the use of language." Therefore, politicians have to recognize the importance of language because its use has

profound effects. This interconnection between language and politics is commented on by Joseph (2006, 17), who argues that "every act of language is *potentially* political."

There is a close relation between activities of politicians and language. Politicians are remarkable producers of discourse, and their speeches touch on many significant aspects of our lives, e.g., education, health care, economics or even more important matters such as peace and war. Their speeches are made widely available through multiple medias, including newspaper, television, radio and the Internet.

No matter how politics is defined, it also contains a linguistic, discursive and communicative dimension. Generally, one of the main aims of the analysis of political discourse is to specify the ways in which a particular choice of language is manipulated for specific political goals. Examples of political discourse can be analyzed almost on all levels of linguistics from lexis to pragmatics. Chilton and Schäffner (1997, 211) claim that the "task of political discourse analysis is to relate the fine grain of linguistic behaviour to what we understand by 'politics' or 'political behaviour.'"

Political discourse may contain covert as well as overt linguistic tools that serve for shaping of public opinion. On the syntactic level, for example, a reversal of word order can be used for stressing certain information. Repetition of key notions or ideas is also frequently practiced by politicians. Lakoff (2003, par. 11) comments on this point: "despite the lack of any positive evidence and the fact that the secular Saddam and the fundamentalist bin Laden despise each other, the Bush administration has managed to convince 40 per cent of the American public of the link, just by [repeatedly] asserting it."

Wilson (2001, 404) argues that "linguistic options for representing the world are clearly, then, central issues in political discourse, but so are issues of action and textual production." As far as genres of political discourse are concerned, van Dijk (2008, 176) lists the following ones: "parliamentary debates, laws, propaganda, slogans, peace negotiations, international treaties." In addition to the above mentioned genres, political speeches also present an essential component of political discourse.

2.1   Political speeches

Language plays an essential role in the construction of ideological positions. Within political discourse, speeches given by politicians are a particularly important genre. As a genre of political discourse, political speech, according to Dedaić (2006, 700) represents "relatively autonomous discourse produced orally by a politician in front of an audience, the purpose of which is primarily persuasion. [. . .] The orator is speaking face to face with his or her audience and deals with a controversial issue. Generally, the purpose of any political speech is to convince the audience that that his or her standpoints are correct and plausible."

In the USA, presidential speeches are cast by the media as prominent political and even social events and are therefore important to study.

3.   Theoretical Framework

The framework for this study is Critical Discourse Analysis. A prominent analytical approach for the last two decades, CDA primarily focuses on the relationship between

language and power, as well as on "the way discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society" (van Dijk 2008, 86). CDA is also specifically interested with how one group controls or influences another through the form or content of text and talk. According to Fairclough (2003, 2), CDA is based on the assumption that "language is an irreducible part of social life, dialectically interconnected with other elements of social life." CDA views language as a form of social practice and attempts to create awareness of the influences of language on social structure. Wodak et al. (1999, 8) claim that the main aim of CDA is "to unmask ideologically permeated and often obscure structure of power, political control and dominance."

4. Justification of War through Language

Chilton (2003, 95) argues that "[j]ustification of war is a form of political action that takes place most massively through language." The speeches by George W. Bush were complex and detailed speech events designed to justify American involvement in a military action in a far away place, among a far – away people of whom the American electorate had little information. This justification was realized partly through the demonization of the enemy. Thus, not only the usual strategies of legitimizing can be expected, such as the legal, moral or political justifications for such a military action, but also strategies of positive self-presentation of "Us" and a negative presentation of "Them." In this particular case, "We" – represents Western democracies, whereas "Them" represents states that threaten "Us."

In general, the discourse produced by Bush and his speechwriters in this period has the characteristics of "call to arms" (Graham, Keenan and Dowd, 2004) discourse, in which a national or military leader uses certain expressions to convince citizens to execute an offensive against the enemy. For the purpose of this analysis, excerpts of pre-war speeches delivered by President Bush to the American public are examined. The primary sources are transcripts of his speeches from 2002 to 2003. In these speeches, Bush rhetorically prepared the world for what would later become known as the Iraq War.

4.1 "Us" and "Them" in Discourse

In order to communicate the ideology of war in an effective way, it is vital to present arguments that could be applied discursively in a manner that is easily intelligible and which could gain the widest possible approval by people who are receivers of the text. One discursive strategy to ensure this goal is to create strong polarization.

In discourse structures that concern ideologies, there are usually four discursive strategies that involve the distribution of positive or negative information about those who are perceived as belonging to one's group and those who are regarded as being the "others." Van Dijk (2006, 734) proposes the notion of the so-called ideological square when dealing with these discursive strategies and the ideological polarization "Us vs. Them":

— Emphasize Our good things,
— Emphasize Their bad things,
— De-emphasize Our bad things,
— De-emphasize Their good things.

These strategies are present in political discourse in the situations where it is in the interest of the discourse participants to construct clear – cut divisions between "Us" and "Them" (Becker, 2007).

In the following, I will present particular examples of ideological polarization from excerpts of Bush's speeches. These elements were of great importance for George W. Bush's claim for the need to launch a preemptive strike on Iraq: the evil character of Saddam Hussein and his regime, and their possession of weapons of mass destruction that might be used against the U.S. and her allies.

Saddam Hussein's evil character was consistently represented by Bush in a very critical manner. In this quote from speech given in Cincinnati (a Republican stronghold in an otherwise Democratic state) on October 7, 2002, Bush proclaimed that the lives of Iraqi citizens "could hardly get worse" and even compared the Iraqi regime with the Stalinist regime.

(1)　"Some worry that a change of leadership in Iraq could create instability and make the situation worse. The situation could hardly get worse, for world security and for the people of Iraq. The lives of Iraqi citizens would improve dramatically if Saddam Hussein were no longer in power, just as the lives of Afghanistan's citizens improved after the Taliban. The dictator of Iraq is a student of Stalin, using murder as a tool of terror and control, within his own cabinet, within his own army, and even within his own family." (Bush, 2002)

(2)　"Saddam Hussein also has experience in using chemical weapons. He has ordered chemical attacks on Iran, and on more than forty villages in his own country. These actions killed or injured at least 20,000 people, more than six times the number of people who died in the attacks of September the 11th." (Bush, 2002)

In these excerpts from Bush's speech, it can be observed that the president used strong accusations, listed Hussein's atrocities and evoked in the minds of the audience powerful images of the events of 9/11.

Saddam Hussein was also depicted as an "insane person" and cruel dictator, mainly in Bush's State of the Union Address which he delivered in Washington D.C. on January 28, 2003:

(3)　"Trusting in the sanity and restraint of Saddam Hussein is not a strategy, and it is not an option. (Applause.)

The dictator who is assembling the world's most dangerous weapons has already used them on whole villages – leaving thousands of his own citizens dead, blind, or disfigured. Iraqi refugees tell us how forced confessions are obtained – by torturing children while their parents are made to watch. International human rights groups have catalogued other methods used in the torture chambers of Iraq: electric shock, burning with hot irons, dripping acid on the skin, mutilation with electric drills, cutting out tongues, and rape. If this is not evil, then evil has no meaning." (Bush, 2003)

In this part of his speech, Bush directly accuses Hussein of assembling weapons of mass destruction, the possession (potential or real) of which presented an important reason for waging war against Iraq. Secondly, the message embedded in this statement indicated that the potential conflict between the USA and Iraq was basically rooted in Hussein's evil character.

5. Conclusion

This study has explored the discursive properties of George W. Bush's speeches in the campaign during the run-up to the Iraq War. It has been observed that politicians frequently focus on complex properties of *Us* vs. *Them* divisions that exist between nations. Employing van Dijk's model of ideological square, we have seen how the polarization *Us* vs. *Them* works in the argumentative structure of Bush's speeches. Thus, knowledge of the relationship between language and power can be expanded by looking at such discursive examples. Within these texts, generally classified as "call to arms" speeches, interesting patterns have been found when depicting an enemy. Bush's rhetoric concerning Saddam Hussein and his regime contains many opposites that demonstrate the *Us* vs. *Them* division.

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Storytelling as a Discourse Strategy in Printed Advertising

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ABSTRACT: This paper offers an analysis of printed advertisements that employ a discourse strategy of storytelling in their body copies. Stories are a rich source of positive imagination-enhancing material. Their employment in ads seems natural. Due to space limitations of ads, presented stories rarely contain detailed plot-lines or developed characters. They are often incomplete or only hinted at, which is especially the case of fictional accounts. What allows recipients to perceive even incomplete narratives as stories and thus start the desired processing is advertising story-related cues. This paper maps the employment of time-sequencing, characters and location as story-telling cues. Details of their incorporation are noted and related to the types of stories and preferred advertising strategies.

KEYWORDS: printed advertising; discourse strategy; narrative; text worlds; mental space; advertising cues

People are story tellers. Long before literacy became a distinctive feature of our society, people lived their lives listening to and telling stories. Later, it was stories through which writing developed into the skill of social necessity and art as we know it today. Shared stories have shaped our very own development – our relationships with other community members and the community itself; our beliefs, social conventions and norms. Children grow up listening to stories. Stories help conceptualize our world before we are able to conceptualize it through our own experience. As we mature, we never grow tired of stories; they form the basis of our socializing and entertainment. Informal conversations tend to consist of strings of interconnected stories rather than of individual communicative events; and stories depicted by films, plays and fiction books fill a substantial amount of our leisure time.

Advertisers would clearly miss a great opportunity if they did not promote their products by means of telling stories. The ability of stories to evoke associations is an important and heavily explored tool. As David Barry and Michael Elmes (1997, 431) point out, "Narrativity emphasizes the simultaneous presence of multiple, interlinked realities, and is thus well positioned for capturing the diversity and complexity present in strategic discourse." Stories are frequently associated with childhood and tender parental care, with socializing and bonding, or with leisure time. They are rarely associated with force, persuasiveness and biasing, for which many recipients despise ads as a genre. Ad messages in which stories form the most manifest platform of product promotion may benefit from all of the mentioned associations and gain a more favorable rating with any potential recipient. Story-telling is, without a doubt, one of the discourse strategies used in advertising.

Narrative, or storytelling, is understood in line with Barry and Elmes's definition as a subjective account of events in time sequence, bound with a theme. It conveys meaning from a sender (an advertiser) to a reader (an ad recipient). A corpus of 455 ads was collected from U.S. magazines (*Vanity Fair, People, US Weekly, Life & Style, Star, OK*) to conduct this research; 45 instances (10%) were identified as messages containing stories, or hinting at them. 27 of those (60%) were printed in a high-quality content monthly magazine; 18 instances (40%) in the collection of tabloid weeklies. This signals a slight preference for storytelling as a discourse strategy used with an older and more affluent target audience, who constitute the readers of the monthly. From another perspective, this may also suggest that storytelling is a milder and more subtle, laid-back strategy explored by advertisers. About 60% of the storytelling ads can be easily interpreted as stories due to the cues of setting, characters and plot given explicitly. The rest of the ads reveal an incomplete, tentative story, an equivalent of a tale idiom "once upon a time." These ads contain some of the attributes of a story, but the recipients themselves are left to fill in the vacant mental space opened by the few given cues.

The vacant mental space is understood in terms of text world theory as discussed by Laura Hidalgo Downing (2000, 67–88). She claims: "[P]articipants in communicative situations actively construct the shared contexts which arise from the interaction between the information in the text and the knowledge brought by the participants to the discourse situations." The constructed contexts have cognitive nature; they are representations of what is explicitly or implicitly present in the discourse. Werth (1999) labels these constructed cognitive representations *worlds* and assigns them a description of a conceptual domain representing a state of affairs. In this paper, I use the term *mental space* for the notion of a world constructed in recipients' minds after reading the advertising message, or parts of it. Both advertisers and recipients enter the advertising communication with shared knowledge about the context, its goals and related expectations. As Barry and Elmes note, narrative should be understood in terms of constructing "systematic unpackings of the conceptual world" rather than in terms of mechanisms (1997, 432). The way in which the ad message is constructed and then processed opens up recipients' mental spaces and allows "filling the space" with reasons, emotions, memories of personal experience, associations, imaginary constructs, etc.

The mental space that is created after reading an ad may be a beneficial concept for the advertisers if the recipients' processes of interpretation and filling the space are somehow directed. Textual *cues* present in the ad message function as a "space outline" and thus navigate the mental processing. Moriarty (2010) defines advertising cues as "a signal of something or a reminder of something. It brings to mind something from past knowledge or previous experience that provides a framework of meaning that can be used to interpret the sign." A cue in an advertising message is a textual or visual signal that activates certain mental space in the recipient's mind and sets its borders.

Advertisers often explore discourse possibilities to deliver a message in a new, unexpected way. What clearly makes discourse to be perceived as a story is the presence of narrative cues, specifically active verbs (mostly in past tense), a time sequence of events, a vivid description of a

scene and the introduction of characters. The detection of one of these cues is sometimes enough to perceive the message as a story, at least a hinted one. However, the cues often combine their force; the more of them present, the more the message feels like a prototypical story.

This paper deals with narrative discourse strategy in advertising. It offers a brief description of story-lines. However, it concentrates on providing analysis of story-telling cues, which allow recipients to perceive the advertising texts as stories.

Plot-lines in Advertising Stories

Stories told in printed ads fall into two major categories: fictional and true accounts. From the fictional ones (24 in total), only one-third of the ads tells a full story; the rest present hinted, incomplete accounts. The presence of some story-telling cues evokes the impression of a narrative; however, the plot-line is incomplete. Hinted stories leave very broad, vacant, mental space and thus allow the recipients to supply a wide range of personalized contents in the interpretation phase. True-account stories present three stereotypical plot-lines: birth of a product (found in 10 ads), testing of a product (in 4 instances) and the usage of a product by a known personality (6 instances).

Compared to fictional stories, true accounts seem to evoke rational thinking by the recipient. They provide reasons for obtaining the product that are not necessarily based on positive emotions. The birth-of-the-product and testing-the-product stories present a unique selling proposition as the major theme and are heavily combined with descriptive discourse strategy. These two categories of ad messages contain 60 to 170 words in one message, which makes them considerably longer than the well-known personality stories (those contain 10 to 100 words). Most similarities concerning the employment of reason vs. tickle strategy and the length of the message can be found among fully presented stories. Full fictional stories exhibit prevalence of reason strategy or a balance of both reason and tickle. They also have longer body copies. Hinted fictional stories are based on tickle strategy, exploring the emotional and creative potential of recipients by giving them possibilities to co-create the stories. Hinted stories tend to be much shorter, too.

What makes fictional and true stories different is the size of mental space they expect the recipient to fill in. With fictional ones, recipients may feel there are fewer restrictions than with true stories. This may also suggest recipients are left with more power to decide how they interpret the ad. Their own identification with the fictional character is easier as well. The true stories bring a ready-made advertising message where a unique selling proposition generally offers sufficient reasons to consider buying the product. From this point of view, associating with the characters is not the vital part of message processing. True accounts leave most power over the discourse with the advertiser. While true stories may remind more of non-fictional narrative, fictional stories seem to be closer to prototypical literary accounts.

Storytelling Cues

The following analysis discloses cues and their patterns of advertising storytelling. References to protagonists, timing and setting are described to demonstrate how these cues of storytelling strategy contribute to the marketing strategies.

Certain cues in ads prompt recipients to identify the messages as stories and process them in that sense. Regardless of the type of story, it is the characters, setting and time-line of events that contribute to the "narrativity" of the discourse. Since perceiving some ads obviously feels like reading stories while with others the identification is not that certain and clear, narrativity is seen as operating along a continuum. The more storytelling cues present, the more the discourse feels narrative. A closer look at how storytelling cues are explored in ad messages reveals further standards as well as unique features of narrative discourse strategy in advertising.

1. TIME SEQUENCING OF EVENTS AS A STORYTELLING CUE

The attribute that most intensively makes ad messages prone to being interpreted as stories is the chronological order of depicted events. Mostly this is achieved through the usage of active verbs in past or present perfect tense. Storytelling is traditionally viewed as recounting past events. Ads that feature active verbs in past or present perfect utilize a basic storytelling feature and thus tend to be interpreted as stories.

Nonetheless, taking advertising specifics into consideration, this feature is not universal. It seems to be rather standard with true stories, where only 7 ads break the rule and narrate events in the present tense or with reference to future. The birth-of-the-product stories sometimes recount the product creation as a sequence of events that happens repeatedly or as one continuous process. For this purpose, simple present tense can be used, as with Evian (VF10): ". . . Every drop of Evian comes from deep in the heart of the French Alps. It's naturally filtered for over 15 years through pristine glacial rock formations . . ." or Martin Miller's Gin (VF5): ". . . That's because our gin is small batch pot distilled in England using the freshest hand-picked botanicals. This guarantees the correct balance of juniper, spice and citrus notes. It's also why it travels to Iceland to be blended with the purest water on earth . . ." Innovativeness in how to tell a story may be another reason why unusual tense or mood are used. An Infinity ad (VF10) tells the story through imperatives of how the car was made and thus makes it look like an instruction manual: "Take everything you know about design and nudge it. Push it. Simplify it. Modernize it. Liberate it. Inject it with life. Give it a point of view and 335 horsepower and hold on . . ."

Fictional stories, on the other hand, seem to be much more versatile in what tense is used to present the events. Only 7 fictional stories in the sample use standard past tense; they also tend to tell the full story. 17 others, most of which are hinted, feature verbs in present tense or are verbless: "A new Cinderella is born . . ." (Dior VF1), "Maybe it's your anniversary . . ." (Tiffany VF3), "A new legend begins . . ." (Sanyo P4), "Location: anywhere & everywhere. Post Office: www.splenda.com Weather: daily SPLENDA sprinkles. Official Flower: sweet pea. Destination: Splendaville. You won't find it on any map. But you will find it in ice tea . . ." (Splenda P6). This seems to suggest that utilizing past tense as one the standard features of storytelling lends credibility and realism to the ad stories. The more the stories depart from using past tense, the more they seem fictional and imagined, and the more they invite the recipients to continue in the imaginative processing.

Order of events can be presented by other means as well. It is frequently verbalized through temporal adverbials, clauses or time-referring noun phrases, whether along with using verbal tenses or solely by itself. However, these means mostly appear when tense utilization does not follow the story-telling prototype: "After building three of the most capable 4x4s on Earth . . . we had our biggest idea yet . . ." (Jeep Commander VF9), ". . . It's naturally filtered for over 15 years . . ." (Evian VF10), ". . . Once it arrives here, it filters through ancient volcanic rock over hundreds of years . . ." (Fiji Water P1), "One day, you wake up, you're 40 . . . " (Clarins VF10), ". . . Take three, last day of shooting . . ." (Louis Vuitton VF2). In one case, time sequence of events was creatively established via a fictitious dialogue, where the gradual turn-taking of participating characters marked the flow of time.

It is rather rare that no time reference, whether through tenses or explicit time reference, appears in storytelling ads. Using past-tense verbs or expressions referring to the time sequence of events functions as a story-identifying discourse tool. Recipients are thus enabled to map the positive experience of storytelling onto the genre of advertising.

2. Characters as Storytelling Cues

Two categories of protagonists can be identified in advertising stories: the participants in the advertising communication, which are the sender of the message and its recipient; and then the characters in the narrated stories. The first category is inevitably present in all other types of ads, since advertising as such is a communication between a sender and a recipient. The second category is a storytelling cue that allows ad messages to be interpreted as stories.

The narrator is deictically marked in the story when simultaneously fulfilling the role of a story character. This is the case of birth-of-the-product stories, where the producer acts as a main story protagonist and self-identifies as "we" (in 5 ads) or "I" (in one case). Two more such cases are found in the testing-the-product category, where the testing authority also functions as the narrator. The messages feel like the direct speech or direct thought (as distinguished by Verdonk 2002) of the producers: ". . . So we developed a complex of eight antioxidants . . ." (Clinique VF4), ". . . So we created New Frizz-Ease Thermal Protection Serum . . ." (John Frieda US2), ". . . Nature perfected FIJI Water long before we bottled it . . ." (Fiji Water P1), ". . . I made my first small batch of wine from grapes I grew on . . ." (Kendall-Jackson VF10), ". . . Our development process was . . ." (Clorox P2). These stories seem very direct, open and sincere since the sender is clearly identified and does not rely on advertising anonymity or on others telling the relevant story. The first-person identity means subjectivity, but also direct responsibility in the form of a "virtual signature."

In a few limited cases, the narrator as an objective non-participating entity names the producer and inserts them into the story as a protagonist, mostly as a creator of the product: ". . . This is why Clarins created UV Plus SPF40 . . ." (Clarins VF4), "Peugeot has created a car as elegant as it is efficient . . ." (Peugeot 308 VF1), "Erno Laszlo brings

together the most advanced technologies . . .” (Erno Laszlo VF10). In this role, the producer (as the main protagonist) and the narrator function together as a team. They seem to take the positions of authority figure and spokesperson. This may decrease the impression of the responsibility of the producer for the words uttered, but on the other hand it relates to modern professional standards: the responsible people do their work, and they hire others to talk about it. The distribution of these two styles of introducing the producer seems accidental. No major, statistically relevant occurrence in different categories of storytelling ads has been discerned.

Knowing the genre of advertising, the recipients most probably understand that who sends the message is the advertiser even if they are not identified deictically through first person pronouns or through third-person reference. In an overwhelming majority of storytelling ads, especially the fictional ones, the narrator is the objective, unspecified third person, such as in “Let him think that glow is because of something he did. A radiant, deep clean. Noxzema.” (Noxzema LS3) or “It never ceases to amaze Sarah how her Mariner gets her through just about anything, even uptight maitre d’s . . .” (Mercury P3). An objective, third-person anonymous narrator and the producer (or the product) identifiable only through the brand name seem to be the standard technique used in advertising discourse.

The recipients of the messages are frequently incorporated into the stories as protagonists. In these cases, they are most often addressed with the personal pronoun “you” or “your.” Similar to the explicit identification of the sender with the first person pronouns “we” and “I,” a direct addressing of the recipients with “you” strengthens the personal involvement in the communication and explicitly marks the recipients as protagonists. Involvement in a story may leave the recipients feeling like they are treated more fairly, since they as protagonists may have more power over how the story evolves. This is supported by the distribution pattern of the second person personal pronoun: its heaviest presence is recorded in fictional stories, especially the hinted ones (in 10 instances). The mental space that is to be filled in by the recipients can be filled by almost anything; the “you” pronoun functions as a suggestion for filling the space with a story involving the recipient. “You don’t just wear a Patek Philippe. You begin an enduring love affair . . .” (Patek Philippe VF2), “. . . Morning got you down? Try new Nestle Stixx . . .” (Nestle Stixx P5), “She didn’t like your music, your clothes or your friends. Be sure that she likes your Mother’s Day gift . . .” (Kodak LS1).

There is also another use of “you” and “your” recorded in the stories. The pronouns appear repeatedly in testing-the-product and birth-of-the-product ads (6 instances), where they function as a direct appeal for the recipient to personally try a product that has been made or tested by an independent authority: “. . . the all-wheel-drive Ford Fusion came in first. If that surprises you, then find out what these *Car and Driver* enthusiasts have already discovered. Check it out yourself . . .” (Ford P2), “It’s time for you to find out what so many others already have . . . (Ford US2), “So when you choose a bottle of water to believe in, consider the source . . .” (Evian VF10), “. . . However you like it the good taste of Martin Millers will shine through . . .” (Martin Millers Gin VF5).

This use is also specific for its "standing out of the story." The statements, including the direct reference to the recipient, in these true stories do not contribute new events to the plot lines. Unlike in the fictional stories, here they seem not to function as an integral part of narrative discourse strategy.

Interestingly, the recipients are never deictically marked in the stories of products used by known personalities. This seems natural, since the stories feature a powerful protagonist, the well-known personality. Explicit inclusion of the recipients as protagonists may be too confusing. There are ad messages in which a celebrity recommends a product directly by deictically pointing to the recipient; however, those ads do not seem to explore the storytelling strategy.

The second possibility of incorporating the recipients into the stories is through imperative clauses, a typical feature of advertising discourse. In the collected storytelling ads, imperatives appeared 13 times as a part of both fictional and true stories. A typical occurrence seems to involve imperatives in the slogans: "Grab life by the horns" (Dodge P1), "Be seriously beautiful" (Erno Laszlo VF10), "Be dazzled" (Splenda P6). These imperatives sum up the gist of the story or may function as a punchline. However, they do not necessarily assign the role of a story protagonist to the recipient if this was not otherwise established in the preceding story. The situation is different when the ad contains a story in the body copy narrated through imperatives: "Take everything you know about design and nudge it. Push it. Simplify it. Modernize it. Liberate it. Inject it with life. Give it a point of view and 335 horsepower and hold on . . ." (Infinity VF1), "Eat smart, certainly. But know that when it comes to benefiting from all that goodness, skin is at the back of the line . . ." (Clinique VF4), "Be seduced . . ." (Carolina Herrera VF5). Here, the utilization of imperatives seems to directly involve the recipient in the story as its protagonist. It feels innovative and creative, since stories are usually narrated in past tense and third person. Because of the storytelling cues, the recipients tend to interpret the message as a story, yet at the same time they see the story is different: they are involved and they can imagine themselves as protagonists. Such is the case of the Infinity (VF1) ad, which is a birth-of-the-product story. Through the use of imperatives, it places the recipient in the position of the car manufacturer: if the instructions are followed, the car will be made.

Prototypical advertising imperatives in the signature lines appeared in 7 other cases. These were mostly direct appeals to ask for more information on the product, such as "Discover more at infinity.com" (Infinity VF1), "For your free bar, go to eas.com" (EAS P2), "Visit a Ford dealer or go to fusionchallenge.com" (Ford P2), "Call your Avon representative" (Avon P6). In the case of alcoholic drinks, disclaimers tend to be in an imperative mood: "Drink responsibly" (Smirnoff VF9). These instances of imperatives, however, do not make part of the stories and do not assign the recipient a role of a story protagonist. When they appear in an advertising message accompanied with no other storytelling cues, the messages do not tend to be interpreted as stories.

Assigning the role of a story protagonist to the senders and/or the recipients does not seem to be the strongest narrative cue in terms of story characters. Traditionally,

somebody else, a third person, known or anonymous, tends to be the event player. Ads that introduce such a character feel like stories par excellence: something happens to somebody while the world is watching. Such characters appear in 17 ads, mostly in two categories: fictional stories (7 instances) and a personality using (or testing or creating) the product (10 instances). Most fictional characters are, interestingly, women, which might reflect the fact that the majority of magazine readers and the majority of print ad recipients are women (as stated by *The Magazine Handbook 2010/2011*, 75). Advertisers probably try to depict a story character with whom the ad recipients may closely identify. If a person similar to the recipient has a product-related story to tell, an association is created not only with the person but with the need for the product. Fictional female characters are vaguely identified either by first name or by the personal pronoun she: "Inspired by her stylish new Mercury Milan, Tina did what anyone else in her shoes would do – buy new ones . . ." (Mercury VF9), "Grabbed the clothes from the kid at the dry cleaners. Handed him twice what she owed . . ." (Ford P4), "ange ou demon . . . she alone knows" (Givenchy VF7). In one case, the fictional character is identified through full name, profession and location, which gives it a more realistic impression: "Joye Devlin, Idalia, Colorado. Football Mom & Police Officer." (EAS Nutrition Bar P2). In one story, the character is introduced as a neutral "one," which may be an attempt to avoid gender stereotyping in a situation traditionally assigned to men - enjoying a fast drive and risking a speeding ticket: "When one is experiencing Giddyupidness, one must be aware of the cop hiding behind the billboard. If one loves to put the pedal to the metal, one must be aware of the responsive nature of the highly enlightened Kia Rondo . . ." (Kia P2). The overwhelmingly pleasant characteristics of these story protagonists are revealed mostly through illustrations that depict beautiful, stylish, happy, desirable women. If the story specifies the activities that the fictional female characters tend to engage in, the recipients may find it easy to associate with these activities: buying shoes, going to the dry-cleaners, caring for children, secretly oscillating between being a nice or a naughty girl.

Real life personalities, mostly famous entertainment or sports celebrities, are introduced through photographs depicting them in their prototypical environment (Zara Phillips, the horse riding champion, tending to her horse; Catherine Deneuve, the film actress, shooting a film scene) and by their full name incorporated into the story. In case the protagonist is somehow famous and extraordinary yet not a typical household name, the story of the ad may be based on a biography of the personality. Unlike fictional story characters, the ones depicted in true stories mostly do not function as prototypical members of the target group; they seem to occupy the positions of role-models or authorities whose judgment of the product is worthy.

3. Location

Setting a scene is a strong story-identifying cue in ads. When the recipients imagine a location, events happening in it are a natural continuation. In the sample, 18 ads are found to present cues for establishing locations; 12 in the category of true stories and 6 in fictional ones. Except for two ads, all the locations in true stories are known

geographical locations. The recipients may imagine the story happening at a concrete place and transfer the possible general-knowledge characteristics of this place to the story message. What the recipient knows of the place may become part of the story scene: "Martin Miller's Gin, distilled in England, blended in Iceland for a gin of uncompromised perfection" (Martin Miller's Gin VF5), "Our rainfall is purified by trade winds as it travels thousands of miles across the Pacific Ocean to the island of Fiji . . ." (Fiji Water P1), "Recently, in Washington D.C., a town known for its strong opinions, *Car and Driver* invited 600 of its readers to compare three cars performance, handling and styling . . ." (Ford P2), "Take three, last day of shooting. Paris . . ." (Louis Vuitton VF2), ". . . In Chardonnay terms, this means finding the delicate balance of the pineapple and mango flavors from Santa Barbara, the citrus and lime flavors from Monterey, and the red apple and pear flavors from Sonoma . . ." (Kendall-Jackson VF10). Concrete location allows extra-contextual qualities to be mapped onto the ad message, such as the pristine nature and exclusivity of the French Alps, traditionalism of England, purity and mysteriousness of Iceland, vastness of the Pacific, or warmth and pleasure of Californian valleys. Simultaneously, it embeds the story in real life and co-creates its truthfulness.

Fictional stories mostly take place at concrete yet anonymous places. The less revealed about the location, the more the recipients may imagine happening in it. General names, such as *city, lab, restaurant, dry cleaners*, or even locations purposefully unspecified, serve as storytelling cues enabling greater involvement of the recipient's imagination: ". . . Now the restaurant isn't the only place people are looking to get into . . ." (Mercury P3), "The smartest protection in town. Even in the city, the sun and pollution can cause skin to lose its fresh look and feel . . ." (Clarins VF4), "Into the Night" (Wittnauer VF10), "Location: anywhere & everywhere. Post Office: www.splenda.com" (Splenda P6). General locations serve as imagination-inducing cues and add fictional character to the stories.

Conclusion

The cues analyzed in this paper allow the ad messages to be interpreted as stories. They tend to function as identifiers of narrative discourse especially when more of them are combined in one ad. The more cues that are present, the more the ad message resembles prototypical narrative, even though narrative discourse strategy frequently combines with a descriptive one. Description functions as an anchor for the fictional story in real life. As mentioned, when attributes of stories transfer to ads, recipients may appreciate them more. The position of stories in our lives makes them an attractive discourse instance. Any irregularity in the narration of ad stories in terms of time-line, narrator, protagonists, setting or action can jeopardize the positive associations with traditional narrative. At the same time, creativity and novelty is a requirement that advertisers struggle with in order to appeal to the recipients. Unusual time setting, characters or the plot, as observed in the collected ads, point to the need of unique presentation.

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Complexity of Expression
in Students' On-line Chat Contributions

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Abstract: This paper concerns the complexity of language of on-line asynchronous communication. Two corpora of a similar size are compared where students' contributions were collected. They represent two on-line asynchronous forums that supported two courses of the TEFL Programme. Since the discussions had different topics and objectives, the way of communication and language structures also differed. One forum was opened to support students' work on preparing Hot Potatoes exercises and the other to discuss the ELT Curriculum and the educational programme used by the school where students were on their teaching internships. Generally, the length and structure of messages were significantly influenced by the purpose of the forum: sentences within the forum which focused on social interaction tended to be shorter, less complex and similar to face-to-face dialogues, while those in the forum which focused on topic discussion displayed features of partly independent monologues.

Keywords: computer mediated communication; face-to-face communication; asynchronous forum; written and spoken language; discourse analysis

Computer mediated communication (CMC) is a special type of discourse with a mixture of features typical for either written or spoken language. Even though spoken and written texts are associated with different media of communication and though they involve different modes, a well-defined border between these two types remains illusive (McCarthy and Carter 1994, 8–9). The relationship between them is a set of links among various linguistic forms and the context of their use. As Biber explains, there is no absolute distinction between speech and writing since "the relations are complex and associated with a variety of different situational functions and processing considerations" (1988, 24). But Widdowson distinguishes a very strict difference between speech and writing regarding the process of mediating a message and the process of interpreting meaning (2007, 7).

The language of asynchronous chats is one specific subcategory of CMC with a blend of seven criteria determined as characteristic for speech or writing (Crystal 2001, 42). Applying these criteria, the communication of chat groups are bound by both time and space, but in special ways in comparison to the traditional written and spoken channels. Messages sent to the asynchronous forum stay there at least for the time a forum is opened and will not disappear as usually occurs in synchronous chats. They can therefore be read later as any other written text, although such a period of time is in most cases terminated and so the communication displays a feature of time-binding. Also, the second criterion is not absolutely decisive since the degree of spontaneity does not depend on the channel of communication. In some situations, contributions in asynchronous chats may be very spontaneous, almost like face-to-face dialogue, but in others they can be contrived and very neatly prepared. The following criteria are more clearly applicable and they shift

asynchronous forums more towards the written-type text. Unlike in real spoken dialogue there is no face-to-face contact and no prosodic means can be used. In traditional face-to-face communication, the lack of well-prepared structures is counterbalanced by the physical presence of all participants at the same time and place, and thus understanding is immediately revisable. On the other hand, in written communication the lack of visual contact is substituted by elaborated structure, frequently accompanied by a variety of graphical means and potentially a special graphical layout. Since written texts are not temporary, the appropriate understanding can be revised repeatedly. It seems that CMC of asynchronous chats combines two threats: it lacks visual contact and prosodic devices, but also lacks elaborated, organized structure with special graphical means supporting the correct understanding of a message. In fact, however, the combination of apparent insufficiencies does not prevent effective communication because CMC is not simply a blend of speech and writing, but constitutes a "genuine third medium" (Crystal 2001, 48). The last criterion under discussion is the prevailing purpose of communication: spoken discourse is declared to be socially interactive, while written discourse to be factually communicative. Neither of them can be affirmed for CMC in general, since asynchronous forums may differ significantly as to their primary function, which consequently influences texts produced during the discussion. Some chats can be highly socially interactive while others can be primarily factually communicative. Crystal declares that "the more academic and professional they are, the more likely they are to be factual in aim" (2001, 46).

To sum up the application of typical spoken-text and written-text criteria to asynchronous CMC, it should be expected that this discourse will show more written-like characteristics, including the fact that it is not pronounced but typed. Even though there are definitely certain tendencies in speech and writing, "the lack of an absolute difference between speech and writing shows that it is possible, within each mode, to override the salient situational characteristics of the mode" (Biber 1988, 161). And thus, it is supposed that the particular function of a discourse is much more influential than the channel itself. Also Herring admits that various modes of CMC have their own social setting and culture that can influence the ways of exchanging information and social interaction (2008, 616). The following analysis, which is a part of a more complex study, will attempt to demonstrate the influence of communicative function on the complexity of messages produced by participants in two different asynchronous chats connected with their university study.

The analysed language material includes contributions by 12 similar university students who participated in on-line forums as a part of their work on long term projects during their teaching internships and who knew one another for more than three years. There were 11 female participants and 1 male participant, therefore the research concerning the influence of gender on the complexity of expression could not be carried out due to the gender imbalance. It is believed that even though the students are not native speakers of English, the structure of sentences they produced is not significantly influenced by their first language since their declared level of English is C1 or C2 according to the Common European Framework. Two sub-corpora are comparable in regard to size, each of them comprising about 10,000 words, however,

what differs significantly is the overall objective of individual projects and also of the forums accompanying these projects.

The first forum was designed to support the 15-week work of students with the task of creating interactive on-line exercises using Hot Potatoes software. Students were asked to use this freeware offered by the University of Victoria to create crossword puzzles and multiple choice, fill-in-the-gap or matching exercises. The objective of the forum, which was explicitly stated at an introductory hands-on session and in the first message sent by a tutor, was peer support while working with Internet sources and special multimedia software (tutor's suggestions are expressed in phrases such as *to help each other, enable them to learn from your own learning by trial and error, provide feedback, suggestions, and advice to your colleagues, respond to their questions, share your experience*). The other forum accompanied students' analysis of implementing the ELT Curriculum and educational programme in schools where students were at their teaching internships. It took 9 weeks, and the aim, expressed in the tutor's first contribution, was mostly topic discussion. A few further tutor's messages in the middle of the discussion asked direct questions (phrases used are, e.g., *inform your colleagues, also state some specifics, think about the documents, What do you think . . . , From your perspective . . . do you see it as*). As Herring argues, in interpreting discourse analysis, context plays very important role (2004, 352). Since the character of both forums is academic, according to Crystal they should be more factually oriented (2001, 46). Further, unlike in synchronous on-line communication, which is considered more spoken-like, asynchronous CMC, which is more similar to e-mail communication with potential time gaps between contributions, might be expected to be more written-like.

However, the figures summarized in table 1 reveal significant differences between the two sub-corpora. Although the size as to the number of words is very similar (corpus 1 is about one tenth larger than corpus 2), a bigger disproportion is noticed in the number of sentences, where corpus 1 contains approximately two thirds more sentences than corpus 2. An even larger difference was recorded in the number of contributions, because corpus 1 comprises almost three times more messages than corpus 2.

Table 1: Number of Contributions, Centences and Words

CORPUS	TOTAL NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTIONS	TOTAL NUMBER OF SENTENCES	TOTAL NUMBER OF WORDS
1. Hot Potatoes	162	842	10,406
2. ELT Curriculum	62	534	9,282

Not only the frequency of contributions, but also their length differs depending on the purpose of the chat, in spite of the academic character of both of them. Contributions in corpus 2 are longer in terms of number of sentences and words, and also sentences are about one-third longer in terms of number of words (cf. table 2).

TABLE 2: LENGTH OF CONTRIBUTIONS

CORPUS	AVERAGE NUMBER OF SENTENCES PER CONTRIBUTION	AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORDS PER CONTRIBUTION	AVERAGE NUMBER OF WORDS PER SENTENCE
1. Hot Potatoes	5.20	64.23	12.36
2. ELT Curriculum	8.61	149.71	17.38

A comparison of lengths and complexity of messages sent by individual students shows that generally all the participants have a tendency to shorten their expression in the Hot Potatoes discussion forum (cf. table 3). Only one student has sent contributions with more than 10 sentences on average in both forums, but even her messages in the ELT Curriculum discussion tended to be longer than in Hot Potatoes forum. It means that when the same students participated in two forums with two different functions, all of them sent shorter messages in interactional discussion and longer messages in factual discussion. Thus, it can be argued that the complexity depends more on the purpose of the discussion rather than on the individual style of participants.

TABLE 3: AVERAGE LENGTH OF CONTRIBUTIONS – INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS

CORPUS	UP TO 5 SENTENCES PER CONTRIBUTION	FROM 6 TO 9 SENTENCES PER CONTRIBUTION	10 AND MORE SENTENCES PER CONTRIBUTION
1. Hot Potatoes	9	2	1
2. ELT Curriculum	0	7	5

This can also be supported by findings concerning the order of messages in real time and the flow of communication. While in the ELT Curriculum forum the short messages (up to 5 sentences per contribution) are evenly distributed, in the Hot Potatoes forum there can be found two very long chains of such messages (19 and 12), where the discussion acquires the characteristics of a real face-to-face discourse.

(1)   no. 101, student B: *May I ask you what did you write into the promoting paragraph? I have only two or three sentences concerning the level and focus of the exercises.*

(2)   no. 102, student F: *i think that it is quite satisfactory. I also described just the focus and level. I think that these two points are the most important.*

(3)   no. 103, student I: *I think that describing focus and level is enough. Moreover, when I was studying last years exercises, there were only two or three sentences.*

(4)   no. 104, student D: *I agree with previous statements. The description can be only two or three sentences, just to briefly introduce your exercise.*

(5)   no. 105, student B: *Thank you very much for your contributions :-). I wanted to make sure what it should look like.*

(6)   no. 106, student F: *I just wanted to ask – has anyone of you uploaded your pots on the web pages? I'm not sure but I haven't found any other instructions so shall we wait for some . . . ???*

I know there's one more week for uploading the pots but I just wanted to make sure . . . :)

(7) no. 107, student B: *I think we are supposed to wait for further instructions.*

(8) no. 108, student K: *most of you discuss the promoting paragraph. I also prepared just few sentences about the exercises I made. I think its ok like this I think it doesn't have to be long description.*

(9) no. 109, student E: *To be honest I got quite confused as well because of the uploading, but I will wait for the further instruction and hope I will manage the uploading ok:)*

In examples (1)–(9), contributions represent 9 immediately following messages, where titles, opening greetings, closing greetings and signatures were deleted. The conversation took place over a three day period, so even if there are some time-gaps like in e-mail correspondence, the extract of the discussion shows features of spoken-like text.

(10) no. 51, student L: *I would like to react to your contributions regarding "SVP as an opportunity"*
I am sorry for taking an opponent side in the discussion one more time but I do not share your optimistic views concerning teachers' autonomy.
Let me, please, give you my reasons for being very sceptical about the on-going curricula reform.
1. If teachers are really supposed to take the required output pupils' profiles (see RVP ZV, key competences outputs) for a granted standard, the teachers or schools autonomy is swiftly becoming a highly disputable term.
Apparently, the load of knowledge *a pupil needs to absorb to be able to achieve the pre-defined competences is positively enormous, far exceeding pupils present 'have-to-know' load.*
This means that a teacher will either have to struggle even more to fulfil the year teaching plan, having less time to be creative or innovative, or they have to only pretend fulfilling the grandiose SVP wording, while being stressed with any inspection visit or even any form of state guarded 'primary finals'.
2. So far, a teacher is a model to their pupils (disciples). If a teacher is not serious about his stated and proclaimed goals, they cannot expect pupils to be honest and serious about their schoolwork and achievements. So, aware or unaware of it, teachers' formalism and other vices of "Czech Švejkism"- which are, unfortunately, so deeply rooted in our national character – are probably going to ruin future generations, too.
Well, I am perfectly aware of an unbalanced aspect of my contribution, I just want to stress out some the possible threats of SVP as I consider them vital and generally ignored.

As an illustrative message of the ELT Curriculum discussion, example (10) has been chosen. While it is neither the longest nor the most structured, it can be seen that in this forum, contributions tend to behave like monologic segments.

To conclude, this brief analysis has demonstrated that asynchronous CMC cannot be characterized as one homogeneous mode regarding typical features of spoken or written texts. Although Sotillo suggests that "delayed nature of asynchronous discussions gives learners more opportunities to produce syntactically complex language" (2000, 82), the findings of this research argue that as to the complexity of expression, contributions of asynchronous forum differ depending on the objectives and overall purpose of such a chat. While communication in a forum designed to promote social interaction within a group tends to show similarities to face-to-face dialogue, communication in a topic discussion oriented forum includes messages similar to oral monologues or written and more elaborated contributions. Further research focused on the analysis of academic forums comparing the discourse produced by native and non-native speakers may bring some more interesting findings.

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Teaching Translation Theory: The Challenges of Theory Framing

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ABSTRACT: This paper links the ongoing debate on the relevance of translation theory for translation practice to the experience from the first two years of the Master's degree programme in translation at the Department of English and American Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University. Opinions and attitudes concerning the usefulness of translation theory expressed by students who had been exposed to the translation theory package offered in the programme are drawn on and analyzed in terms of prevailing tendencies. The importance of the translational metaskill outlined by Douglas Robinson (1997) is emphasized and linked to translation theory teaching. Overall, the paper attempts to answer the question as to how student expectations can be reconciled with what translation theory can offer students.

KEYWORDS: translation theory; teaching; institutional translator training; prescriptive vs. descriptive approaches; metaskill; Douglas Robinson

Current translator training more often than not includes translation theory as part of university degree programmes in translation. In this context, this paper discusses the challenges that teaching translation theory may create for the teacher when the students' perspectives are taken seriously. It addresses tensions between the teacher's point of view and students' expectations of a course in translation theory and proposes ways of negotiating these tensions proactively.

This reflection is based on experience gained while teaching a two-semester course in translation theory in a Master's programme in English Language Translation at the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno, and draws on data collected in a questionnaire among students who had taken the course. Although it is undoubtedly connected to a specific teaching/learning situation, it can be argued that the tensions revealed by the questionnaire are indicative of a more general clash of interests that could arise when translation theory is taught in university programmes training future translators – as the following paragraphs will hopefully demonstrate.

The course referred to is a two-semester course in translation theory taught as part of a four-semester Master's programme in English Language Translation. The programme has been running for several years and has already yielded its first graduates.[1] What distinguishes the programme from other similar programmes in the Czech Republic is its openness to graduates of non-philological Bachelor's degrees. The translation theory

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1. Translation courses had been taught in the Department of English and American Studies, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University for a number of years prior to the launching of the programme, with some theoretical input integrated into them.

course is divided into two parts (to be referred to as TT1 and TT2 in this paper). The first semester consists of lectures on a range of topics that cover existing and new trends in translation theory and translation studies, while the second semester is devoted to a closer examination of some specific areas of translation theory and their application (the title of the second part of the theory package is Translation Theory II – Applications). A full list of topics covered in both semesters will not be given for reasons of economy but some of the topics will be mentioned in the discussion of what students appreciated about the course and what they disapproved of.

The choice of topic for this paper was inspired by preliminary input acquired from applicants to the programme during their oral interviews as part of the entrance exam as well as by routine course evaluations in the first year of the programme's operation. Already at that stage, a clash became evident between the need for a broader theoretical background articulated by a significant number of students prior to their study and voices proclaiming the (first part of the) course "too theoretical."

To set the design of the course into a proper institutional context, it should be noted that the Czech Higher Education Act (Act No. 111/1998), still in force, stipulates that "Master's degree programmes are intended to promote the acquisition of theoretical knowledge based on current scientific and scholarly knowledge, research and development and to lead students to apply this knowledge and develop their creative facilities" (Section 46, Act No. 111/1998). Bachelor's degree programmes, on the other hand, are "intended to provide the qualifications for practising a profession as well as for continuing to study in a Master's degree programme . . . while also including, to the degree required, theoretical knowledge" (Section 45, Act No. 111/1998).

Although the description of Bachelor's programmes allowing for combining practical competencies with relevant theoretical knowledge is generally better suited to translation programmes, the need for an adequate level of applicants' language proficiency and general knowledge background is among the reasons why Master's programmes in translation may be perceived as preferable to Bachelor's programmes. The legal environment, however, makes it impossible to operate a Master's degree programme in translation without a strong theoretical component such as those not uncommon abroad (e.g., MA in Translation and Professional Language Skills, University of Bath).

Therefore there are multiple questions which Czech designers of Master's programmes in translation cannot avoid asking and, no less importantly, teachers in these programmes should bear in mind when teaching the theoretical courses. What place should translation theory have in the programme? Does "translation studies" equal "translation theory for students of translation"? (And if not, what is the difference?) To what extent should the theoretical component be prescriptive, and what is the role of the descriptive approaches within it? Can the teacher's and students' varying perspectives be reconciled? (If so, how?) The main concerns involved in thinking about these questions are the following: Students' high motivation for learning in the programme, i.e., for acquiring the skills needed for the profession,

should be matched by a stream of learning allowing them to acknowledge that this is exactly what they are doing. However, acquiring translation competence consists largely in making sure that certain operations occur during the translation process and in automating certain previously conscious operations. How can translation theory assist this change? The tug-of-war between the demands of theory and practice is all the more urgent since the programme is a relatively short one while automating translation operations is a long-term process. And, as Pym points out, it is a widespread assumption in translator training institutions that "a translator who knows about different theories will work better than one who knows nothing about them, [yet] there is no empirical evidence for that claim" (Pym 2010, 4).[2] Despite the undisputable virtues of Chesterman and Wagner's *Can Translation Theory Help Translators? A Dialogue Between the Ivory Tower and the Wordface*, I do not believe that its arguments in favour of theory are particularly convincing for translation trainees.

To gauge the gap between students' expectations that the relatively short programme should make them translation professionals, i.e., primarily competent *practitioners*, and the necessary emphasis on theory, a questionnaire to be filled out by students who had taken the compulsory courses was developed. Although at the Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, a Moodle-based e-learning course-support environment is widely used where surveys and questionnaires are administered routinely, a standard Google Docs questionnaire was opted for on this occasion, for fear that the former environment might be perceived by students as rather teacher-controlled. The ninety-nine students who had completed or taken the course were asked to participate in the survey but only fourteen questionnaires were returned. This can be attributed firstly to the less than ideal timing of the survey at the very end of the academic year and secondly, to the fact that a number of the students had completed the course/s as many as two or three semesters previously. Despite the low return rate and thanks to the fact that most of the questions were broad (to restrict the answers as little as possible), the survey yielded thirteen standard pages of student opinion on the course in translation theory and translation theory in translator-training education in general. In addition, the fact that the fourteen questionnaires were collected on an entirely voluntary basis suggests that the opinions expressed were perceived by the respondents as important enough to be communicated in a voluntary setting, and the content of the answers indeed proves that the questionnaire addressed issues important to the students.

The group of respondents consisted of six students of English language translation (some of whom may have pursued a double major within the translation programme), four students of French or Russian language translation[3] (who did not study English language translation), and four students of English language and literature, who took one or both courses as an elective. Eight respondents had completed both courses

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2. Although isolated attempts to provide some evidence can be found, such as the one by Pezza Cintrão (2010).

3. The programme includes also a German Language Translation component, which, however, had a separate course in translation theory provided by the German Department.

while the other six completed only the first part. (French and Russian language translation require completion only of the first part of the course.) Apart from questions establishing the branch of the programme studied by the respondents and whether they had completed one or both parts of the course, the questionnaire addressed the role of theory in translator education; shifts in respondents' ideas about these issues caused by the course, if any; the scope, content and methods of teaching translation theory; and examples of content regarded as particularly useful or dispensable. Respondents were also given scope to express any additional concerns or observations. For the full text of the questionnaire please see the Appendix.

Before discussing respondents' opinions about more specific issues, it proves useful to indicate what their answers to two rather general questions were, to outline the basic distribution of opinion in the group. The question "Have the translation theory course/s offered by the English Department lived up to your expectations?" elicited twelve positive and two negative answers. (One of the students who was not satisfied with the course studied French or Russian language translation and the other was a student of English language translation and was therefore obliged to complete both parts of the course.) Another rather general question inquired about respondents' overall assessment of how translation theory was taught in the English Department, offering them several options plus an opportunity to use a formulation of their own. Answering this question, five students used the prompted answer "Not uninteresting but without greater significance for my practical translating," another five students concluded it was "Interesting but I feel it was rather an introduction; knowing more about translation theory would also make it more useful to me" and the remaining four students came up with answers of their own, all of which expressed a positive assessment. Two of these students, concurring with the latter prompted answer mentioned, expressed appreciation for the new possibilities to be explored.

The collected answers demonstrated a great deal of variation concerning some aspects of the course: these included especially respondents' general attitude to theory and the difficulty of the theory package. The questionnaire evidenced that the biases with which students came to the course were not unimportant and ranged from general dislike of theory to an ideal readiness to take a course in translation theory:

> *Well, I really do hate theory . . . One might expect me to want to get rid of all theory. But this is actually not true, I appreciate any new information.* [Student L]
> *In my view, theory should be an inseparable part of any translation programme, exactly in the digestible form I experienced in your courses.* [Student J]

Similarly, some students regarded the theory package as very difficult while others considered it as relatively easy:

> *I was taken by surprise at the volume of the rather demanding information.* [Student A]
> *. . . there was perhaps less information I feared there might have been, and the exam was quite easy.* [Student F]

These relatively polarized attitudes stood in contrast to a distinct undertone in the respondents' answers traceable across the range of questions: their repeated attempts to articulate the relation between "theory" and "practice" and relate their opinions to that opposition. It is necessary to point out here that none of the questions used the word "practice" or invited the respondents to conceive their answers in terms of that contrast in any explicit way. The following examples are taken from students' answers to a question eliciting their ideas about the ideal role of theory in translation programmes. The answers were chosen to illustrate the dichotomy between "theory" and "practice" typical of the whole series of answers. The prevailing attitude can be summarized as "yes-but."

> *. . . [knowledge of] translation theory is what distinguishes a well-educated professional translator from a self-appointed "expert" who bases his practice solely on his knowledge of the language. But in any case I would support each theory with practice – illustrative examples, tasks etc. Purely theoretical discussion is not so relevant to students and the course might reek of dry philosophical speculation.* [Student A]

> *I think students should be obliged to take at least one semester of translation theory, to get some awareness of it. The second course in theory does not seem necessary to me; I would like to see it replaced by another, more practice-oriented course.* [Student G]

> *The role of theory in the programme should, in my opinion, consist in familiarizing the students with the issues, the theoretical approaches, important personalities etc., but this is only one part of it. What is even more important is linking theory and practice (why and how it should be used and why it is important to know it).* [Student I]

> *One does not need to know every detail, understand everything thoroughly etc. But it is good to be aware of it, have a rough idea, this kind of thing. [Theory] is useful to inspire thought, new ideas, a different view of things etc. . . . [Theory] should have a firm place [in a translation programme]. . . . Maybe having 3 courses with more discussion or more links to practice would be preferable.* [Student L]

> *Theory should be compulsory but it should not be the core of the study. There are theories which can inform real practice, and those I find most useful.* [Student N]

Another tendency which surfaced in the respondents' answers repeatedly was their desire for a (more) prescriptivist approach in the theoretical input which took different forms:

> *My [original] idea was [the course] would be less theoretical.* [Student K]

> *. . . [the course should] inform about what translation is, what it is good for and outline different approaches of theoreticians to how and what should be translated.* [Student E]

> *I would prefer having theory spread evenly in all practice-oriented subjects rather than in a separate course.* [Student M]

The only useful information as far as the subject is concerned, i.e., information with respect to the translator's preparation for their work, the selection of the text to translate, how to approach it etc. we acquired also in other courses in our own departments. [Student B]

. . . make students aware of how translation was viewed in the past and, most important, do this from today's point of view – i.e., has the theory been surpassed? Is it regarded as acceptable in translation or not? Is, for instance, localization regarded as a positive [or] negative feature in translations? Or in which types of translation should it be used and in which not. [Student D]

The last comment is especially interesting as evidence of the student's misunderstanding of the difference between theories in humanities, where one theory does not necessarily invalidate others, as opposed to the natural sciences – despite the fact that the course did include elements of the general methodology of theorizing and research in translation studies. Moreover, although the course did focus on current theories, Student D still wished the theory course to give ultimate answers to her questions rather than make her aware of factors to be considered.

The survey, on the other hand, brought evidence that the translation theory package did, to some extent, change students' outlook on what translation theory can do for a translator, as the following testimonies show:

Before enrolling in the department I had this naive idea that translation theory is a set of rules to be more or less followed for your translation to be considered good. [The course had] changed my whole concept of what translation theory is. [Student H]

I realized theory is *to a certain extent beneficial to practical work.* [Student N]

The only change [of attitude] is that I can see more sense in it now and it interests me a bit more (especially knowing that I am done with the exam and can now pick up those parts which appeal to me or "vex" me). [Student L]

I appreciated especially the beginning of Translation Theory I where we discussed the concept of "theory" as such: if "theory aims to increase understanding," if it's not just futile speculation but the student understands that s/he can use it, that it can broaden their horizons or offer them something, which she may but need not accept, then [theory] is, in my opinion, the best thing you can get. [Student J]

[It has changed my attitude] radically: I started to think about translation in other ways than just the practical; it became more than a mere degree course. I finally know about translation more than my practical sense can tell me . . . And [since completing the course] I have approached each text in a different way, with a lot of responsibility. [Student A]

What then, is the conclusion? Do the results of the survey imply that one's mindset resulting from cumulative previous experience is the crucial determinant of a personal attitude towards exposure to translation theory which is hard to change, or are there

ways of healing the perceived gap between the exigencies of translation practice and curricular requirements?

If yes, how can teaching translation theory in a Czech Master's programme (or other similar translation programmes) match students' legitimate expectations of all components contributing to their growing translation competence?

I believe that the questionnaire data indicate certain pathways teachers in translation programmes should follow. This involves, I would argue, firstly recognizing that there *is*, from students' perspective, a gap to be overcome, and secondly, doing our best to prevent students from seeing it as wider than it is in reality – to ensure they will be willing to take a serious leap to that theoretical "other" bank of the ravine, to explore it and view their preferred "practical bank" from that perspective.

One lesson to be learned from the questionnaire data that has not been addressed in the examples quoted so far is that it is easy for a teacher to underestimate students' need for illustrative examples. The fact that a teacher sees a particular link to translation practice as evident does not mean that it will be evident to most of the students. Suggested projects and activities listed by Pym in *Exploring Translation Theories* (2010) provide a wealth of examples of how this can be done that balance theoretical and practical concerns very well. Another opportunity in this respect is to make sure that reliance on theoretical insights is integrated into the whole translation programme by creating multiple links from practical translation courses back to translation theory, in order to train students to ask relevant questions regarding their translation work and to identify the theoretical background useful in resolving them. It is therefore most desirable – if possible – that all teachers in the programme be aware of the theoretical input students are getting and acknowledge it by inviting students to draw on it while translating and by commenting on their translations and translation decisions.

Third, although this is not a standard example of a translation theory topic, I believe it is important to make students aware of the results of empirical research in translator competence and its development, such as, e.g., in Englund Dimitrova's *Expertise and Explicitation in the Translation Process* (2005). Students should know, for instance, that while they do strive towards better quality, they are not to expect any substantial change in their translation speed before they have had nearly a decade of translation experience, as Englund Dimitrova's comparison of students, junior professionals and senior professionals suggests (2005, 87). The differences in overall time spent on the translation between junior professionals and senior professionals were conspicuous, while junior professionals did not translate significantly faster than translation students and language students. It is crucial for students to be realistic about their self-assessment in the improvement they can make and for them to be able to link their experience hitherto to what is of concern to translation research. That it will also help foster their understanding of the general links of translation theory to translation practice is evident.

I am convinced it is worth emphasizing Douglas Robinson's specific insight about the translation profession and its connection to translation theory teaching.

> In fact in some sense it is not too much to say that the translator's most important skill is the ability to learn to enjoy everything about the job. This is not the translator's most important skill from the user's point of view, certainly; the user wants a reliable text rapidly and cheaply, and if a translator provides it while hating every minute of the work, so be it. If as a result of hating the work the translator burns out, so be that too. There are plenty of translators in the world; if one burns out and quits the profession, ten others will be clamoring for the privilege to take his or her place. But it is the most important skill for the translators themselves. Yes, the ability to produce reliable texts is essential; yes, speed is important. But a fast and reliable translator who hates the work, or who is bored with it, feels it is a waste of time, will not last long in the profession – and what good are speed and reliability to the ex-translator? "Boy, I used to be *fast*." Pleasure in the work will motivate a mediocre translator to enhance her or his reliability and speed; boredom or distaste in the work will make even a highly competent translator sloppy and unreliable. (Robinson 1997, 33)

I strongly believe it is worth making students aware of this "translation metaskill" and getting them to think about what it is they like and dislike about translating, including the methods they use of minimizing the negative sides of their future profession.[4] In this context, students may be invited to think of translation theory as a rich pool of intellectual stimuli which can help them become increasingly aware of what is relevant to their work as the long-term process of growing automation of translation skills takes place rather than regard it as a vast field difficult to get their bearings in and full of potential factors to consider. Translating against the background of and in an internal dialogue with translation theory may be one of the main strategies to fight monotony and burnout in the profession. This connection between translation theory and Robinson's metaskill makes theory really important even to practically-minded translators. Furthermore, making translation theory familiar territory that they might consider exploring in detail later in their careers seems more than advisable. Some of the students who took the theory package referred to in this paper had already appreciated this potential of translation theory when answering the questionnaire, as the most recent batch of examples testifies.

Before concluding, it is worth noting some examples of types of input students did or did not appreciate. It is, however, not true that all topics were perceived unanimously as useful and/or interesting or the opposite of this. Polysystem theory, for instance, struck some students as stimulating while others considered it more or less pointless. Topics regarded as useful and/or interesting included Eugene A. Nida's (1964) insights and approaches to studying translation (TT1), functional sentence perspective in translation (TT2), distancing techniques collected by Fraser and Titchen and listed in Chesterman and Wagner (2002, 67–72) (TT2) and, especially prominently, Gile's sequential model of translation (TT2) (Gile 1995, 103–30). Since models of translation did not generally rank among types of input which were found very appealing – alongside other elements which were found abstract by some students, such as translation norms and hypotheses and models in translation studies – it is perhaps interesting that the model, taught as suggested by Gile himself, through students' error analysis in an older assignment for

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4. In the programme referred to here, the topic was covered in a seminar session in the Applications part of the course.

which they had received feedback, was found particularly useful by most students. The features of the model that stand out as significant and which probably contributed to its acceptance by the students are its universality combined with its immediate applicability to their translating as well as its obvious relevance as a tool for translation skills improvement.

In addition to what has been said, I would argue that the survey points indirectly to the importance of taking extreme care in how the purpose and goals of the course are communicated to students, how they are presented to them as relevant and how the relevance of the course is negotiated throughout the teaching period – what I refer to as "translation theory framing." Not making explicit the goals of a course in translation theory amounts to risking blocking students' readiness to remain open to the teaching input due to a possible mismatch between the teacher's and students' interpretation of what translation theory and the goals of the course are. Students' goals tend to be short-term ones while the teachers' goals are more likely to be both short and long-term, hence the demand for prescriptivism on the students' part. Maximizing the immediate relevance of the teaching input while keeping students aware of the long-term effects of theoretical insight integration into their thinking can benefit both parties.

Appendix

1. What role, in your present view, should translation theory play in university degree programmes in translation?*
2. Has translation theory in the Department of English and American Studies generally met your expectations?* Yes/No
3. How did your original idea differ from the way translation theory was taught in the Department?
4. Did translation theory in the Department change your ideas about the role of translation theory in translation training in any way? How?
5. What is your evaluation of the SCOPE of translation theory in the degree course?*
6. What is your evaluation of the CONTENT of translation theory in the degree course?*
7. What is your evaluation of the METHODS of translation theory teaching in the degree course?*
8. Do you have any suggestions for changes to the SCOPE of translation theory in the degree course so that it better matches what you think would be the ideal state of things?
9. Do you have any suggestions for changes to the CONTENT of translation theory in the degree course so that it better matches what you think would be the ideal state of things?
10. Do you have any suggestions for changes to the METHODS of translation theory teaching in the degree course so that it better matches what you think would be the ideal state of things?
11. Can you think of a topic, theory or model you regarded or regard as particularly USEFUL?

12. Can you think of a topic, theory or model you regarded or regard as particularly of little use and relevance, simply DISPENSABLE?

13. Which of the following options fits your overall assessment of translation theory teaching in the degree programme best?*
    — Hardly of any use, not interesting to me.
    — Rather of little use and interest.
    — Not uninteresting but without much significance for my practical translating.
    — Not uninteresting but I assume that I will be able to appreciate it better later.
    — Interesting but only as a theory, not for my translating.
    — Interesting but I feel it was rather an introduction and knowing more, I would be able to profit from it more.
    — Your own formulation:

14. Something you would like to add?

15. Courses you have attended:
    — Translation Theory I
    — Translation Theory II – Applications

16. You are/were a student of:
    — English Language Translation (possibly in combination with translation of other languages)
    — Translation of languages other than English
    — English Language and Literature

    * Compulsory questions

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The Pedagogical Potential of Translation in Teaching English

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Abstract: The paper deals with the phenomenon of translation in modern methods of teaching foreign languages. The work defines pedagogical translation and its position in the context of modern methodological approaches. The research is based on a qualitative analysis of teachers' beliefs and subjective teacher's theories (STT). The findings are then used to generate a research paradigm to analyse the importance and position of translation in a modern classroom by the means of quantitative research. The quantitative research is focused on two groups: students, future teachers and expert teachers. The data gained is compared and analysed using the chi square and bivariate methods, and the results clearly demonstrate that translation, if used wisely in the classroom, might serve as a useful tool for teachers of English.

Keywords: pedagogical translation; direct methods; grammar-translation method; lexical approach; foreign language

1. Introduction

The German writer Heinrich Heine once compared translation to dancing in shackles. Other authors, translators themselves, have used much tougher metaphors, comparing translating to a kiss through a handkerchief or comparing a work transformed into the translator's mother language to a ceremonial room with the carpet laid upside down. Theorists and language teachers have discussed double or even triple coding and the transfer of cultural reality into a different social, cultural and political environment (House 2008).

These metaphors can obviously be considered stilted, and they certainly reflect the influences of the authors' artistic background. However, it is a fact that translation, especially translation in foreign language teaching, meets with very mixed reactions. Some sing its praises, seeing in it a renaissance of traditional historical and natural emphasis on grammatical and lexical language structures which, if combined with modern contrastive analyses, help students to master the difficulties of a foreign language (House 2008). Others absolutely reject the phenomenon because the translation revokes obsolete methods that did not actually teach the language as a communication tool but taught about the language, i.e., about the language structure. In addition, the opponents of translation in teaching English note that translation is not possible without the mother tongue (L1) which, as they assert in their research, opposes modern theories of mastering a foreign language (L2) that should correspond to the mother language acquisition (Krashen 1989).

Despite the fact that the opinions on using translation (and thus even L1) in teaching are currently strongly polarised, clearly a new definition of L1 in the classroom is required (Ferrer 2010).

The study analyses the position translation occupies in teaching methodology and what potential the experts, students and teachers see in its use. The study does not oppose the use of direct methods because the use of translation (and thus even the use of L1 in teaching) should not imply the denial of direct methods.

2. TRANSLATION IN FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING FROM THE DIACHRONIC POINT OF VIEW

Both parties of the traditional dispute agree at least that translation is one of the oldest methods in foreign language teaching: the first references to translation from a foreign language to a mother tongue have been traced back to the third century A.D. to Latin teachers in Greek communities within the Roman Empire (Kelly 1969). However, references to translation as an organised activity or a teaching method disappear in the Middle Ages, although it is known that Latin, as a live language at that time, was widely used as a meta-language for in-class instructions. The situation changed at the end of the Middle Ages (around 1460), and translation was combined with sentence construction whereby students themselves created translated texts with relatively difficult coding (mother tongue → Latin → mother tongue → Latin) with emphasis placed on precision of meaning and grammar (Kelly 1969).

This procedure received a more precise, formal structure at the end of the eighteenth century when teaching of Latin was formalised into a perfect structure. The mother tongue became the language used for classroom management, and mastering the language was then reduced to the study of lexical meanings that were then used to create sentences following the strict grammatical patterns required by the teachers (Kelly 1969).

Surviving evidence from the late eighteenth century documents which methods were used for teaching of non-classical languages, but the general assumption is that these languages spread through the natural contact of language communities for business or political reasons and, in the case of teaching, by private lessons from which no documentation or methodical procedures were preserved.

At the end of the eighteenth century, when foreign languages were taught strictly through the application of grammar in translations and language teaching completely broke away from living, modern languages and language as a communication tool, several scientists, linguists and psychologists (among them Gouin and Vietor) opposed the general tendency and created the basic postulates for the formation of direct methods (Sweet 1899).

3. POSITION OF TRANSLATION IN THE CZECH REPUBLIC AND IN EUROPE

Thanks to nonstandard development, the grammar-translation tradition dominated in Czechoslovakia until 1990. It built on the teaching of classical languages and used those methods to teach modern languages (mainly Russian, German, English and French). Along with the onset of new textbooks from renowned publishing houses and teaching materials, teaching in the Czech lands was focused on direct methods requiring a

uniform foreign language environment. Descriptive approaches to the study of grammar and basic vocabulary replaced procedures oriented on context and communication in the study of grammar.

Although various modifications of direct methods are still regarded as the basic teaching methods, they have not fully superseded the use of L1 in lessons. Some experts (Prodromou 2000) even point out that the individual's "internal" language (L1) highly prevails in foreign language lessons as the basic communicative tool, whether in private and organisational instructions among students working in pairs and groups or as the basic language structure which the students translate from L1 to L2. Theorists also emphasise that in a unified language environment students do not produce natural language as a result of their study and skills but as a result of translation (Prodromou 2000; Atkinson 1993).

These days, publishing houses with strong marketing campaigns release many textbooks and methodical instructions and organise trainings that emphasise teaching only in the target language but do so mainly for commercial reasons (one language version can be sold worldwide). Teachers in elementary schools then use the mixture of L1 and L2 for internal instructions and communication in the classroom. As demonstrated by the research findings, some students then "translate" a major part of the information in L2 back to L1 and from L1 to L2 (Prodromou 2000).

4. Modern Methods and Approaches to Translation

The existence of interactions between L1 and L2 and, naturally, L2 and L1 was lately described by Michael Lewis (1993). The new approach, called a lexical approach, was detailed by Lewis in his work *The Lexical Approach: The State of ELT and the Way Forward*. As Lewis emphasises in the preface, this approach can be easily illustrated using the basic thesis drawn from the statement that language consists of grammaticalised lexical units and not lexicalised grammar (1993).

The approach emphasises a deeper understanding of the substance of the lexical components of the language in natural language situations, which then pre-determine even the selected teaching methods. The lecturers can concentrate on analyses of the target language using larger lexical units (chunks), they can avoid lessons about the language and can teach the language in real language situations with maximum understanding, for which the lecturer has found optimum support in L1. The language is, therefore, not understood as a set of grammatical rules being brought to life after explanation in a series of exercises. Neither is it a set of words for which the students in the better case derive one or two meanings based on context or, in the worst case, receive pre-fabricated lists for study hours (Lewis 1997).

The lexical approach can surely be regarded as a modern method, although it admits the use of L1 in the particular case of translation activities. With its emphasis on understanding meanings for the given communicative model, the lexical approach mainly considers translation as a transformation of the lexical (pragmatic) meaning, whereas pedagogical translation provides many more layers. This is a relatively

fundamental contribution that does not reject the communicative approach but offers minor modifications and also admits L1 as one of the communicative tools, preparing the way for efficient utilisation of translation activities in the general context of the approach to foreign language teaching.

5. Translation and Use of L1

Translation in teaching English is not quite possible without the use of L1. This research does not deal in details with alternatives and pedagogical procedures carried out using L1 but concentrates on moments when the use of L1 fully corresponds to translation, i.e., an organised and deliberate activity. At the same time, not every translation activity (translation) must necessarily mean the use of L1 in language lessons (Ferrer 2010).

The work focuses on an analysis of the phenomenon of translation, its potential, role in the curriculum and the weight and significance for development of language skills and language competences attached to this phenomenon by students of pedagogy and teachers or current experts.

Working with focus groups of students who participated in translation exercises, in which the students (future teachers) evaluate the benefit of translation for their own language preparation, it becomes apparent that the students perceive the translating activities as more than just an optional subject that offers a practical test of their language skills and competencies.

The student KT, one of the students in the focus groups, states:

> . . . translating can in no way be detrimental to me, as a student of English and a potential future teacher. Language is something which a person cannot master with just grammar and words; there is a superior principle there. And this is something one can touch when translating – only if he wishes, of course. And then there is the vocabulary expansion, synonyms, stylistics, literary genres, etc., all of which are practiced and improved by translating. Last but not least, translating goes together with the feeling that one is creating something.[1]

The students themselves intuitively structure the phenomenon of translation as a teaching tool into several layers that are surely foundational for the translation activities: there is no meaning without style and there is no style without a corresponding meaning. Every text has its own pragmatic, social and cultural role; its own historical and sociocultural overlaps. The students also appreciate the level of creativity, which is limited on one hand by their skills and on the other hand by the text in L2.

Other students break translation up into the individual areas of linguistic education, intuitively again and based on their own reflections and current knowledge of the language. They even see it in the context of the studied curriculum. Student SZ says:

> One 'learns through games' when translating. I will remember a lot of words which I did not know by continually searching for the right term or expression, slowly transferring passive vocabulary

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1. Transcripts of the focus groups interviews and discussions organised after each term to provide feedback to the teacher. The particular interviews were recorded and transcribed in June 2008. Initials are used instead of full names of the students.

into active knowledge. I must search for the style, I must study the culture, I must learn Czech. I must know the phonetics in order to understand all games, such as UNISEX and U-N-I sex. (Ibid.)

Student MZN sees a very strong integral component of her linguistic education in translations.

> Besides practicing the language, . . . it is important for me that I will learn to be more particular about a deeper understanding of any text in a foreign language. This is based on the principle of displaying something which is more distant in the structure but which I know very well, i.e., in the mother language. Obviously, the more headway one makes into the foreign language, the less he needs to seek equivalents in his own language and is able to work in the foreign language structure without 'stepping out' of it. The ability to seek the actual meaning will definitely come in handy when educating others because one must realise that the teacher must be able to explain the given subject (whatever it is) in a way which can be understood even by one who does not yet understand. He must be able to illustrate a complex problem in a simpler or just more accessible structure. (Ibid.)

Even this small sample of the transcripts from the focus group shows that the participants of the course find translating as more than just a grammatical or lexical activity, as it is understood by the grammar-translation method (this will emphasise correct translation into the passive tense, for instance) or the lexical approach (which will be particular about a deep understanding of the meaning of the lexical unit (chunk) within the given communicative situation).

6. On the Definition of Pedagogical Translation

For the purposes of this paper, it is necessary to precisely define the terms "translation," "translation activities" and "translating," which are commonly used as synonyms for almost any conscious and deliberate activity focused on the transfer of language sets (L1 to L2 and L2 to L1). The term "translating" contains a number of sub-disciplines and branches, from the traditional theory of translation and the history of translation to, for instance, practically-oriented translating exercises or linguistic theories of translation. It can even include automated translations or translating as a sociological phenomenon of the era. Perhaps the best way would be to partly use the existing definition of academic (or pedagogical) translation by the Canadian theorist Jean Delisle: "The purpose of academic or pedagogical translation is to help the students acquire the basics of the language or, for the more advanced, to improve their style. The final work is never the aim but it is always about the process" (1988, 26).

This definition helps to define translation as a purely pedagogical tool that focuses purely on the educational potential of the process and not on the final quality of the text itself.

As the term "artistic translation" (which emphasises the final form of the transferred text) has already been sufficiently established in the Czech culture, the term "pedagogical translation" is used in this work. This term indicates that the work does not deal with the study of translation theory or teaching about translation as understood by the present literary theory. It is not a particular approach (see the lexical approach) either but a set of activities, the purpose of which is to enrich any applied method that will admit the use of pedagogical translation as a source of further linguistic education.

7. The Current Treatment and Understanding of the Given Issue

Translation activities (pedagogical translations) as a part of modern communicative methods have some significant supporters. Scholars acknowledge that translations have their place in explaining grammar, where the grammar systems of L1 and L2 can blend together to supplement each other. Translations are sometimes allocated significance for testing understanding of certain phenomena, mostly grammatical ones, but often the distrust of using L1 in language lessons prevails. Translations (mostly to L2) as an organised activity are then identified as counterproductive. For instance, even the title of the study "Making the Best of a Bad Job" (Newson 1998) indicates that the author does not consider translation as very beneficial for the dominant communicative approach in teaching English.

Translating attracts the interest of modern methodologists only with difficulty, often invoking very strong and definite reactions ranging from non-critical acceptance to a very reserved approach (Carreres 2006). The reasons are many; one of the significant ones is surely the fact that the influence of the direct method and the audio lingual and communicative methods led in many cases to the suppression and further development of the grammar-translation method, whereas this method was actually prohibited in other countries.

It therefore seems crucial to understand deeply why translation was so strongly rejected by the proponents of the direct methods. It appears that it is not the translation itself but its excessive use within the grammar-translation method that separated the language from its communicative functions (Carreres 2006).

Now the debate focuses increasingly on how to structure pedagogical translation and put it back into teaching so that it can become a part of the direct methods and avoid the situation in which teaching about the language (the grammar-translation method) is the priority over the teaching of linguistic and communicative skills.

For the purposes of pedagogical translation, it is interesting to try to compare within the traditional understanding of translating activities (the theory of translation) how pedagogical translation can approach and have a positive synergic influence on translating as a theoretical discipline or artistic translation.

Pedagogical translation in lessons exercises four basic language skills. In the model of communicative competencies, it significantly improves precision, coherency, explicitness and flexibility.

8. Potential of Pedagogical Translation

The previously mentioned definition of pedagogical translation can be further developed into the following observations:

a) Pedagogical translation is not a passive activity as it also offers communicative activities. The language L2 (even translation must be discussed in the given language) and meta-language (specialised language) can be maximally utilised in discussions when working in pairs (such as when seeking the meaning and then, later, the solution).

b) Translating is a natural activity that both the students and the teachers perform in real life situations in the present global environment, whether at a formal or informal level.

c) Regardless of whether or not translation is a structured and targeted activity in foreign language teaching, it is impossible to fully avoid the students using it as one of the strategies for getting to know and learn the language. Given this fact, it is surely better to use this phenomenon in a deliberate way than to completely ignore it.

d) Discussions about the similarities and differences between linguistic systems during translating activities then deepen the knowledge of L2 against the background of L1, which will, if compared with L2, enable the students to better understand not only L2 but also L1.

e) Pedagogical translation can be structured in such a way that the teachers prepare a whole range of particular activities with a clear aim: to practice specific vocabulary, grammar or even stylistics.

If this list of activities is projected into the plane of horizontal and vertical skills, as defined by the classical translation theory of Peter Newmark (1987) or Dagmar Knittlová (2000) it will demonstrate that it offers at least three basic areas for language teaching: lexical, grammatical and stylistic.

9. Objectives of the Research, Methods and Outputs

The Czech and European secondary literature lacks a description of the systematic research of pedagogical translation and its potential. Minor studies and individual investigations have been carried out in some departments abroad. Some of the best known are the activities of Cambridge University, which conducted a study, the results of which became the fundamental theoretical basis for further increasing knowledge of the potential of pedagogical translation in teaching by future teachers (Carreres 2006).

The purpose of this study was to describe and compare the pedagogical significance of translation in a group of experts (teachers) and future teachers (students). The results of this study enable better understanding of the link between the significance the experts place on the translating method and the form in which this significance is accepted (transferred) to the teaching conception of the future teachers.

The research was carried out using a mixed design. The main data collection was performed via a questionnaire-based survey. This research was then complemented with qualitative research utilising semi-structured interviews with selected groups of experts.

The first sample for the research is a group of experts: practicing teachers. The aim was to find out and describe what significance they, as experts in practice, place on translating as a pedagogical activity.

Another significant sample was a group of students, future teachers who had an opportunity to become familiar with translating activities in their studies. The value (significance) the students place on translating was analysed. Bearing in mind that translating is really a cross-sectional activity integrating a number of horizontal and vertical activities, the research was strictly structured, so that it was possible to monitor

the place of translating in the entire curriculum but also in specialised preparation, i.e., the teaching of language-oriented disciplines.

9.1 Teacher Expert – Definition of the Surveyed Group

The category of an expert needs to be specified more precisely for the purposes of the qualitative investigation (the qualitative part of the research).

For research purposes, I conducted semi-structured interviews with experts, theorists, current teachers and future teachers in the qualitative research investigation. I also used the term "expert" to identify the subjects, as they participate in the curriculum concept in the role of academic personnel. They make decisions on the incorporation of appropriate disciplines, on the ratio of contact and contact-free teaching, on forms and methods, etc. For this reason I identified one of the research sets as experts, as there is not actually any other authority which has the opportunity to intervene directly in the process of preparing the study programs.

Although the term "expert" is not clearly defined in the theoretical literature (Švaříček and Šeďová 2007), it is obvious that the main benefit of the qualitative investigation with this particular group was the possibility of offering information on two fundamental components of the knowledge of teaching. These components are pedagogical knowledge and skills in leading and organising teaching. Nevertheless, it is the group of experts which provided the relevant material for the adequate formulation of questionnaires for compiling the qualitative part of the research.

9.2 Methodology of the Study

The practical research in the qualitative part of the work was focused on "subjective teacher's theories" (STT). The subject theory as introduced by Tomáš Janík (2006) in the "Investigation of Subjective Theories Using the Concept Structuring Technique" was fully deployed throughout the research. The reason why this procedure was chosen is that it offers a more detailed description, a more satisfactory explanation and mainly the improvement of teachers' everyday conduct (Janík 2006).

In the case of the described research, it means that by using a semi-structured interview with semi-closed questions, I identified "what level of implementation in teaching has been achieved by pedagogical translation activities" (description), "what the reasons for the above-described penetration of the pedagogical translation into teaching are" (explanation), "how the pedagogical translation could have a synergic influence on teaching English at the foreign degree of elementary schools" (prognosis), and "how to achieve a firm settling of pedagogical translation in the teaching of English as a foreign language" (technology) (Janík 2006).

The technique applied was the conceptual structuring technique (Janík 2006), where the work proceeded in two stages: a) making content explicit, and b) reconstructing the subjective theory structure.

Bearing in mind that STT has its own object, subject and quality (Janík 2006), the sample group called "experts" represents a subject and at the same time the quality

of the theory. The object of this theory was the problem of "how and why to include pedagogical translation in curriculum documents" (Janík 2006). The "quality" attribute is a "subjective" attribute arising from the fact that the subject of the research is an individual, independent theory of the subject, i.e., the expert.

Questions for the questionnaire, which was the basic tool for the quantitative part of the research, were prepared on the basis of this qualitative study.

10. Conclusion

Based on the findings of the research, it appears that translation does not necessarily have to stand against the established direct methods in any way. During the interviews, the opinion which prevailed in the group of experts was that the use of pedagogical translation can be justified and that it has a number of advantages, mainly with more advanced students when it is possible to use both the mother language and the foreign language to refer to differences (contrasts) in the language structures. The experts also often referred to their own experience, which was not always only negative.

In the quantitative part (besides a number of other indicators), the group of students, future teachers, then evaluated the usefulness of the translation exercises for better learning about life and institutions, grammar and lexical nuances in semantic fields of higher lexical units using a scale from one to five. Based on a set of eighty completed questionnaires, the average value was 4.6.

It is strongly believed that, after publishing more studies defining the project and explaining the new role of translation in the teaching of English as a foreign language, it will be sufficiently convincing that translations as a supporting activity in English teaching at the appropriate levels of proficiency might work very well without any reminiscences of the grammar-translation method.

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ELF, Lingua Franca Core and Identity Issues

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Abstract: This paper examines the notion of linguistic identity when speaking a language different from one's mother tongue and, more specifically, when using English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). It begins with a brief introduction of the concept of ELF and then moves on to psychological and sociological research on identity and its relevance to language teaching and learning. Lingua Franca Core is offered as a possible solution to the conflicting needs of keeping varieties of English as used for global communication mutually intelligible to all its speakers while at the same time allowing these speakers to signal their mother tongue identity by letting them keep those pronunciation features of their L1 that do not cause intelligibility problems.

Keywords: English as a Lingua Franca; Lingua Franca Core; linguistic identity; native speaker norms; pronunciation

English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is a term used for a specific variety of the English language that has come about as a result of the predominance of non-native speakers in today's English-medium communication. Many researchers argue (see, e.g., Seidlhofer 2001; Modiano 2001; McKay 2002) that it is a variety in its own right, deserving of official recognition and description of its features. It is a platform that allows all participants in international communication to feel equal as it tries to combat the long established view that native speaker norms of English are the only acceptable ones and the only ones worth teaching to students of English. This is because ELF appreciates the fact that an overwhelming majority of English speakers today come from countries where English is not spoken as a first language, and that they use it mainly with other non-native speakers: as Strevens observes, English today is taught "mostly by non-native speakers of the language, to non-native speakers, in order to communicate mainly with non-native speakers" (1992, 41).

The relationship between language and identity is a very close one: it is widely held that identity is "at the very heart of what language is about, how it operates, why and how it came into existence and evolved as it did, how it is learned and how it is used, every day, by every user, every time it is used" (Joseph 2004, 224). This is not only true of one's mother tongue but of a foreign language as well. Normally, individuals try to increase their self-image by enhancing the status of the group to which they belong, in this case the national and linguistic identity of native speakers.[1] What complicates things in ELF is that

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1. Traditional approaches to teaching English as a Foreign or Second Language (EFL/ESL) prepare learners to communicate with native speakers of English in English-speaking countries; they are based on the linguistic and sociocultural norms of native speakers of English and their respective cultures; and the model language is based on standard English, generally British or American. The ultimate goal of these approaches is to "create" someone who is, ideally, indistinguishable from a native speaker. Thus, it is possible to say that the reference group for native speakers and EFL/ESL learners is the same (this is of course a generalization as individual speakers will have specific geographical and social preferences).

its speakers do not have any specific national reference group to which they may want to show their affiliation by using particular language features (e.g., in pronunciation). One of the reasons for such complexity of the concept of identity in today's world is the globalization phenomenon, which brings with it a smorgasbord of available identities at individuals' disposal. In theory, ELF speakers should be free to choose the group to which they want to signal affiliation through specific language features. For instance, they may want to signal belonging to a global English lingua franca community or emphasize their mother tongue reference group. Unfortunately, very often they will be pressured to conform to native speaker linguistic standards by their teachers and society at large as native speaker varieties are considered more prestigious and therefore worthy of imitation.

Inspiration for ELF identity related research comes from social psychology. Tajfel defines social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (quoted in Joseph 2004, 76). More recent research emphasizes the fluidity of identity and how it is constructed not entirely by the self but also by other's perceptions (e.g., do others like my accent?, do they consider it educated?, etc.; Adamson 2009).

How a speaker's identity relates to language learning has long been a subject of study. Gardner and Lambert (1972) look at this issue in terms of motivation, distinguishing between instrumental and integrative. Students with instrumental motivation learn a language for practical purposes, for example because of a job. Students with integrative motivation are interested in forming social ties with speakers of the target language. Gardner also notes that the concept of integration, although it does not explicitly include self-identity, implies the willingness to identify with a different language community.

In contrast to Gardner and Lambert, who worked with the assumption that individuals have a more or less fixed identity with regard to language learning, recent studies highlight its constantly changing nature (Norton and Toohey 2002). This is also consistent with the works of Vygotsky and Bakhtin, who say that learning a new language, or only a new register, involves the adoption of aspects of a new identity (Adamson 2009, 165). Sociocultural theories of language learning regard learners primarily as social beings who should be allowed to develop their personal selves as they learn a new language (Jenkins 2007, 197).

Poststructuralist views on identity introduced new concepts, the most significant of which for ELF is the effect of power relations on the negotiation of linguistic identity. It is an alarming fact that in English-medium international communication the power still lies with native speakers whose norms govern the interactions which in a majority of situations happen without their presence. "Power" here is to be understood as a subtle ideology underlying all aspects of English teaching, from textbook publishing to international tests and preferring native speaker teachers. This ideology is also reflected in attitudes towards varieties of English not originating from native speakers/native

speaker countries (even in the attitudes of speakers of such varieties themselves): these varieties are not considered equal but in some way deficient and hierarchically dependent on native speaker norms (Jenkins 2007, 201).

Besides the issue of power,[2] the poststructuralist approaches bring other interesting stimuli to ELF. Omoniyi and White (2006, 2), for example, show six currently held opinions on linguistic identity:

1. identity is not fixed;
2. identity is constructed within established contexts and may vary from one context to another;
3. these contexts are moderated and defined by intervening social variables and expressed through language(s);
4. identity is a salient factor in every communicative context whether given prominence or not;
5. identity informs social relationships and therefore also informs the communicative exchanges that characterize them;
6. more than one identity may be articulated in a given context, in which case there will be a dynamic of identities management.

For example, the sixth point describes a hierarchy of identities: during an interaction there is always a choice among different identities, and the language that is not chosen at a specific moment represents an identity that is in the background. This allows for considering the items in which ELF differs from native speaker norms not as deficiencies but from the perspective of a speaker's intention to choose something different, for example, to signal a shared identity with another participant of the interaction.

The need for intelligibility and the need for self-identity often lead to a tension because of their conflicting tendencies (Crystal 1997). To solve this conflict between the need for global intelligibility and respecting individual speakers' identity as manifesting, for instance, in pronunciation, ELF offers the concept of Lingua Franca Core (LFC). The Core consists of phonological and phonetic features that seem to be crucial for mutual intelligibility when using English for international communication. It was drawn up by Jennifer Jenkins, a prominent ELF scholar, and it is based on an analysis of all miscommunications between international speakers of English observed in a large corpus of data she collected.

The core features of ELF are to be taken as a sine-qua-non for mutual intelligibility in international English communication between speakers of different L2s; it is not necessarily an actual variety spoken in the classroom but rather a list of focal items that should form part of every pronunciation course. The pronunciation core is divided into five categories (Jenkins 2000):

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2. More on English and linguistic imperialism in, e.g., Pennycook 1994, Phillipson 1992, Seidlhofer and Jenkins 2003.

1. The full consonant inventory – allows for some substitutions of /θ/ and /ð/ as these are intelligible in ELF; prefers rhotic rather than non-rhotic varieties of "r"; advises to use British English /t/ between vowels in words like "latter" or "water" rather than American English flapped [r]; allophonic variation within phonemes is permissible as long as the pronunciation does not overlap into another phoneme.

2. Additional phonetic requirements – aspiration following word-initial voiceless stops /p/, /t/ and /k/ is important in, e.g., "pin" [phɪn] as compared with "spin" [spɪn]; shortening of vowel sounds before fortis (voiceless) consonants and maintenance of length before lenis (voiced) consonants as in, e.g., /æ/ in "sat" and "sad," or the /i:/ in "seat" and "seed."

3. Consonant clusters – no omission of sounds in word-initial clusters; omission in middle and final clusters only permissible according to L1 English rules for syllable structure; /nt/ between vowels as in British English "winter" pronounced /wɪntər/ rather than American English where, by deletion of /t/, it becomes /wɪnər/; addition of a sound is acceptable.

4. Vowel sounds – maintenance of contrast between short and long vowels; mother tongue regional qualities are acceptable if they are consistent, except substitutions for the sound /ɜ:/ as in "bird," which regularly cause intelligibility problems.

5. Production and placement of tonic (nuclear) stress – appropriate use of stress is important to signal meaning as in, e.g., He came here by TAXi x HE came here by taxi x He CAME here by taxi.

According to Jenkins, the features not incorporated in the above-described core are not critical to ELF intelligibility. They include the following:

1. The consonant sounds /θ/ and /ð/, and the allophone [ɫ].
2. Vowel quality as long as it is used consistently.
3. Weak forms, i.e., the use of schwa instead of the full vowel sound in, e.g., "to," "of" as in EFL communication the full vowel sounds tend to help rather than hinder intelligibility.
4. Other features of connected speech, especially assimilation.
5. The direction of pitch movement whether to signal attitude or grammatical meaning.
6. The placement of word stress.
7. Stress-timed rhythm.

The whole concept of Jenkins's LFC is based on the idea of accent addition rather than accent reduction. "Accent reduction" refers to the traditional pronunciation teaching philosophy in which learners are supposed to minimize their mother tongue accent in English and approach, as closely as possible, the native speaker-like pronunciation target. Adding an accent, on the other hand, does not require of learners to lose touch with their mother tongue identity when using ELF. Of course, there must be unifying features among the different L2 accents to guarantee international intelligibility, but "if the concept of addition is to be meaningful, we must also find ways of taking

more account of speakers' L1 accents and building on them in pronunciation teaching" (Jenkins 2000, 209).

It is a telling paradox that the biggest obstacle in the wider spread of ELF and LFC in everyday classroom practice seems to be the attitudes of non-native speakers themselves. This may be caused by a certain linguistic insecurity: for long decades they have been subject to prejudice about their pronunciation, so they suffer from a kind of inferiority complex even in today's multicultural world as regards their English. This conflict of identities and certain linguistic schizophrenia often feature in various studies of attitudes of non-native teachers of English who, on one hand, say they are proud of their national identity showing through their English yet, on the other, still regard accents of native speakers as "better" and feel flattered when they are mistaken for native speakers (Jenkins 2007, 217).

The negative attitude to pronunciation "deviations" from native speaker norms might be based in the fact that adult learners are often not able to acquire certain specific pronunciation features, which is not the case with, for example, grammar items. Psycholinguistics explains this phenomenon by postulating the critical period hypothesis: the ability to perceive sounds of a foreign language and articulatory skills seems to be lost around puberty (see, e.g., Cook 2001). From this perspective it is indeed possible to speak about an imperfect acquisition of pronunciation features.

In contrast, social psychology does not consider the manifestation of the mother tongue accent in a foreign language as an age function as such, but rather as conscious and subconscious perception of a mother tongue group identity that grows stronger with age. Daniels (1995) speaks about the mother tongue accent as "the umbilical cord connecting us to our mother" and argues along these lines: every time we speak a foreign language we cut the cord and, subconsciously, we may be afraid that we will not be able to find it and connect to it again when we come back to our mother tongue.

To remedy the situation and help ELF speakers to feel more at ease with their accent in English, the preparation of teachers of English should also focus on discussing the role of mother tongue identity in the pronunciation of a foreign language. Keeping one's identity through keeping pronunciation features of one's mother tongue in ELF communication seems to be one of the few possibilities that are at speakers' disposal in global English communication. On the other hand, keeping certain specific phonological and phonetic features may lead to problems with mutual intelligibility of speakers, which would defy the whole purpose of a language used for international communication. That is why it is necessary to pay attention to this sensitive topic. A simple rejection of any allowed variability within ELF and the strict keeping of native speaker norms is not a solution; if only because of the fact that many studies have shown that native speaker accents are often the ones that cause intelligibility problems in international communication (see, e.g., Smith 1992).

In conclusion, it is possible to say that identity issues will play a critical role in the attitudes of non-native speakers to their accents, and by extension in the future of ELF as such, as accents are one of the most obvious indicators of group membership. Motivation

to be affiliated with a particular reference group depends on the advantages involved and is often considered in respect to how the language of this group (and the group itself) is perceived by society. In the context of ELF, it again means whether we accept the current, majority held opinion that native speaker norms are the only possible ones and that all other varieties of English are deficient (and not to be used as reference). In my opinion, it is necessary for all English speakers to ask that question of themselves (and this specially applies to teachers who influence the opinions of their students) and decide whether, as Jenkins asks (2007, 233), they really believe that the Anglo accent norms are the most appropriate for lingua franca English communication.

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Literature and Cultural Studies

Poetry as a Source for Survival

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ABSTRACT: An occasional reminder that language and literature can still be essentially one may be useful, especially today when this view need not be generally taken for granted. The history of humanity, however, can be seen as a confirmation of the notion. Literature and poetry in particular provide us with the most condensed meaning of our existence and our behavior from the ancient times to the present. In addition, thoughts regarding "the physiology of verse" point to the importance of poetry imitating, and thus enhancing, the vital beats and rhythms of life. The imaginative and musical power of poetry has proved a menace to dull minds and dictatorial regimes but also a hope for those who craved freedom. Often in history writers played the role of a trusted conscience of a nation or a community.

KEYWORDS: poetry; survival; meaning of existence; conscience; nation

In her Nobel Prize acceptance speech in 1993, the African-American writer Toni Morrison reminded us of the fact that we are mortals. "We die," she said, and "[t]hat may be the meaning of life." Yet she continued: "But we do language. That may be the measure of our lives."[1] Such an observation, however deep it seems, need not be considered a discovery or revelation pertaining to modern times. Shakespeare's contemporary, Ben Jonson, believed that "[l]anguage most shows a man," and wanting to know a person he demanded, "Speak, that I may see thee."[2] Later, as literacy grew among the populations over the centuries, simultaneously conditioning the process of democratization of societies within civilizations, the wish to identify and assess individual people or individual communities most likely included an inquiry after their reading which amounted to a precept like "tell me what you read and I will tell you who you are." A number of wise persons are being quoted for having said something to that effect, and we may remember our teachers reminding us of this maxim in our youth when we were exposed to the process called formal education.[3]

Indeed, we have been taught and have ourselves empirically learned (also through our readings) a great deal about that complex phenomenon called LANGUAGE: an instrument of communication, a social agency, a system and also a living thing. It grew with us as we grew, and it further challenged us as we faced life's challenges in our personal, communal or national histories.

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1. Toni Morrison, "The Nobel Lecture in Literature," in *What Moves at the Margin: Selected Nonfiction*, ed. Carolyn C. Denard (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2008), 203.

2. Ben Jonson, *Timber; or, Discoveries Made upon Men and Matter*, ed. Felix E. Schelling (Boston: Ginn, 1892), 64.

3. In my case it was our high school teacher of math and physics, surprisingly enough, who introduced us, in our after-class discussions, to novels by Romain Rolland and Dostoyevsky, and to Czech poets, such as Antonín Sova, Fáňa Šrámek, or František Gellner, and the readings started forming, if not changing our lives.

Personally, I found it puzzling, to say the least, that the tongue I used at home when communicating with my mother, neighbors and friends, was – so we were one day told – not good enough as a language for instruction at school, when, at the beginning of World War II, German replaced the Silesian-Moravian Slavic dialect which I had previously been happy with. And after the war ended and we were liberated from both the alien power and the alien language, I had to first learn Czech as a system and norm before I could accept and employ the language as a mother tongue as "the blood of the soul, into which our thoughts run and out of which they grow,"[4] to use one poet's adequate and beautiful description of language as an environment and tool of human activity. The quoted writer was Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809–1894), a poet, a medical doctor, and an author of "The Physiology of Versification," an original tractate we shall say a bit more about a little later.

But for now, let us return to my own life with language. During the time of adolescence, when, after the communist putsch of 1948, the educational system was rigidly controlled by the authorities and free thought was straitjacketed by dogmatism, a shock of recognition dawned upon my schoolmates and myself that language can also be exploited as a severe violator of knowledge and truth. Instead of offering a path to further learning, even my own language – as officially imposed on us then at school, and through media outside of school – was obviously intended to limit if not close access to (from their viewpoint) "undesirable" information, to new knowledge.

Only people of my generation would remember the effect of the Czech translation of J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* on high school kids. Of course, the rebellious character of Holden Caulfield appealed to us, but even more liberating was his language, which did not exist before we saw it on the page but was quickly and easily acquired by us. The translators, Luba and Rudolf Pellar, had to create Czech high school slang as it hardly existed. However it was, so to say, already "in the air," and they had the genius to grasp it from there. Having to cope with censorship and new, unknown realities, such as "jeans," was demanding.

In general, it took us some time to grasp and understand the situation of language abuse by the regime before we started reading and learning between the words and between the lines and went on inventing our own ways of communication (and books like the Pellars' translation of Salinger helped a great deal). And then our learning about the world "beyond the iron curtain," especially through foreign languages, contributed to the enlargement of our knowledge of our own world and, at least in theory, of alternative worlds. After I became involved in the incredibly exciting business of translating from English, a new and very intensive stage of language learning and learning through language began. And, as those who themselves deal in translating know, the excitement that started with the first translation will never end.

"That everything we do and think creates, changes, destroys, or otherwise influences language is self-evident," Mario Pei, author of a skillfully and enjoyably written book *The Story of Language*, declared more than half a century ago. And the eminent linguist, born

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4. Quoted in Susan M. Francis, ed., *The Oliver Wendell Holmes Year Book* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1894), March 3.

in Italy, educated and later settled in the United States, continued with a meaningful warning: "What is not so obvious, perhaps, is that language in return affects all our actions and thoughts."[5]

I am convinced that my own personal experiences would not be an isolated confirmation of Pei's thoughtful words. Here and now, I cannot resist wondering how the language of the contemporary powerful mass media and globalizing advertisement mechanism can and will affect actions and thoughts in our consumer democracies. One wonders what Plato would have to say seeing that people in elections frequently vote not on the basis of knowledge or knowledgeable views but rather on the basis of impressionist emotions they get from reading the headlines in tabloid papers (such as the Czech tabloid *Blesk*) or watching infotainment TV programs.

Then again, when I come across a letter that reads, "this generation is given over to the making and spending of money, and is losing the capacity of thought. It wants to be amused, and the magazines amuse it,"[6] and I realize that the complaint is not of the current state of affairs but from 1873, I do get less skeptical. Another occasional cause for some optimism, or at least less pessimism, is found in my literary seminars at the university where I see my students growing ever more aware of the superficiality of the present "official," i.e., populist language, and I am happily surprised that they are not just willing but truly anxious to turn to more challenging and meaningful texts, to turn to the riches of literature which is "news that STAYS news,"[7] as the poet Ezra Pound believed, literature which is considered classic not because someone decided so but because of a certain eternal and irrepressible freshness.

I would dare join those philologists of the older days who maintained that language and literature are essentially one. Leading among them was Roman Jakobson, whose course on "Linguistics and Poetics" I had the pleasure and good luck to attend at Brandeis University in 1969, and which can still be recommended as one of the most relevant sources of thought on the subject. What both language and literature share is the permanent, or rather continuous, unending openness to new experience. "[L]anguage can never live up to life once and for all. Nor should it. . . . Its force, its felicity is in the reach toward the ineffable,"[8] wrote Toni Morrison. A similar statement could be made about literature, including Morrison's own fiction, which was praised by the Swedish Academy for its liveliness, "visionary force and poetic import."[9] One American critic and poet, Donald Hall, who devoted much of his life to the study of the strivings of literary language, eventually characterized poetry as "The Unsayable Said,"[10] which guarantees a never-ending effort.

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5. Mario Pei, *The Story of Language* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1949), 190–91.
6. Charles Eliot Norton to Thomas Carlyle, 16 November 1873, in *Letters of Charles Eliot Norton*, ed. Sara Norton and M. A. DeWolfe Howe (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), 2:18.
7. Ezra Pound, *ABC of Reading* (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), 29.
8. Morrison, "The Nobel Lecture in Literature," 202.
9. Nobel Foundation, "The Nobel Prize in Literature 1993," *Nobelprize.org*, July 1, 2011. http://nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1993/.
10. Donald Hall, *Poetry: The Unsayable Said* (Port Townsend, WA: Copper Canyon Press, 1993).

According to Ezra Pound and many others, it is good writers who keep language efficient, alive and responsive. Even more, it is believed they often see something the rest of the population does not immediately see, or does not dare to see, and, therefore, good writers may serve as the "antennae of the race."[11] In the dark times of Soviet dominion, sensitive and brave Czech artists were often referred to as "the conscience of the nation." What seems at present rather sad and discouraging, only two decades after freedom was regained in this country, is the fact that writers no longer seem to play such a role because neither they nor the general population are ready to allow this to happen. Why? Is it uncomfortable to look with them in the mirror? Perhaps. Or do we not need any public conscience anymore? And when, occasionally, some writers critically point a finger at something that disturbs them, a number of our politicians and journalists are ready to call them self-appointed dreamers, moralists or preachers, an accusation and ridicule from which even the former president of the Czech Republic, Václav Havel, was and is not entirely safe.

However, it was indeed the message of writers such as Václav Havel, Czeslaw Milocz, or Anna Achmatová that was liberating people, encouraging them to be brave and choose "life in truth," or, at least, in decency. The Nobel Prize given to the Czech poet Jaroslav Seifert in 1984 became a political event not because of the poet's "political provocations," as the communist media were repeating again and again, but because of the lyrical force of his verse, which was so much at odds with the blank official language of the times. And the Czechs who learned so many of his poems by heart, thus could wander out of the prison of the mind and soul when quoting him, when singing his lines:

"Píseň o rodné zemi"

Krásná jako kvítka na modranském džbánku
je ta země, která vlasti je ti,
krásná jako kvítka na modranském džbánku,
sladká jako střída dalamánku,
do níž nůž jsi vnořil k rukojeti.

stokrát zklamán, rady nevěda si,
znovu navracíš se domů. . . .[12]

Although aptly translated, Seifert's lines seem to lose some of their forcefulness when distanced from the poet's native tongue:

"Song of the Native Land"

Beautiful as on a jug a painted flower
is the land that bore you, gave you life,
beautiful as on a jug a painted flower,
sweeter than a loaf from fresh-ground flour
into which you've deeply sunk your knife.

Countless times disheartened, disappointed,
always newly you return to it, . . .[13]

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11. Ezra Pound, *ABC of Reading*, 73.

12. Jaroslav Seifert, "Píseň o rodné zemi," in *Dílo III* (Praha: Československý spisovatel, 1955), 11.

13. Jaroslav Seifert, "Song of the Native Land," trans. Ewald Osers, in *The Poetry of Jaroslav Seifert*, ed. George Gibian (North Haven, CT: Catbird Press, 1998), 55.

In an interview after he was awarded the prize, in fact for the courage of being truthful to his feelings and to his heart, Seifert said:

> All language can be thought of as an effort to achieve freedom, to feel the joy and sensuality of freedom. What we seek in language is the freedom to be able to express our most intimate thoughts. This is the basis of all freedom. In social life it ultimately assumes the form of political freedom. . . . When I write I make an effort not to lie, that's all. If one cannot say the truth one must not lie, but keep silent. . . .[14]

The liberating power of poetry can hardly be supported with a weightier argument than was found in the Soviet gulag-camp environment. Prisoners Zoja Marchenko and Yelena Vladimirova turned to writing and reciting poetry, despite the risk of being severly punished. They did so not just as a means of escapism but because poetry served as a reminder of the humanity of which their tormentors and the regime were trying to deprive them. Similarly, the envoy of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Terry Waite, who was held in captivity and tortured in solitary confinement for nearly five years by Islamic fundamentalists in Lebanon between 1987 and 1991 after he decided to help free a few people held hostages there, remembered that it was poetry that he recited to himself that helped him survive his ordeal.

Less dramatically, last summer I received a letter from someone I have not seen for more than half a century. We grew up in the same village, where we attended primary school and served as altar boys in the local church. He left Czechoslovakia after 1968 and has lived in Germany ever since. The long letter was nostalgic in mood, an attempt to recover from memory the times of our boyhood. What astonished me were three lengthy quotes from poems we had learned as school-boys some sixty years ago, one of them being Jaroslav Seifert's "Song of the Native Land." Those poems were obviously learned by heart, which is a phrase deserving of pause. A telephone number or bank account number can be remembered, i.e., memorized mechanically by rote, but a poem or a song is committed to memory from the seat, indeed the center, of emotions, affections and passion, as the human heart is defined in dictionaries.

In 1997, the London publishing house Faber and Faber issued a book called *By Heart: 101 Poems to Remember*. In it, one of the most important English poets of his time, Ted Hughes (1930–1998), complained that learning "by rote" became the norm of learning at schools. "It was long thought to be a good thing in English classrooms: disciplinary and character building," Hughes writes in his introduction to the collection, and continues: "But the cost can be heavy, since it creates an aversion to learning and to poetry." However, he adds, "Those who dislike rote-learning yet still want the gain the many powers that come with knowledge can choose from an array of other less laborious, more productive, more amusing techniques" such as "visualizing connecting images."[15] Certainly, however, there are other ways of learning by heart, and this may be the moment to return to Oliver Wendell Holmes's thought on poetry. This New England and

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14. Quoted in George Gibian, introduction to *The Poetry of Jaroslav Seifert*, 27.
15. Ted Hughes, "Introduction: Memorizing Poems," in *By Heart: 101 Poems to Remember*, ed. Ted Hughes (London: Faber and Faber, 2002), ix.

Harvard Brahmin intellectual who, as an obstetrician, helped birth hundreds of children, saw in poetry a life-sustaining quality, indeed a force, ensuing from the verse imitating heart beats, pulses and respirations, being thus naturally based on the principles of repetition (of sounds and stresses) and continuity. It is rather surprising that these observations in which Holmes applied his medical knowledge to the area of human thought and art had not been previously related. Let me repeat: Holmes's lecture "The Physiology of Versification" was delivered in 1871, and published two years later.[16]

The very notion, however, was acquired and further developed by later poets and scholars, such as the school of the Beat poets and those belonging to the Black Mountain group of writers who considered the physical element in prosody as one of the most decisive (for instance, the relation between length of verse and length of breath). Allen Ginsberg remembered and also performed this awareness effectively during his poetry readings. From the most memorable performance in 1955 when he recited *Howl* for the first time in San Francisco to later readings at various occasions also in the Czech lands, including Olomouc and Palacký University in 1990 and 1993. Ginsberg has been justly recognized as a writer and activist for his heroic life-long effort to create more public space for poetry. But, when praised for this achievement he always reminded us that the first to do so, and very successfully, was Robert Frost who became a "sayer" of poetry to large even mass audiences long before the Beat poets took over. Where Frost and Ginsberg would have most likely agreed was the conclusion that the task of poetry is to reduce human suffering. And this must be a more general feeling – judging by the tradition that obituaries usually include a quote from a poem, and among most popular poetic genres, especially in older times, were elegies.

More could be said about the application and the meaning of the principles of repetition and continuity in poetry – from repetition of an image, a phrase or a line in one poem to allusions by one writer to his or her predecessors, as poets read each other and react to one another. The English critic Christopher Ricks wrote a beautiful book on both the intended and unintended practice of allusions in poetry (*Allusion to the Poets*, 2002), while the American critic Harold Bloom, on the contrary reflects on the phenomenon that he calls "the anxiety of influence,"[17] assuming that between poets of successive generations there may occur also Oedipan conflicts. But, both views deal with continuity, even if in one case it may be a programmatic attempt to avoid it, as such discontinuity is only a variation of continuity anyway.

It should not be surprising that the poets themselves feel they must remind us that the Greek word *poietes* stood for "maker" or "creator," and the Latin *auctor* rather for someone who produces, increases, or adds to something already available. The American philosopher and poet Ralph Waldo Emerson believed that "[e]very word was once a poem" and thus "[l]anguage is fossil poetry."[18] Ezra Pound, a century later, still insisted

16. Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Physiology of Versification," in *Pages from an Old Volume of Life: A Collection of Essays, 1857–1881* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883), 315–21.

17. Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

18. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Poet," in *Essays and English Traits* (New York: Collier, 1909), 175, 177.

that "[our] language is in the care of [our] writers,"[19] who are, therefore, not only the "unacknowledged legislators of the world,"[20] as Percy Byshe Shelley maintained, but also the recognized creators or at least shapers of our language. Pound's friend, and co-founder of the influential "imagist" movement, the English philosopher and poet T. E. Hulme, stated that language is born in poetry, used in prose, and dies of abuse in journalism.[21] Are we aware of it?

If we ever shared such strong belief in the role of the writer, and above all the poet, does it still hold today? "Literature, the literary work, remains incomplete until it has passed from the desk to the marketplace,"[22] wrote the ever provocative critic Leslie Fiedler in his book *What Was Literature?* And the very popular historian Barbara Tuchman brought up another point for our deliberations when she said that "to be a best-seller is not necessarily a measure of quality, but it *is* a measure of communication."[23]

Can language classes at school pick up the task of making literature a more central topic of the learning discourse? Should we not start with teaching our children (and ourselves) some poetry BY HEART, so that we can live with it and fully absorb its language and meaning? Will posters with short poems that appeared some time ago in the Prague metro have any impact on the thought and speech of the passengers?, etc. There are endless questions and queries, many unanswered. But, the very fact of asking such questions is undoubtedly relevant, and it is important to start NOW with whatever small effort we can make. It is important to act for the health of our language and the health of our communities and societies.

In my few remarks I tried to point out some force that poetry contains for our survival – the question now is whether we can do something for the survival of poetry itself. Certainly we all remember September 11, 2001 and the shock it created. One of the most memorable elements was the immediate media coverage consisting of endless repetition of phrases admitting that what we saw was beyond words, beyond imagination. Did we confess then to the failure of our language (or languages) to convey the unbelievable tragic sight as a manifestation of something more essential? I was certainly not the only one to ask such a question. For this reason, I truly welcomed a poem by Seamus Heaney that he called "Anything Can Happen," which relates to an ode by Horace, "Parcus Deorum," putting the terrorist attack of 2001 into a more than historical, indeed a mythological perspective. Thus, the catastrophe becomes part of both the real and imagined course of human events, something that happened (for some reason) and can happen again. It changed the order of things dramatically. Heaney's

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19. Ezra Pound, *ABC of Reading*, 33.
20. Percy Bysshe Shelley, *A Defence of Poetry* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1904), 90.
21. See T. E. Hulme, "A Lecture on Modern Poetry," in *Selected Writings*, ed. Patrick McGuinness (New York: Routledge, 2003), 66.
22. Leslie Fiedler, *What Was Literature? Class Culture and Mass Society* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), 24.
23. Barbara W. Tuchman, "The Historian's Opportunity," in *Practicing History: Selected Essays* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981), 57.

"Anything Can Happen" is a reminder and a warning, as poems often are, a "covenant with the irrational,"[24] as the poet himself understands it.

> "Anything Can Happen"
> after Horace, Odes, I, 34
>
> Anything can happen. You know how Jupiter
> Will mostly wait for clouds to gather head
> Before he hurls the lightning? Well just now
> He galloped his thunder cart and his horses
>
> Across a clear blue sky. It shook the earth
> and the clogged underearth, the River Styx,
> the winding streams, the Atlantic shore itself.
> Anything can happen, the tallest towers
>
> Be overturned, those in high places daunted,
> Those overlooked regarded. . . .[25]

But, verse can also please, entertain and comfort, or simply offer all kinds of lessons from life and for continued life. Life would be impoverished drastically without the words of poetry, and we would be much poorer without the words and tunes from poets, like Jaroslav Seifert, Ted Hughes, Seamus Heaney, Emily Dickinson, William Shakespeare and many, indeed, many more.

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24. Seamus Heaney, "Seamus Heaney with Dennis O'Driscoll," Lannan Readings & Conversations, Lannan Foundation, October 1, 2003, http://www.lannan.org/lf/rc/event/seamus-heaney/.
25. Seamus Heaney, "Anything Can Happen," in *District and Circle* (London: Faber and Faber, 2006), 13.

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De-familiarising England, Familiarising China: Clash of Cultures in Oliver Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World*

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ABSTRACT: Taking inspiration from Charles de Secondat's influential *Persian Letters* (1721), Oliver Goldsmith began writing his own epistolary novel in 1760. As a result, he produced *The Citizen of the World* (1762), a story of a Chinese scholar, Lien Chi Altangi, who travels around England, examines local customs and reports on them to his learned friend in China. Goldsmith's main aim was, undoubtedly, to use a familiar literary device of a foreign visitor to provide a unique, ironic and satirical view on his own society. However, looking at the novel from the contemporary perspective, it offers many intriguing insights into the ways Westerners imagined China. This paper explores various contextual aspects of Goldsmith's *The Citizen of the World*, paying particular attention to the author's rendering of Chinese sensibility and his portrayal of the differences and conflicts between imaginary Chinese culture and the eighteenth-century English society.

KEYWORDS: English novel; Britain; China; Enlightenment; epistolary novel; foreign narrator; Oliver Goldsmith

Although Oliver Goldsmith's stature in English literature is hardly comparable with eighteenth-century literary giants like Jonathan Swift, Alexander Pope or Samuel Johnson, he can certainly be ranked among the most influential writers of the British Age of Reason. Today Goldsmith is chiefly remembered for his satirical novel *The Vicar of Wakefield* (a true darling of the Victorian literati, published in 1766) and an extended poem decrying the impact of industrialisation on rural communities, *The Deserted Village* (1770).[1]

Nevertheless, Goldsmith's first significant work, *Letters of a Citizen of the World to His Friend in the East*, most often referred to simply as *The Citizen of the World*, occupies a distinct place in the author's spectacularly rich and varied literary output. The book was inaugurated as a series of essays commissioned by John Newbery for his newspaper *The Public Ledger* in 1760 and subsequently gave Goldsmith much-needed recognition and financial stability.[2]

The Citizen of the World is much less esteemed nowadays than it was in the writer's lifetime; however, the novel has never completely disappeared from the critics' perspective. The main reason of the modern disregard for Goldsmith's book is its

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1. See Jonathan D. Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds* (New York: Norton, 1999), 75.
2. See Judy Faye Ponthieu, "Oliver Goldsmith as a Social Critic" (PhD diss., Texas Tech University, 1971), 18.

allegedly derivative character. Even today scholars strongly disagree on the extent to which *The Citizen of the World* should be treated as Goldsmith's original creation. Indisputably, Goldsmith borrowed freely from a wide variety of authors. His chief sources were French, and most importantly, they included Montesquieu's seminal *Persian Letters* (1721) and Marquis D'Argens's *Chinese Letters* (1739). In the case of the latter title, the extent of borrowing was so considerable that one can treat entire passages from *The Citizen* as somewhat modified translations, or using modern, more stringent understanding of copyright, as instances of outright plagiarism.[3] Apart from the French precursors, it is also possible to identify several English inspirations. For example, Goldsmith pilfered the main character's name from Horace Walpole's *A Letter from Xo-Ho, a Chinese Philosopher at London, to his friend Lien Chi at Peking* (1757).

Nevertheless, despite obvious flaws, the book has also – at least in the eyes of some scholars – several redeeming features. For instance, it is praised for sophisticated irony, relative impartiality of presented views and the distance to the literary convention of the foreigner's tale that the novel represents. Therefore, a present-day critic James Watt, without denying that Goldsmith "plundered the works of other writers," argues that he "took the fiction of the oriental traveler further than any of his contemporaries."[4]

However, this implied sophistication of the novel might not be initially apparent. Structurally, *The Citizen of the World* is a rather ordinary epistolary novel with a straightforward construction. Most of the letters in the volume come from a single figure, a Chinese philosopher named Lien Chi Altangi, and are addressed to his friend Fum Hoam, described as the First President of the Ceremonial Academy at Peking. Only a couple of letters in the collection are penned by other people. Also the frame story, the adventures of Lien Chi's son Hingpo, travelling through Asia to reunite with his father, is kept to the absolute minimum.

Seemingly, the entire sophistication and originality of the novel is contained in the construction of the characters and observations of the protagonist. The chief appeal of the book relies on the estranging figure of an oriental narrator. From the very beginning, readers are invited to participate in Lien Chi's culture shock and thus gain fresh perspective on their own environment. The situation of a foreign observer also creates a superb pretext to combine satire, didacticism and entertainment – a mixture particularly enjoyed by eighteen-century readers. The very fact that Goldsmith chose a Chinese subject as a narrator and cultural arbiter did not merely result from blind replication of earlier patterns. More appropriately, it was a testament to the continuing attractiveness of the Far East as a motif in Goldsmith's lifetime. Although China was "rediscovered" for Europeans more than a century earlier, *The Citizen of the World* came out at a time when the interest in the Orient was still very strong.

China re-entered European consciousness in the early seventeenth century, more than three hundred and fifty years after Marco Polo's revelatory account, when the

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3. For more information see Donald S. Crane and Hamilton Jewett Smith, "A French Influence on Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World*," *Modern Philology* 19, no. 1 (1921): 83–92.

4. James Watt, "Goldsmith's Cosmopolitanism," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 30, no. 1 (2006): 57.

first Jesuit missionaries started their operations in China. Hoping to convert the most populous country in the world to Christianity, Jesuit scholars like Father Mateo Ricci and later Jean-Baptiste du Halde (author of the enormously influential *Description of China*, published in 1735[5]) began a thorough investigation of Chinese history, material culture, religious beliefs and customs. The results of their meticulous work baffled many Westerners. Particularly appealing was the contrast that emerged in the Jesuit writings between the vast, stable as well as technically sophisticated China with divided, politically volatile and war-torn Europe.[6]

The perceived contrast between China and Europe produced many unforeseen outcomes. Importantly, Jesuits' reports from the Middle Kingdom found an unexpectedly receptive audience among many leaders of the French Enlightenment (especially Voltaire and Diderot). The famous French "philosophes" saw the country at the other side of the Eurasian continent as the embodiment of the political order they wanted to emulate at home. Both Voltaire and Diderot promoted an image of China as formidable political machinery run by the elite of meritocratic Mandarins without the help of priests, national churches and decadent aristocratic families.

This European fascination with China ignited in the seventeenth century, turned out to be quite durable and soon went beyond the limited circle of philosophers or political theorists and became a popular-culture phenomenon. Various artifacts brought from the Far East rapidly achieved a status of fashion objects, setting off a craze dubbed as "Chinoiserie." Because Chinese commodities were enormously expensive (in stark contrast to what we have today), artists and craftsmen started to imitate Chinese style and applied it in such different fields as architecture, garden design, furniture, jewellery and even diet. Most famously, the habit of tea drinking, now viewed as quintessentially English, became established at that time, i.e., in the eighteenth century.

Undeniably, *The Citizen of the World* should be included in a wider range of Chinese motifs and references propelling Western culture. One should not, however, lose sight of the significant regional variations. Both Chinoiserie as well as more serious interest in Chinese intellectual heritage were pan-European phenomena but, as in many other domains at that time, France was the unquestionable trendsetter. French provenance, in turn, was probably the most important reason why Chinoiserie was received in England with reserve. Enthusiasm for China was often counterbalanced in Britain by influential voices of scepticism and dismissal.

The most famous early literary expression of outright hostility towards China can be found in Daniel Defoe's *Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (a less-known sequel to the famous English novel, published in 1719). Here the protagonist's experience of the Far East is the polar opposite of the French infatuation. In fact, Crusoe depicts every aspect of Chinese life (from the military technology to agricultural practices) as inferior to that found in Europe and adamantly declares the alleged intellectual superiority of

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5. Du Halde never actually travelled to China, but he collected scattered information in a single book.
6. See David E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China and the West, 1500–1800*, 3rd ed. (Plymouth: Rowman and Littlefield, 2009), 125–26.

the Chinese to be untrue. Intriguingly, the sequel to Robinson Crusoe's adventures is probably only one of the few texts by Defoe where he is so generous in his assessment of the social and political relations in his native country.

Although, Oliver Goldsmith had much in common with Defoe in terms of temperament, disposition and even biography, he did not share the latter's anti-Chinese prejudice.[7] *The Citizen of the World*, at least superficially, upholds the view of Chinese moral and intellectual eminence promoted in the works of the French missionaries and philosophers.

The protagonist of the novel, Lien Chi Altangi is presented as an affable, trustworthy and uncomplicated figure. He easily wins readers' sympathy and in most respects upholds the positive stereotype about the merits of Chinese education. Although not always convincingly, Lien Chi underlines pure intentions behind his European voyage. They are perfectly in line with the spirit and main principles of European Enlightenment. As Lien Chi declares in the novel, his only motivation is to satisfy idealistic desire for knowledge.[8] At one point in the novel, Lien Chi even complains that he stands out from the European travellers to China, "the superstitious and the mercenary"[9] as he calls them, because they come to the Middle Kingdom driven by narrow ideological agendas, not out of idealistic hunger for knowledge.

Most of the time, however, Lien Chi conscientiously fulfils the duties of the naive narrator who observes the new world and abstains from excessive moralising. An important dimension of *The Chinese Letters*, however, is the fact that the book does not thoughtlessly embrace the admiration for Chinoiserie. Goldsmith's approach in this respect is inconsistent. He does not refrain from capitalising on the hunger for Eastern narratives, but on the other hand, identifies this fashion as an attractive object of satire or even scorn. Today, many critics subscribe to Robert Hopkins's interpretation that in *The Citizen of the World*, Goldsmith is only "pretending to cater to the popular taste for pseudo-oriental culture while in reality [he is] mocking such taste by means of burlesque."[10] The "Editor's Preface" to the letters, which constitutes an integral part of the novel, contains a revealing clue on what Goldsmith himself could think about the general public's ability to accommodate Eastern lore. The unidentified editor, that may be the voice of the author himself, in order to comment on the possible impact of Chinese culture on English morals, recalls his nightmare dream in which he envisions a Fashion Fair organised on the frozen river Thames. When one of the bystanders in the dream suggests that authors who would carry their works there might find good reception, the editor snatches the opportunity, encouraged by the success of others, and embarks on his own trip to the Fair. As he describes it:

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7. See Spence, *The Chan's Great Continent: China in Western Minds*, 66.
8. See Oliver Goldsmith, *Letters from a Citizen of the World to His Friends in the East* (Bungay: Childs, 1820), 35.
9. Goldsmith, *Letters from a Citizen of the World*, 237.
10. Quoted in Christopher Brooks, "Goldsmith's Citizen of the World: Knowledge and the Imposture of 'Orientalism,'" *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 35, no. 1 (1993): 124.

> I am resolved to make a new adventure. The furniture frippery and fire-works of China have long been fashionably bought up. I'll try the fair with a small cargo of Chinese morality. If the Chinese have contributed to vitiate our taste, I'll try how far they can help to improve our understanding. But as others have driven into the market in waggons, I'll cautiously begin by venturing with a wheelbarrow. Thus resolved, I baled up my goods, and fairly ventured; when, upon just entering the fair, I fancied the ice that had supported an hundred waggons before, cracked under me, and wheel-barrow and all went to the bottom.[11]

It is indeed difficult to come up with a more suggestive image. The ambition to steep English readers into something other than fashionable trivia ends in a spectacular debacle.

Therefore, Goldsmith devotes much space in *The Citizen of the World* to the more ordinary joys of comedy based on cultural misunderstanding and the clash of traditions. Right from the very beginning, he supplies his readers with many anecdotal observations, exposing the peculiarities of English life in a comic and estranging way. Initially, Lien Chi's perceptions are rather crude. For example, when the perplexed philosopher comments on the appearance of English women:

> The ladies here are horribly ugly; I can hardly endure the sight of them; they no way resemble the beauties of China: the Europeans have a quite different idea of beauty from us. When I reflect on the small-footed perfections of an Eastern beauty, how is it possible I should have eyes for a woman whose feet are ten inches long? . . . Here a lady with [Eastern] perfections would be frightful. . . . English women are entirely different: red cheeks, big eyes, and teeth of a most odious whiteness, are not only seen here, but wished for; and then they have such masculine feet, as actually serve some for walking![12]

Apart from grotesque observations that many eighteenth-century readers could find entertaining, the quotation indicates certain familiarity with the peculiarities of Chinese culture. In order to appreciate the comic nature of the description the audience had to know such Chinese cultural idiosyncrasies as dying teeth black and binding female feet. Naturally, many other aspects of English society appear eccentric to the Chinese philosopher. For example, he mistakes pub signs for house ornaments and is greatly astonished at a bizarre habit of wearing huge piles of other people's hair at the top of one's head (i.e., wigs).

Much of the criticism and ridicule directed at English society does not depend on cultural difference as in the case of the comments on female beauty. In fact, large passages in the letters that are devoted to the clergy, the English press, lawyers or the manners of English aristocracy could have been made as easily by a non-foreign observer. Oriental mask only adds some degree of playfulness to the whole situation.

The Citizen of the World is very uneven as a text, and bears many marks of the hasty manner of composition. For instance, there are moments when the novel lapses into a cliché oriental tale. These are mainly the letters narrated by Hingpo, Lien Chi's son. On his way to Europe he is captured and enslaved by a brutish Persian tyrant called Mostadad. Hingpo's accounts not only give details of "oriental" cruelty, excess and degeneration but include all the staple decorations of the oriental setting: harems, lavish

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11. Goldsmith, *Letters from a Citizen of the World*, ix.
12. Goldsmith, *Letters from a Citizen of the World*, 59.

parties, and also torture, executions, as well as passionate love between Hingpo and an enslaved white beauty, Zelis.

However, not only Persia or the steppes of Central Asia are presented as seats of oriental barbarism. The positive image of the protagonist and his own country is undermined on several occasions in the text. A more attentive reader may easily recognise certain less agreeable aspects of Chinese life that Goldsmith smuggles into the narrative. Very early on in the novel, we learn that back in China Lien Chi's voyage to Europe enrages the Chinese Emperor. In a fit of anger, he commands confiscation of Lien Chi's entire estate and orders enslavement of the family (including his wife and children). Only the oldest son, secretly helped by Lien Chi's friend, avoids capture and ultimate social degradation. Irrational cruelty of the Emperor, comparable only to the dealings of the Persian despot, immediately brings to mind what Montesquieu famously described as "Asiatic despotism."[13] On the other hand, Lien Chi himself, despite his philosophical credentials and ostensibly sceptical attitude, often becomes a gullible victim of manipulation or even exploitation. For example, he takes prostitutes' teasing for gratuitous politeness.

Nevertheless, negative representations of the Chinese are usually counterbalanced by detailed depictions of shortcomings in England. For instance, the parody of Chinoiserie reaches its apogee when in one of the letters Lien Chi receives an invitation from a lady of distinction, a known enthusiast of Chinoiserie. When he arrives at the party the lady's excitement at having a guest from Asia promptly dissolves in disappointment. She becomes openly dissatisfied after learning that Lien Chi brought neither opium nor tobacco to her party, that he declines to use chopsticks, prefers chair to a cushion and refuses to eat specially-prepared dishes: bear claws and bird nests. The party ends in debacle when after the dinner Lien Chi has to endure a lecture on Chinese languages and geography from a gentleman obviously ignorant of the subject. When Lien Chi attempts to correct the erroneous explanations of the pseudo-Orientalist, the partygoers become ostentatiously disinterested and the Chinese philosopher never receives an invitation again.

The Citizen of the World is an intriguing document reflecting an intellectual shift going on in Europe in Goldsmith's lifetime. Goldsmith wrote the novel at a period of important transformation, when Western nations, including France and England, were modifying their attitudes to Chinese civilisation. The previously dominant position of almost uncritical admiration started to shift towards colonial scorn and racial superiority. Goldsmith's book reflects in many respects the spirit and contradictory emotions of the time. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Oriental tales still held their magical spell on the minds of the Europeans. Moreover, Confucian and Buddhist texts supplied much-welcome intellectual alternative to the increasingly exploited cultural patterns of ancient Greece and Rome. On the other hand, however, rapidly industrialising Europe, which left the period of religious conflict and unrest

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13. See David Martin Jones, *The Image of China in Western Social and Political Thought* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 30.

behind, entered the phase of newly-found confidence and aggressive nationalisms. In this new atmosphere, traditional charms of the Far East faded. China ceased to be a distant, intriguing country but appeared as another territory for colonial expansion. Comparisons to China were still useful – but increasingly they served to elevate dynamically developing Europe against ostensibly closed, stagnant and antiquated China.

Thus, *The Citizen of the World* contains marks of the growing Orientalist discourse while simultaneously retaining much of the conventional veneration for Chinese achievements. The book was hastily written and designed to appeal to the broadest spectrum of readers. Paradoxically, however, looking from the present-day perspective, these factors acted in its advantage. Cultural shock did not work as a catalyst bringing to the foreground individual, biased judgements, but in the case of *The Citizen of the World* became an excuse to reveal competing cultural trends and intriguing ideas of the time.

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The Hill and the Hollow: Class Contrast in Katherine Mansfield's "The Garden Party"

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ABSTRACT: One of the themes noticeable in Katherine Mansfield's short story "The Garden Party" is that of class contrast. The story juxtaposes two very different settings, the world of the Sheridans and the world of the Scotts. Mansfield distinguishes the two social orders literally as well as metaphorically. Thus the figurative language used to describe the houses, gardens, smoke and even the weather help to differentiate the upper class environment from that of the working class. Interestingly though, the story is not really about raising the awareness of social injustice. Instead, the class contrast enables Laura, the main protagonist, to make a number of personal discoveries.

Modernists tend to steer away from the themes of social injustice and class difference. If they do trespass into the realist realm of social differences it is not to raise the awareness of the problem, but to explore the theme to provide a setting that would enable them to portray the inner life of a character. This can certainly be said of Katherine Mansfield's "The Garden Party" (1922), as one of the themes noticeable in this short story is that of class contrast. The story juxtaposes two very different settings, the world of the Sheridans and the world of the Scotts. Mansfield distinguishes the two social orders literally as well as metaphorically. Thus the figurative language used to describe the houses, gardens, smoke and even the weather above the two dwellings help to differentiate the upper class environment (the world of the Sheridans) from that of the working class (the world of the Scotts). The story, however, is not really about raising the awareness of visible social injustice. Instead, class contrast enables Laura Sheridan, the main protagonist, to make a number of personal discoveries.

To better appreciate the analysis, a brief summary of the plot of the short story is required. The Sheridans are having a posh garden party with a marquee and a band. It is the morning of the much expected event and Laura, one of the four children, is delegated to pick the right spot for the marquee. She does not have much success with the workmen who come up with their own suggestion as to where the marquee should go. In the meantime the flowers are delivered, furniture is moved, and sandwiches are decorated. With the arrival of the cream puffs Laura learns about the accidental death of their poor neighbour Mr. Scott. Out of respect for the deceased and the bereaved she urges everyone to cancel the party. Nobody shares this idea so the garden party goes on regardless. And what a success it is. Laura, our protagonist, is glowing as people compliment on her attractive hat and her striking looks. After the party, the Sheridans are enjoying fresh coffee when Mrs. Sheridan comes up with an idea to send the Scotts

a food basket with leftovers from the party. Laura once again is chosen to undertake the mission. Involuntarily, she descends the dark lane and comes face to face with the corpse of Mr. Scott displayed in his home. Laura feels utterly embarrassed in the house due to her inappropriate dress and hat. When met by her brother Laurie at the gate of their house, the incident leaves her with a complete inability to express her feelings.

The Sheridans live on top of a hill in a grand house while the Scotts come from a poverty-stricken cottage in the hollow. To make sure the distinction is drawn properly, the two dwellings are even separated by a steep rise and a broad road. The distinction between the two places continues with the description of the respective gardens. The upper class garden is full of impressive roses and splendid karakas, evergreen trees with glossy leaves, while the working class have in their garden patches of "nothing but cabbage stalks, sick hens and tomato cans."[1] The superiority is further developed by the shiny grass and the rose bushes in the Sheridans' garden. The personification of the bushes bowing heavy with roses along with the simile of the archangels' visit have strong biblical allusions and as a result evoke awe and reverence. The Scotts' dwelling is, in contrast, little, mean and brown. The whole lane is "the greatest possible eyesore," and even liberal Laura thinks that it has "no right to be in that neighbourhood at all" (45). The cottage evokes nothing but horror and disgust. Even as children the Sheridans were prohibited to trespass into that sordid place lest they hear foul language or catch some nasty disease. The visible distinction of the two houses is completed by the two metonymies describing the smoke coming from their chimneys. The "great silvery plumes" coming for the top of the hill are in strong contrast to the "[l]ittle rags and shreds of smoke" (45) coming out of the cottage.

The use of pathetic fallacy enhances the recurrent theme of class distinction when even the weather and the general atmosphere seem different over these two dwellings. While it was a perfect day for the Sheridans' party "[w]indless, warm, the sky without a cloud" it was "growing dusky" as Laura descends into the "smoky and dark" (49) lane below with a basket full of leftovers. With a mission like that of a Little Red Riding Hood, Laura is sent to those in need. To prevent Laura from being eaten by a bad wolf, Mrs. Sheridan is about to advise her child not to speak to strangers; she however halts and instead tells Laura to run along. The image of Laura's descent from the top of the hill to the hollow, as if from heaven to hell, is strongly enhanced by more examples of similes, metaphors and images. On her way to the hollow she sees a big dog running like a shadow and another "crab-like" (49) shadow moving across a window. Once in the hollow, she comes across a "dark knot of people" (49), a metaphor for the working class neighbours gathered outside the house of the deceased worker Mr. Scott. The image of a gloomy passage Laura has to go through to get inside the house, the oily voice of Mrs. Scott's sister, then the wretched little low kitchen in which she meets the new widow face to face and finally the corpse of Mr. Scott all suggest the undesirable realm of evil, suffering and death. Her encounter with death is a brief one, and once she is "past all

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1. Katherine Mansfield, "The Garden Party," in *The Garden Party and Other Stories* (London: Penguin, 2007), 45. Hereafter cited in text.

those dark people" (51), once she is out of the shadow land, Laura reunites with her loving brother to reemerge at their house.

Although Katherine Mansfield makes good use of social differences between her characters, it is not primarily to raise the issue of alarming social injustice. Instead the contrasting settings allow the upper-class heroine Laura to make many personal discoveries and even experience epiphany.

Initially, Laura seems the only Sheridan to treat the underprivileged with respect and a sense of equality. She sincerely thinks she does not care about "these absurd . . . distinctions" and she even finds herself physically attracted to the "extraordinarily nice workmen" (40) who come to their house to put up the marquee for the garden party. Her romantic identification with the idealized working class proves Laura's limited knowledge of the lower classes. When she takes "a big bite of her bread-and-butter" in front of the "impressive" (40) workmen she comes across as naive, incompetent, and childish. Laura however feels like one of them, a "work-girl" (40).

We get a glimpse of her sense of humanity when she insists on stopping the party on the news of the tragic death of their neighbour from down the lane. Nevertheless, her sincere sympathy with the bereaved down in the hollow comes to an abrupt end when she is offered a new hat. She promptly succumbs to her own vanity, for "Never had she imagined she could look like that" (47), and she quickly forgets the neighbours and their sorrow. Unlike in her dealings with the workmen, Laura suddenly glows with confidence when complimented on her looks and feels she was extravagant in wanting to cancel the party.

With her head still filled with thoughts of the successful party, Laura eventually confronts the corpse of the neighbour killed in the accident when she is sent with a food basket down to the lane. Her response to the corpse remains however in the aesthetic mode of the party: "he was wonderful, beautiful, a 'marvel' much better, in fact, in terms of beauty than her hat."[2] She entertained not a single thought of pity for the deceased or the bereaved. Visiting the Scotts in their horrid cottage, she for a moment brushes against morality when, according to literary scholar Kate Fullbrook, she "steps outside her class and circumstances into a confrontation with the equality of all humanity in the face of morality."[3]

The fact that death features in "The Garden Party" is not accidental, for Mansfield was, at the time of writing it in 1922, herself dying of consumption. As Lorna Sage states in her Introduction to a 2007 reprint of *The Garden Party and Other Stories*, death is treated as "a terrible and tasteless event that can't be allowed to intrude on the land of the living, but does all the time and everywhere."[4] Yet, "*Not* in the garden?" (46) is Mrs. Sheridan's reaction to the news of the accident. She is not having death invade her home! When Laura tries to persuade her to stop the party the mother argues "It's only by accident we've heard of it. If some one had died there normally – and I can't

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2. Kate Fullbrook, *Katherine Mansfield* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1986), 122.

3. Fullbrook, *Katherine Mansfield*, 121.

4. Lorna Sage, Introduction to *The Garden Party and Other Stories* (London: Penguin, 2007), xviii.

understand how they keep alive in those poky little holes – we should still be having our party, shouldn't we?" (46).

Laura's exposure to all of these realities demonstrates her total inability to express her feelings verbally. At the very end of the story she goes through a moment of epiphany which she fails to put into words: "'Isn't life,' she stammered, 'isn't life—' But what life was she couldn't explain" (51). Once outside the house of Mr. Scott, Laura is met by her beloved brother Laurie, whose name mirrors the heroine's. Laurie's response to his sister's unfinished statement is somewhat ambiguous, with a hint of mockery. In her introduction, Sage suggests that the passage implies that Mansfield "was critical of her own longing for closeness."[5] Laura and Laurie are in fact Katherine and her dear brother Leslie who was killed in a grenade accident at a very young age on the French front during World War I. It is no secret that Katherine turned her dead brother into a kind of muse: "The next book will be yours and mine. It is the idea that I do not write alone. That in every word I write and every place I visit I carry you with me."[6] It is however a paradox that she asks her dead brother to confirm what life is.

The above textual analysis of *The Garden Party* proves that the short story makes a good use of the social contrast between the privileged Sheridans and the poverty-stricken Scotts. Katherine Mansfield, however, in the spirit of modernist tradition, has no social objectives in mind. Instead, the social setting allows the author to explore the inner life and personal discoveries made by Laura Sheridan, the young protagonist of the short story. In the space of a single day, the day of the garden party, a reader thus gets to see Laura as childish, naive, lacking confidence, embarrassed, but also moral, sincere, and eventually even glowing with confidence. Her inability or unwillingness to express herself and her lack of negotiating skills also prove the short story is more about Laura than social injustice.

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5. Sage, Introduction, xv.
6. Sage, Introduction, xv.

Indulgent Audience: Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and Forced Entertainment's *Spectacular* in Postdramatic Theory*

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ABSTRACT: The aim of the present paper is to highlight the author's presence in the play in the mirror of postdramatic theory. The twenty-first century theatrical assertion of the real creates a refreshing look at the interpretation of Shakespeare's *The Tempest* as well as postulates the inevitable necessity to re-enact Shakespearean theatre by subverting Elizabethan staging practices and developing its metatheatrical quality. Furthermore, the paper highlights several shared features of staging approaches of both Shakespeare and Forced Entertainment, a leading British experimental theatre troupe, such as the author's creative dramaturgies, imagination, and manipulation of the audience. Finally, the paper attempts to appropriate *The Tempest* to *Spectacular*, the latest show of Forced Entertainment.

KEYWORDS: William Shakespeare; *The Tempest*; Forced Entertainment; *Spectacular*; postdramatic theatre

The ambiguity of *The Tempest* by William Shakespeare provokes and offers various readings. Günter Walch remarks on *The Tempest*'s "remarkable resistance to interpretative closure,"[1] possibly due to the openness of the text as well as its length, the grotesquely bizarre flatness of the characters, the allegorical quality of the work, its message, and finally, the strong authorian appeal at the end of the play. Furthermore, *The Tempest* is a play tricky in many aspects, including its-hard-to-locate genre. Various scholars have argued that *The Tempest* belongs to the genre of comedy, romance, revenge tragedy, or allegory. Aware of a certain ambivalence of the author's presence in the play, Yachnin postulates: "[T]he reading of the play as pseudo-allegorical autobiography is a plausible – even the probable – interpretation of *The Tempest*."[2] Accepting the pseudo-allegorical reading enables manoeuvring between the text and the act of interpretation more freely. Such formal, authorian and interpretative openness, as argued above, creates an ambiguity, which by Anne Richter is described as "deliberately enigmatic."[3]

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1. Günter Walch, "What's Past is Prologue: Metatheatrical Memory and Transculturations in The Tempest," in *Travel and Drama in Shakespeare's Time*, ed. Jean-Pierre Maquerlot and Michèle Willems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 224.
2. Paul Yachnin, "'If by Your Art': Shakespeare's Presence in the Tempest," *Shakespearean Criticism* 14, no. 2 (1988): 120.
3. Anne Richter, introduction to *The Tempest* by William Shakespeare (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1985), xxii. Quoted in Yachnin, "If by Your Art," 124.

Furthermore, the ambivalence of the play is also in locating its central character; as shall be illustrated further, most frequent interpretations identify the main character as Prospero: the creator, conjurer, manipulator of the characters in the play and possibly of the audience. Therefore, some scholars naturally identify the character of Prospero with William Shakespeare. Several interpretations accentuate the fact that the central character of the play is William Shakespeare speaking through Prospero – thus the play is read as Shakespeare's farewell to the stage,[4] or "Shakespeare's legacy."[5] Taking into consideration that *The Tempest* was the last play Shakespeare wrote as a whole and realizing that at its time (1611), the playwright must have been a distinguished and popular playwright, this idea appears perfectly plausible and justifiable and such a reading remains still largely proliferated.[6]

From the early nineteenth century onwards, Shakespeare has been primarily canonized not for the subject matter of his works but for his language capacity and ability to create organic, believable and complicated characters. Correspondingly, the acclaim of Shakespeare in part rests on the hundreds of believable characters he created. In all his plays, however, it is *The Tempest*'s Prospero who most vividly personifies Shakespeare himself, most apparently in the Epilogue. Interpretation enables the assimilation of *The Tempest* to those techniques of modern theatre, metatheatre[7] or postdramatic theatre. Thereby the audience is reminded of its role as the audience by witnessing a play written by William Shakespeare and performed by an actor playing Prospero; in other words, the imaginative nature of Shakespearean theatre deliberately fails to materialize fully due to the metatheatrical presence of the authorial voice. Additionally, it might be noted that *The Tempest* possesses an extraordinary imbalance and even disproportion of the characters, with Prospero being the most eloquent and physically present character. According to an analysis by Marvin Spevack, Prospero's lines compose 29.309% of the total and highly exceed those of other characters.[8] Logically, Prospero becomes the focal and pivotal point of the play, the agent and driving force of its action. In his essay "'If by Your Art': Shakespeare's Presence in *The Tempest*," Yachnin goes on to develop theoretical reflection on the authorial presence of Shakespeare in his plays by introducing three-dimensional characters, whose convincing self-conscience is achieved by "ambiguity, inconsistency, and overdetermination."[9]

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4. The idea was first justified by Thomas Campbell in 1838. See Yachnin, "If by Your Art," 122.

5. Stephen Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare and Other Problems of the Early Modern Stage* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 178.

6. For examples, refer to Alvin B. Kernan, *The Playwright as Magician: Shakespeare's Image of the Poet in the English Public Theater* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 136–43. See also Harriett Hawkins, *The Devil's Party: Critical Counter-interpretations of Shakespearian Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

7. See Walch, "What's Past is Prologue," 226.

8. Caliban is the second most eloquent character with 8.393%, followed by Stephano with 8.137% and Ariel 7.888%. See Marvin Spevack, *A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare*(Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), 1:36–62. Quoted in Alden T. Vaughan and Virginia Mason Vaughan, *Shakespeare's Caliban: A Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 7.

9. Yachnin, "If by Your Art," 120.

It is via alchemy that Prospero conjures the tempest thereby enabling him to execute his revenge. Alchemical creation not surprisingly conveys the metaphor for authorial creative energies; the term *tempest*, after all, was in the Renaissance used also to indicate the boiling temperature of a certain solution.[10] This assumption leads to the conclusion that magic and art in *The Tempest* might take form of instruments, most notably the instrument of revenge. In *The Theatre in Life*, Evreinoff claims that "this ability to imagine something 'different' from everyday reality and to 'play' with this imagination, was also a precognition for religion."[11] Such a sacral understanding suggests the binary relationship of the author and God versus the main character and the audience, thus imbuing Prospero with the godly, immortal, performing agent of William Shakespeare. On the other hand, a notable number of scholars recognise the main character/Shakespeare "in Miranda and Ariel as in Prospero."[12] Arguably, Prospero manifests God – via his knowledge, words, and illusion creating the whole "dream world" on the island that epitomizes the work of a playwright, here Shakespeare with his creative potential. Biblical approximation of *The Tempest* signifies, according to Steven Marx, another parallel between the creation and omnipresence of the author: "The creator God, therefore, must be both the story's protagonist and its author."[13] This whole situation, through a postdramatic lens offers an inevitable parallel with Austin's theory of performativity – with the words to conjure the world, to perform the whole worlds, the *Totus mundus agit histrionem*, all the world is a stage.[14] Correspondingly, the tempest in the play embodies the change, metaphorically meaning the author's creative art: "If by your Art, my dearest father" (i.ii.1) where Miranda alludes to Prospero's creative magical powers. The omnipotence of the creator as a singularity undoubtedly reflects the rising importance of an individual within Renaissance society. The audience is thus transformed from a homogenized *it*-audience into an individualized *they*-audience. "His [Prospero's] power transforms the island into a stage and the environment into theatrical effects."[15]

Another ambivalent element of the play is its unusual time frame. *The Tempest* and *The Comedy of Errors* are the only Shakespearean plays following the neoclassical three unities. Still *The Tempest* is a work concerned with time. Its title, as Martin Hilský points out, suggests the resonance of *tempo*, or *tempus*.[16] The story time is the most linear and most dense – almost real spectating time, without the conventional shifts and jumps

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10. See Martin Hilský, afterword to *Bouře*, by William Shakespeare (Praha: Atlantis, 2007), 92.

11. Nicolas Evreinoff, *The Theatre in Life*, trans. Alexander I. Nazaroff (New York: Brentano, 1927), 24.

12. Orgel, *The Authentic Shakespeare*, 180.

13. Steven Marx, *Shakespeare and the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 23.

14. Motto of the Globe theatre meaning "All the world acts the player" (*As You Like It*, II, vii), Shakespeare later translates it as "All the world is a stage." For further treatment see Joseph Quincy Adams, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (Cambridge, MA: Wildside Press, 2007), 286; John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 76–77. For Austin's theory of the performativity of words, refer to J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words* (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1962), most notably Lectures I–III, VIII and XXII.

15. Geraldo U. de Sousa, *Shakespeare's Cross-Cultural Encounters* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999), 166.

16. See Hilský, afterword, 94.

of its Elizabethan contemporaries. The actual action of the play occupies a period of approximately six hours; through numeral allusions and sub-narratives, the story time of the play, however, "dilates its boundaries to encompass events extending over a period of more than two decades."[17] Such a framing, temporality within eternity, summons awareness of the authorian limited powers, alluding further to the audience's existential reaffirmation signaling metaphysical death,[18] i.e., death not present, but immanently perceived. The metaphysicallity and *timeness* and at the same time its timelessness create, as Paul Woodruff notes, a somewhat unclear boundary between the real and the acted:

> Sometimes after the last line of *The Tempest*, we in the audience are silent for a while, before the applause begins. . . . Suppose the charm never broke, and the applause never began. . . . When we applaud, we set the actors free and, at the same time, free ourselves from the spell actors have cast over us. . . . Life would stop, if the play never does.[19]

Blurring, appropriating the line between the life and theatre, the illusion and the real, are the aspects modern spectators seek to anticipate. The mystery, however, remains, whether the audience of Shakespeare truly identified Prospero with Shakespeare, or if it all remains in the frame of modern scientific analyses. The aforementioned suggestion by Woodruff implies the manipulative power of the play and supports the main protagonist-author who thereby imposes certain responsibility upon the audience, such as the one Prospero does in the Epilogue, where he begs the audience to free him – Prospero/Shakespeare:

> But release me from my bands
> With the help of your good hands. (Epilogue)

This self-awareness as well as reaching out to the audience articulates a metatheatrical reaffirmation of the spectating process, its reference to reality and self-referentiality in which the audience can laugh at the protagonist while feeling empathetic simultaneously. Yet, at the same time, many contemporary postmodern theatres, like British Forced Entertainment, address the audience directly in the course of their plays, postdramatically transforming the audience from the very beginning of the play, not leaving it for the finale. The audience inevitable becomes compatriot, co-creators of the play at its very start.

There are many similarities between the Elizabethan theatre and the plays of Forced Entertainment. Primarily it is their up-to-datedness: both Shakespeare and Forced Entertainment borrow richly from period sources; be it Virgil, the Bible or Montaigne, or television films, overheard conversations and internet pages. Additionally, one may argue, both struggle on the border between the fictitious and reality. In both cases the audience are taken into the play, manipulated into the authorian scenario. A crucial aspect of the understanding of such theatres is the audience's responsibility.

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17. Sousa, *Shakespeare's Cross-Cultural Encounters*, 159.
18. Jan Suk, "The Issues of Death" (master's thesis, University of Hradec Králové, 2003), 104–7.
19. Paul Woodruff, *The Necessity of Theater: The Art of Watching and Being Watched* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 7.

According to Yachnin "*The Tempest* represents the natural culmination of a tendency in Shakespeare's drama towards giving the audience increased responsibility for making crucial decisions about the meaning of his plays."[20] Similarly, Tim Etchells, the director of Forced Entertainment and a writer, deliberately elaborates on Michael Herr's theory "that you are responsible for everything you saw as well as for everything you do,"[21] which is a notion of performance, developed by Erving Goffman, as a "cultural behavior for which a person assumes responsibility to an audience."[22] This responsibility shift enables the author to develop the audience's omnipotent bird's eye view and impose on it a considerably larger attention demand, even experiencing what might be understood as feelings of failure or guilt.

In postdramatic terms, according to Hans-Thies Lehmann, theatre means the collectively spent and used up lifetime in the collectively breathed air of that space in which the performing *and* the spectating take place.[23] Thus the arena of the theater creates confluence of energies, ideas, and simple being together. Then the actors, as stated above, no longer become alienated beings but instead co-create a collectively unmediated experience of theatregoing. Therefore, not curiously, Forced Entertainment plays resemble those of William Shakespeare in their nature and structure.[24] It is of no surprise that with the help of postdramatic theory, the 21st century works of Forced Entertainment are becoming irresistibly more and more appealing. Their 2009 play, *Spectacular*, magnificently builds on the Elizabethan conventions of illusionary theatre. Added to which the appeal to the audience, we have an ingenious confluence of *The Tempest* and *Spectacular*. Like *The Tempest*, *Spectacular* has one strong character, a narrator+commentator-cum-conjuror+creator. Like Prospero, the central character creates a world not only open to the audience but also giving the spectators' imagination the space to conjure up for themselves the whole visual and audio setting of the play. The main protagonist, Robin, dressed as a skeleton, directly addresses the spectators:

> Yes, actually what might be helpful is if we could all just sort of imagine our way back to the beginning. So if you could all just imagine that you are coming to the theatre and there's that nice atmosphere, people looking forward to a nice night out. (*Spectacular*)

The following passage clearly offers the assertion of the audience's theatre presence, a crucial acting strategy of postdramatic theatre. The summoning of the presence in the absence creates anticipation and further attacks the audience's imagination, thus requiring certain energetic investment from the audience. The perception of the play thereby remains highly individualized, idiosyncratic, unique, thus responsibility driven.

20. Yachnin, "If by Your Art," 120.
21. Tim Etchells, *Certain Fragments: Contemporary Performance and Forced Entertainment* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 14.
22. Dell Hymes, "Breakthrough into Performance," in *"In vain I tried to tell you": Essays in Native American Ethnopoetics* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 84.
23. See Hans-Thies Lehmann, *Postdramatic Theatre*, trans. Karen Jürs-Munby (London: Routledge, 2006), 17.
24. See Hans-Thies Lehmann, "Shakespeare's Grin: Remarks on World Theatre with Forced Entertainment," in *Not Even a Game Anymore: The Theatre of Forced Entertainment*, ed. Judith Helmer and Florian Malzacher (Berlin: Alexander Verlag, 2004), 103–118.

> You're just thinking about another time, another place. A street. Or a forest. . . . . . [hic] And then suddenly, you find yourself here, standing in front of everyone, and you think to yourself: 'Well, how long have I been away for? How long have I been standing here not saying anything. I don't know – 10 seconds? A minute?' (*Spectacular*)

The extract from roughly halfway through the play, signifies a somewhat similar fragility and compassionate metatheatrical appeal and reassertion of the here and now which can be witnessed in the closure of *The Tempest*,

> Now my charms are all o'erthrown,
> And what strength I have's mine own,
> Which is most faint: . . .
> But release me from my bands
> With the help of your good hands:
> . . . And my ending is despair,
> Unless I be relieved by prayer,
> Which pierces so that it assaults
> Mercy itself and frees all faults.
> As you from crimes would pardon'd be,
> Let your indulgence set me free. (Epilogue)

What Shakespeare achieves in the Epilogue of the play, Forced Entertainment puts forward in the very beginning of the play. The vulnerability of the individual spectator is appealed to constantly. In *Spectacular*, the main protagonist, Robin, conjures up the world for the audience, leaving the play's visual and sound texture almost entirely in their hands and minds. Unlike *The Tempest*, besides the skeleton costumes, there are neither props nor costumes in *Spectacular*. The whole play remains extremely unspectacular visually. On the other hand, given the fact that the audience is invested in the fantasy, the play may turn into an overwhelming theatrical experience. Like in *The Tempest*, with the audience members believing that Prospero is aware of their presence, and at the same time realizing their own spectating experience, the play turns into a genuinely postdramatic experience. Both *The Tempest* and *Spectacular* are plays that stimulate extraordinarily what Goffman stresses as the quintessence of a performance, the relationship between a performer and the audience. Like Goffman, Clifford Geertz believed that only those plays involving the participants in "deep play" are likely to raise real concerns about fundamental ideas and codes of culture.[25] Thus both of the plays, the Elizabethan *Tempest* and the twenty-first century *Spectacular*, summon engagingly thought-provoking insight into the authors' creative alchemist laboratories.

In a postdramatic reading of *The Tempest*, its liminal ambiguity and openness may transit to the liminoid,[26] i.e., optional, voluntary, unexplained. This shift from liminal performance – which is able to invert the established order but never subvert it, into liminoid activity, much more limited, individual, of the audience's responsibility or conscience, greatly outlines the authorian creativity as well as possibly expresses the difficulties of life and the author's appeal for understanding, sympathy or apology – in

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25. See Clifford Geertz, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," *Daedalus* 101 (1972): 1–37.
26. For the treatment of the liminal and liminoid see Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*, (New York: PAJ Publishing, 1982), 20–60.

other words, the modern need for seeking compassion and necessity to confessionally articulate a desperate ending. The postdramatic elaboration on the understanding of the spectators' role and the theatre's insistence on the real – the "*theatre of the present*"[27] conjures new parallels and provokes the reading that the main character of *The Tempest* is neither Shakespeare nor Prospero but the audience/spectator/witness naturally manipulated via the author through Prospero/Shakespeare or Robin/Tim Etchells. The ambivalence of reading *The Tempest* in postmodern context and postdramatic theories manifests somehow very believable, painful, even desperate responsibility. The postdramatic audience desperately needs a signal to designate the end of theatre, at which point the spectators are set free with indulgence. As Woodruff concludes,

> The art of theater cues the audience that the performance is over. Shakespeare uses an epilogue to tell them when to applaud, modern theater gives the cue with lights or curtain, and each tradition has its own way. But we must have permission to engage again with our lives.[28]

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27. Lehmann, *Postdramatic Theatre*, 143.
28. Paul Woodruff, *The Necessity of Theater*, 7.

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The Manacles of Freedom: Theories, Practice and Individuality of Freedom in Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville

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ABSTRACT: The paper deals with the development of the concept of freedom and free will as presented in selected prose by Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville, in particular how the deficiency of freedom affects the inner world of the characters, as well as how the notion and personal understanding of freedom can (or cannot) have some bearing on the characters' motivation and action. The objective of the paper is to demonstrate how Hawthorne's and Melville's characters struggle with their individual limitations in an infinitely symbolic natural world and how both authors consistently rely on freedom-related motifs, concepts and symbolism, mostly in their characterization and development of character individuality.

KEYWORDS: freedom; free will; transcendentalism; individualism; Nathaniel Hawthorne; Herman Melville

> Liberty is often a heavy burden on a man. It involves that necessity for perpetual choice which is the kind of labor men have always dreaded.
> – Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr.[1]

When the U.S. founding fathers based their political argument on the assumption that inalienable human rights include life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, they not only reflected on the roughly 150 years of social, political and cultural advancement in America, but also imprinted the import of freedom and individuality deep into the heart of Americans for centuries to come. Ralph Waldo Emerson somewhat radicalized the concept of personal freedom and confidence, putting forward the idea of individualism, non-conformism and diversity as a fundamental driving force of progress. But, it is in literature where individual freedom finds its most poignant expression – and this expression frequently reflects the paradoxical nature of freedom when articulated individualistically.

This paper aims to explore the limitations of personal freedom in relation to the individuality of characters and speakers in the works of Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville. I will particularly focus on how relevant individual freedom is when theory (ideology, doctrine, dogma) and practice (the human condition) meet and engage in a dialectical battle.

The undercurrent of American individualism evidently flows directly from Emerson, whose conjectures about society giving up the freedom of the individual for the sake of

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1. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., *Elsie Venner: A Romance of Destiny* (Charleston: BiblioBazaar, 2008), 220.

its survival as a whole led to his famous line: "No law can be sacred to me but that of my nature."[2] Emerson found the poetic expression of his philosophy in Walt Whitman, whose democratic and individualistic spirit of America was "perennial with the Earth, with Freedom, Law and Love."[3] Notwithstanding the tension Emerson creates between the adherence to law and individual liberty, transcendentalism systematically seeks to release "the individual from slavish devotion to the past and from the restrictions that rigid conformity and consistency impose upon thought."[4]

Hawthorne and Melville are the two most prominent 19th century writers for whom transcendentalism became a basis from which they ventured to dispute its very core – the unassailability of the individual and the inviolability of personal freedom and will. While in Hawthorne's prose the fascination with sin and the dark departments of the human soul is viewed through the lens of subjective consequences,[5] Melville draws on diverse philosophical lines of thought that culminated in Arthur Schopenhauer's metaphysical scrutiny of human will in *The World as Will and Representation.* In it, Schopenhauer says: "Absolute freedom consists simply in there being something not at all subject to the principle of sufficient reason as the principle of all necessity."[6]

It is the very juxtaposition of the free will and necessity principles I would like to analyze further, primarily through the prism of Hawthorne's and Melville's fictional characters. None of the examined stories employ characters that would directly reflect a need to liberate themselves from oppression, exploitation or discrimination. But, as Sigmund Freud put it, any type of injustice felt in a society may be the incentive for people to crave free expression of their will and thus catalyze "further development of civilization [while remaining] compatible with it."[7] And yet, regardless of all the development and progress, Emersonian ideas of individualism and correlation with nature and the universe, or Whitman's liberating barbaric yawping, the depth of the American mind as portrayed by Hawthorne and Melville carries inside itself a terrible legacy of the Puritan dialectic – the will and drive to be free from persecution and oppression on the one hand, and the conservativism to never doubt the stability of the dogmatic building of their New World theocracy on the other.

When Hawthorne's Goodman Brown makes the conscious decision to leave his wife Faith for the night and travel into the darkness of the seventeenth-century Massachusetts woods, and into the even darker departments of the Puritan soul, this apparent act of free will is soon thrown into a shadow of doubt cast over the reader's understanding of Brown's incentives and independence. The ambiguity Hawthorne deftly applies to the text of the story only partly reveals that Goodman Brown is being

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2. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Self-Reliance," in *Self-Reliance and Other Essays* (New York: Dover Publications, 1993), 21–22.

3. Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1993), 423.

4. Cyrus R. K. Patell, "Emersonian Strategies: Negative Liberty, Self-Reliance, and Democratic Individuality," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 48, no. 4 (1994): 458.

5. See Robert Midler, "Hawthorne's Winter Dreams," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 54, no. 2 (1999): 180.

6. Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation* (New York: Dover, 1967), 2:530.

7. Sigmund Freud, *Civilization and Its Discontents* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930), 60.

tempted by the Devil. He struggles to resist the temptation that seems to grow gradually as he advances on his way through the darkening forest. And yet, his will to fight what the narrator recognizes as "evil purpose"[8] is equally strengthened, and Brown's refusal to participate in the satanic worship and rituals escalates. The reader can easily identify Brown's determination to remain spiritually pure when he at last implores Faith, his wife and the source of his moral and spiritual strength, to resist the lure of the Devil and "look up to heaven."[9]

For Goodman Brown, freedom lies in purity. The momentary lapse of integrity that leads him to follow the Devil's call is counterbalanced by his defiance of all the enticement he faces in the woods. His will is driven by his faith, but this very faith receives a hard blow when he realizes the hypocrisy of his fellow villagers the next morning: "A stern, sad, a darkly meditative, a distrustful, if not a desperate, man did he become."[10] Instead of freedom residing in spiritual integrity, purity, and vivacity, he chooses repression in his own disenchantment with the human soul and dies a broken, unhappy man.

The impossibility of releasing the aspiration to spiritual freedom from the Hawthornian inherent darkness of the soul is best visible in the story "Earth's Holocaust." In an attempt to purify their life and perform a simplification in the style of Thoreau, the members of an unspecified community decide to burn all ornamental objects, insignias and symbols of their immoral institutions in a large bonfire. And though they do not hesitate to throw into the fire even books of poetry and the Bible in order to complete a flawless rectification of all moral corruption, it transpires that perfect purity can never be achieved unless the human heart is done away with in the first place:

> The Heart – the Heart – there was the little, yet boundless sphere, wherein existed the original wrong, of which the crime and misery of this outward world were merely types. Purify that inner sphere . . . and the many shapes of evil that haunt the outward, and which now seem almost our only realities, will turn to shadowy phantoms, and vanish of their own accord.[11]

The endeavor to liberate the soul and reach total purity, freedom and independence from all spiritual blemish and dishonesty turns out to be a failure. The human soul itself presents an intrinsic problem in this effort because for Hawthorne, evil exists in every human heart and therefore, any progress will inevitably suffer from this limitation.

Hawthorne's prose contains numerous references to similar types of constraints which become an organic constituent of the characters' dispositions and considerably affect their actions. Theory, in Goodman Brown's case the Puritan doctrine, usually operates as a motivator for the character's conduct, which not only opposes the Devil's enticement but in the end also urges the central character to resist temptation. In

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8. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Young Goodman Brown," in *Young Goodman Brown and Other Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 112.

9. Hawthorne, "Young Goodman Brown," 123.

10. Hawthorne, "Young Goodman Brown," 123–24.

11. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "Earth's Holocaust," in *Young Goodman Brown and Other Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 247.

The Scarlet Letter, Hester Prynne chooses to remain in Boston and be the subject of disdain instead of escaping and opting for freedom. She simultaneously observes and violates the Puritan rules by serving the punishment ordained by the authorities while breaking free from their supremacy. But when she eventually chooses exile, her lover, Arthur Dimmesdale, never quite achieves a similar drive towards freedom. A Puritan minister and secret sinner, Dimmesdale is stuck between an infinite allegiance to his faith, doctrine and system of values, and a naturalistic, nearly transcendentalist urge to break these bonds. His paralysis is broken only at the moment of his death, in which reverend Dimmesdale finally finds his freedom.

When Bartleby, Herman Melville's passively resisting Wall Street scrivener, refuses to work, speak and eventually even eat, the reader is perplexed by how the immense strength of his will drives him, rather paradoxically, to a total renunciation of any will. His chorus "I would prefer not to," echoing Thoreau's *Civil Disobedience*, becomes both a bold statement exasperating his employer and a manifesto of ultimate passivity. Bartleby reaches a state of liberty which, like in Dimmesdale's case, leads to his death.

Bartleby is unable to find his freedom because he feels crushed by the economic and social system dictating him to adapt his individuality and character to the ruling conditions around. He experiences a comparable paralysis as Dimmesdale – a paralysis which is much more severe than the reverend's. It is initiated by a necessity to stimulate economic growth and progress without taking into account the importance and value of the personal and individual element in the system. The personal element, i.e., persons like Bartleby, is bound to get shattered in the face of the depersonalized bonds that make up the capitalist *modus operandi*. The human soul, which Hawthorne recognizes as potentially evil, is here fully subdued and has no chance to grow and progress, or at least, not freely. Transcendentalist individualism works only as a theory – while the equally individualist capitalism practically introduces methods that lead to a devaluation of the human potential.

However, in the expression of will that motivates Bartleby to passively resist and reject life, one may also see a desire to challenge established structures and notions, such as the practice of capitalist economy, or the dehumanizing conditions in which this practice frequently takes place. More generally, Melville also suggests that there is a limitation to his freedom as a writer, particularly if popular demand and business interest want him to "copy" and recycle his successful adventure stories rather than venture into the unknown territory of more complex literature like *Moby-Dick*.

It is in *Moby-Dick, or the Whale* where individualism and free will find their most powerful and formidable protagonist. Captain Ahab is a "grand, ungodly, god-like man,"[12] a man fearless enough to go as far as to challenge deity. Ahab's fanatical motivation to hunt down and kill the white whale springs from a thorough appreciation of his individuality and free will. As Ann Massa and Scott Donaldson point out, Ahab becomes "a terrifying symbol of destructive individualism," a case of excessive self-

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12. Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick, or The Whale* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1988), 88.

reliance."[13] On the one hand, he acts freely in his fervent pursuit of the object of his desire, but on the other he is nearly tyrannical to all that try to get in his way, including his crew. Yet, Ahab's individualism also has its limits, and he comes to doubt the totality of the freedom of his will when faced with the seemingly indestructible leviathan:

> What is it, what nameless, inscrutable, unearthly thing is it; what cozening, hidden lord and master, and cruel, remorseless emperor commands me; that against all natural lovings and longings, I so keep pushing, and crowding, and jamming myself on all the time; recklessly making me ready to do what in my own proper, natural heart, I durst not so much as dare? Is Ahab, Ahab? Is it I, God, or who, that lifts this arm? But if the great sun move not of himself; but is as an errand-boy in heaven; nor one single star can revolve, but by some invisible power; how then can this one small heart beat; this one small brain think thoughts; unless God does that beating, does that thinking, does that living, and not I. By heaven, man, we are turned round and round in this world, like yonder windlass, and Fate is the handspike.[14]

Ahab's tragic character is a result of the fierce struggle between his individualism and the natural power of the white whale – just like Dimmesdale wrestles with both his natural desire and his social conscience and responsibility. Similarly, Goodman Brown – in his search for a moral and spiritual purity – challenges both God and Satan before surrendering his freedom to bitterness, self-pity and disillusion. The challenge of a part of the established order is what connects Goodman Brown, the members of the unnamed community in "Earth's Holocaust," Melville's Bartleby, and also reverend Hooper in Hawthorne's "The Minister's Black Veil." Hooper's veil becomes much more than just an indication of secret sin that the reverend wishes to communicate to others; it alters his awareness of the world as the veil gives "a darkened aspect to all living and inanimate things."[15] As Robert Midler posits, "The truly constitutive veil is not the physical one that shades Hooper's face but the psychological one that filters his perception."[16]

As Bartleby defies the capitalist order and rejects compassion, Billy Budd challenges the omnipotence and supremacy of law. Billy, "endowed with the gaiety of high health, youth, and a free heart"[17] unintentionally kills the HMS Indomitable's master-at-arms and though Captain Vere, who witnesses the incident, understands the circumstances, Billy is executed under martial law. In his speech preceding the sentence and execution, Captain Vere says about the necessity to apply the law in this type of instance: "For that law and the rigor of it, we are not responsible. Our avowed responsibility is in this: That however pitilessly that law may operate, we nevertheless adhere to it and administer it."[18]

Billy Budd, Sailor, Melville's last novella, remains an exemplary case of the discord between law and justice, between individual and society. It raises more questions than it hints at potential answers. Captain Vere's dilemma leaves him bound, tied up by his

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13. Ann Massa and Scott Donaldson, *American Literature: Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1978), 135.

14. Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 592.

15. Nathaniel Hawthorne, "The Minister's Black Veil," in *Young Goodman Brown and Other Tales* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 145.

16. Midler, "Hawthorne's Winter Dreams," 181.

17. Herman Melville, *Billy Budd, Sailor*, in *Billy Budd and Other Stories* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1986), 298.

18. Melville, *Billy Budd*, 362.

responsibility in a case which escapes a simple solution. Can a challenge of order – such as a sailor bringing about a predicament questioning the very nature of law and justice – eventually come to stimulate social progress? Vere represses his own freedom out of necessity – his individual freedom is sacrificed to the purpose of the society, or for the purposes of the King. But Billy Budd's personal liberty and his free will, which instigated his action, is never questioned. It is only tragic, and like Bartleby or Dimmesdale, he finds his ultimate freedom in death.

In *The Human Condition*, Hannah Arendt writes:

> Necessity and life are so intimately related and connected that life itself is threatened where necessity is altogether eliminated. For the elimination of necessity, far from resulting automatically in the establishment of freedom, only blurs the distinguishing line between freedom and necessity. (Modern discussions of freedom, where freedom is never understood as an objective state of human existence but either presents an unsolvable problem of subjectivity, of an entirely undetermined or determined will, or develops out of necessity, all point to the fact that the objective, tangible difference between being free and being forced by necessity is no longer perceived.)[19]

While Captain Vere tries to walk the very thin "line between freedom and necessity," at least in his speech to his crew, Captain Ahab takes a much more authoritative, at times nearly tyrannical, position. "All my means are sane, my motive and my object mad," he says ill-disposedly, endeavoring to justify his action as a result of which his entire ship is drowned and all crew, with the exception of Ishmael, find their death in the depths of the ocean.[20]

Even after Hawthorne and Melville, American literature revels in the lure of freedom and the transcendentalist conviction that despite the dark chambers in the human heart a person's individual expression is what matters most. The personal politics of characters emerge as their defining traits, in particular as far as their struggle with the limitations of freedom are concerned. But the fundamental notion of an individual creating his or her own path leading to freedom remains a crucial, connecting element. Robert Frost may serve as a fitting example here. The speaker in his poem "The Freedom of the Moon" appears to juggle with the Earth's satellite as if it were a miniature object that can be freely moved and shuffled. "I put it shining anywhere I please,"[21] says Frost's speaker exhibiting an almost terrifying self-confidence, free will and power. But, the sentence continues with the words "by walking slowly on some evening later," and it transpires that the power and freedom the speaker feels is just a matter of an individual perspective. The Moon does not necessarily change its position, the speaker does. And by doing just that, walking around in the countryside, the speaker manifests an enormous power and ability to pursue freedom within the space of individual perception. This power and individual capacity became inherent characteristics of a great number of American literary characters, but while the authors recognized the significance of individualism and free will in their creations, they also constantly challenged their characters' determination.

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19. Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 71.
20. Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 202.
21. Robert Frost, "The Freedom of the Moon," in *Collected Poems, Prose & Plays* (New York: Library of America, 1995), 224.

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Battlefield Realism in U.S. Civil War Novels

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ABSTRACT: John William De Forest's *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty* and Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* are probably the best nineteenth-century novels dealing with the American Civil War. De Forest, a pioneer of realism in American literature, used his own war experiences as a basis for his battlefield scenes. In addition, he became an insightful critic of the war genre after the Civil War. On the other hand, Stephen Crane, who was only twenty-four when he wrote his most famous novel, had never seen battle. This paper examines the approach to battlefield realism of De Forest, a direct participant in the war, and Crane, who had no fighting experience prior to writing *The Red Badge of Courage*.

KEYWORDS: American literature; Civil War; realism; war novels; combat experience; John William De Forest; Stephen Crane

At the end of the American Civil War, Walt Whitman wrote that the real war will never get in the books.[1] The war gave rise to a great amount of fiction, and most of it proves Whitman's statement true. Hundreds of authors, including war veterans, tried to create their own version of the real war, but very few succeeded. Among those who did succeed are John William De Forest and Stephen Crane, who in their works, in the words of Wayne Miller, "established a new criterion for judging a writer's performance in regard to his treatment of war."[2] This paper focuses on the war novels produced by these two authors. More precisely, it discusses their renderings of events on the battlefield and soldiers' thoughts and feelings in combat. Furthermore, it examines the way in which both authors use various components such as the point of view or the details selected for inclusion to create their personal impression of the battle and its consequences for the participant.

John William De Forest had already published several books before the Civil War. After the Confederate victory at Bull Run, he organized a company of volunteers for the 12th Connecticut Volunteer Regiment. Holding the rank of captain, he served in the Louisiana campaign in 1862 and in the Shenandoah Valley in 1864. He was mustered out of service in 1864 because of poor health, and immediately after his discharge began working on his most famous novel. According to Michael Schaeffer, with the publication of the rather clumsily named *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty* (1867), De Forest became the first American author to write about the events of the war with an authenticity that other Civil War writers did not even attempt to approach.[3]

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1. See Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1984), 481.
2. See Wayne Charles Miller, *An Armed Americ: Its Face in Fiction: A History of the American Military Novel* (New York: New York University Press, 1970), 89.
3. See Michael W. Schaefer, *Just What War Is: The Civil War Writings of De Forest and Bierce* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1997), 24.

Besides being a pioneer of war realism in American literature, De Forest was also an insightful critic of the war genre in both fiction and non-fiction. In a number of articles, mostly published in *Atlantic Monthly*, he discusses the issues of realistic writing about war. The most complete analysis of such writing is an article named "Our Military Past and Future" (1879). In the article, De Forest criticizes military historians, who had never actually experienced war and writes:

> [T]here should be military histories in the[ir] libraries, – not the trashy, misleading ones which prattle of "billows of cavalry" and "infantry standing like rocks;" not such stuff as the world has had about war from a host of ignorant romancers calling themselves historians; but books which show just what war is, and what to do amidst its difficulties and perplexities.[4]

According to De Forest, military histories are useless if they do not show that even the best soldiers sometimes reel under fire and that in order to overcome the worst difficulties of the battlefield, an experienced commander is required. De Forest's main criteria for useful writing about war are simple: the author must accurately describe the actions and sights of combat, and he must explain why a battle unfolded as it did.[5]

An example of romantic writing about war at its best might be a quotation from James Fenimore Cooper's *The Spy* (1821). The novel takes place during the American Revolution, and in one of his few detailed descriptions of battle, Cooper depicts the skirmish between Continental and British forces in precisely the same style that De Forest was criticizing:

> The eye of the youthful warrior flashed fire. Riding between his squadron and the enemy, in a voice that reached the hearts of his dragoons, he recalled them to their duty. His presence and words acted like magic. The clamor of voices ceased; the line was formed promptly and with exactitude; the charge sounded; and, led on by their commander, the Virginians swept across the plain with an impetuosity that nothing could withstand, and the field was instantly cleared of the enemy.[6]

From his own experience, De Forest knew that battles were comprised of scenes of extensive chaos and terror, and not of the magnificent and heroic charges described by Cooper.

The reason as to why his novel had, for a long time, escaped the attention of readers and critics alike is that the plot of *Miss Ravenel's Conversion* is written in the style of post-war romances. It centers around a love triangle consisting of Lillie Ravenel, a high-spirited Southern "belle," Colonel Carter, a handsome, frequently vulgar, whisky-drinking and cigar-smoking officer from Virginia who marries her and then betrays her with the more seductive Creole Mrs. Larue, and finally Captain Colburne, the noble Unionist officer from Connecticut who is in love with Lillie and wins her only after the colonel's death in battle.

No critic, however, denies De Forest's achievements in combat scenes. In the chapters describing the battles featuring both Colburne and Carter, the main focus is not on the characters but on the war in its harshest possible sense. Previously, it formed

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4. John W. De Forest, "Our Military Past and Future," *Atlantic Monthly* 265 (1879): 572.
5. See Schaefer, *Just What War Is*, 27.
6. James Fenimore Cooper, *The Spy* (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 94.

the background for character development, but then it moves to the foreground and becomes the central motif. De Forest does not spare the reader even the most brutal details. He uses simple, direct language never heightened for melodramatic effects and avoids the use of metaphors and lyrical adjectives, much favored by the writers of romances before and after the Civil War. The reader can see only those parts of the battlefield observed by either Colburne or his men; the positions of the enemy are covered by the fog of war. As Colburne's company advances into the battle, De Forest describes how it suffers its first casualties: "when one of my men was borne by me with half of his foot torn off by a round shot, the splintered bones projecting clean white from the ragged raw flesh, I grew so sick that perhaps I might have fainted if a brother officer had not given me a sip of whiskey from his canteen."[7] He dryly and with medical precision depicts the effects of hostile fire on Colburne's men.

Furthermore, he successfully attempts to reproduce the sounds of the battlefield. Military historian Richard Holmes writes that the sounds of battle fill a broad spectrum from the soft moan of a wounded man to the ear-splitting crash of a shell-burst.[8] De Forest covers the whole spectrum since he knew how battle sounded from first-hand experience. A complete cacophony of the sounds of the battlefield is presented during the Confederate night-time assault on Fort Winthrop:

> Through the hot night came tramplings and yellings of a Rebel brigade; roaring of twenty-four-pounders and whirring of grape from the bastions of the Fort; roaring of hundred-pounders and flight of shrieking, cracking, flashing shells from the gunboats; incessant spattering and fiery spitting of musketry, with whistling and humming of bullets; and, constant through all, the demoniac yell advancing like the howl of an infernal tide. Bedlam, pandemonium, all the maniacs of earth and the fiends of hell, seemed to have combined in riot amidst crashing of storm and volcano. (*MRC* 308–9)

Besides realistic battlefield scenes, De Forest pays attention to the feelings of the troops before and during the battle. Thirty years before Stephen Crane, who based his *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895) on the same theme, De Forest describes the terrified faces of men before their first encounter with the enemy. Every regiment has

> its two or three cowards, or perhaps its half dozen, weakly nerved creatures, whom nothing can make fight, and who never do fight. One abject hound, a corporal with his disgraced stripes upon his arm, came by with ghastly backward glare of horror, his face colorless, his eyes projecting, and his chin shaking. Colburne cursed him for poltroon, struck him with the flat of his sabre, and dragged him into the ranks of his own regiment; but the miserable creature was too thoroughly unmanned by the great horror of death to be moved to any show of resentment, or even of courage by the indignity; he only gave an idiotic stare with outstretched neck toward the front, then turned with a nervous jerk like that of a scared beast and rushed rearward. (*MRC* 260)

De Forest depicts the war without heroics and glory, as a matter of death, blood, pain, exhaustion, boredom and desperation, which for him is the only way to achieve complete authenticity. De Forest's dead soldiers were a new element in American fiction, and so were his cowardly, swearing and drunk officers. The author experienced

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7. John W. De Forest, *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1964), 260. Hereafter cited in the text as *MRC*.

8. See Richard Holmes, *Acts of War: The Behaviour of Men in Battle* (London: Cassel, 2004), 161.

the horrors of war first-hand; most of his readers had not. For well-mannered New Englanders raised on Cooper and Sir Walter Scott's historical romances, the battlefield descriptions, in which men were blown to bits or lay bleeding and screaming, must have come as an enormous shock.[9]

De Forest's battlefield realism was praised by several literary critics. Edmund Wilson wrote that "the war scenes in *Miss Ravenel's Conversion* were the first of their kind in fiction in English, and it would be more than a decade . . . before any other writer of talent who had taken an active part in the war would describe it with equal realism."[10] De Forest's descriptions of combat situations are complex; he depicts the uneasiness and tension of the men before battle, the carnage under hostile fire and the brutal conditions within military hospitals with a precise journalistic authenticity. Supplementing his own memories with other sources and adding his own style, he managed to provide a realistic picture of the battlefield. According to Schaeffer, such a combination of memories, other sources and style is what distinguishes De Forest from scores of Civil War veterans who tried to capture truthful aspects of battle.[11] Just as such films as *Saving Private Ryan* or *The Thin Red Line* revised the conventional Hollywood war movie, *Miss Ravenel's Conversion* changed the war novel genre that had been previously represented mainly by romanticized historical novels.

The literary career of Stephen Crane is different from that of De Forest. Crane wrote his war novel when he was twenty-two and, more importantly, without having ever seen a battle. He once confessed that he learned all he needed to know about the battle on the football field. However, his scenes and the description of feelings of a young recruit before and during the battle are so authentic that readers refused to believe that it was written by so young an author without any combat experience.

The view of the battlefield in Crane's novel is similar to the one in *Miss Ravenel's Conversion.* The reader sees the battle through the eyes of the main character. Henry Fleming sees only his closest comrades, but he does not (and cannot) register what is happening in the other parts of the battlefield. The enemy is usually only a "brown swarm of the running men who were giving shrill yells."[12] Henry almost never sees the faces of advancing hostile troops. He fires at them, but the reader does not know whether Henry kills someone or not.

One very realistic element of Crane's novel is the absence of heroic postures. It looks like Crane, from his own experience, knew that the men in battle do not fight upright, with their sabres over the heads. Awaiting the attack of the enemy, inexperienced recruits "shrank back and crouched as if compelled to await a flood" (*RB* 40). Their faces

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9. See Stephen Becker, "On John William De Forest's Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty," in *Classics of Civil War Fiction*, ed. David Madden and Peggy Bach (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991), 33.

10. Wilson, *Patriotic Gore*, 685.

11. See Schaefer, *Just What War Is*, 45.

12. Stephen Crane, *The Red Badge of Courage* (London, Penguin Books, 1994), 42. Hereafter cited in the text as *RB.*

are dirty with sweat and dust; some of them shake with terror. They stop to think; Henry forgets whether his gun is loaded or not. When the enemy finally attacks,

> [t]he men bending and surging in their haste and rage were in every impossible attitude. . . . The rifles, once loaded, were jerked to the shoulder and fired without apparent aim into the smoke or at one of the blurred and shifting forms which upon the field before the regiment had been growing larger and larger like puppets under a magician's hand. (*RB* 45–46)

There are no accurate shots that knock down enemy cavalrymen from their horses, only an automatic fire without any visible effect. When the men in blue attack, they do not advance with measured thread in a straight line which, according to military historians, is just an image created by the painters and writers of the period of romanticism. Instead, Henry's regiment "fell slowly forward like a toppling wall, and, with a convulsive gasp that was intended for a cheer, the regiment began its journey" (*RB* 124). Bushes and trees on the battlefield scatter the line into small clusters. The men run towards the enemy positions, but their countenance is not heroic – they advance with "starting eyes and sweating faces" (*RB* 125). Again we have here a pose that does not fit with traditional romantic war prose. During the final assault, the staggering bodies of Henry and his comrades "surpassed in stain and dirt all their previous appearances . . . they were, with their swaying bodies, black faces and glowing eyes, like strange and ugly fiends jigging heavily in the smoke" (*RB* 145).

The total de-heroization comes with the second enemy attack. At first, there is an overestimation of the abilities and strength of the enemy. Then, using extremely figurative language Crane describes Henry's temper: "To the youth, it was an onslaught of redoubtable dragons. He became like the man who lost his legs at the approach of the red and green monster. He waited in a sort of a horrified listening attitude. He seemed to shut his eyes and wait to be gobbled" (*RB* 51). The men around Henry begin to flee and run; they throw away their guns and lose equipment; their faces are terrified. The behavior of men during the stampede in *The Red Badge of Courage* is almost the same as descriptions by military historians. Richard Holmes in his *Acts of War* writes: "When a panic gets under way it develops a frenetic momentum of its own. Indeed, those involved seem to lose many of their human characteristics, and became animals, given over to the hysteria of the herd."[13] Stephen Crane, with his insightful look into the mind of young, inexperienced recruits, paved the way for the war novels that appeared in the twentieth century. The incredible thing is that he managed to do it without ever seeing a real battle.

Both Crane and De Forest are much more explicit in depicting the psychological and physical impact of war than any other author. Moreover, through their methods and the fact that they present the actual brutalities of the conflict, they are affected by both the nature of the Civil War itself and by the literary trends towards realism and naturalism. John William De Forest was a pioneer as far as realistic battlefield scenes are concerned, but Stephen Crane was the first author in American prose to actually depict the war and its influence upon an individual in the most brutal form, without resorting to subplots

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13. Holmes, *Acts of War*, 228.

dealing with romance or intrigue. The importance of both authors in Civil War writings was acknowledged by another important war novelist, Ernst Hemingway, who in 1942 wrote that: "There was no real literature of our Civil War, excepting the forgotten *Miss Ravenel's Conversion* by J. W. De Forest, until Stephen Crane wrote *The Red Badge of Courage*."[14]

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14. Quoted in Daniel Aaron, *Unwritten War: American Writers and the Civil War* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 210.

"Killing the Angel in the House" or Leaving Her Behind? Feminist Literary Theory and Women's Immigrant Fiction

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ABSTRACT: "Killing the angel in the house" enables women's writing. This famous premise taken from Virginia Woolf has become a staple of feminist literary theory. That it is necessary to overcome gender stereotypes in order for a woman to write has become a central claim stated by Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar in their classical work of feminist literary criticism, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (1979). Gilbert's and Gubar's rejection of the historically reinforced and culturally disseminated image of an angelic woman guarding the home still resonates throughout contemporary critical perspectives on women's literary production. However, women's immigrant fiction reveals that the challenges of the New World rather push the restraints of the old one to the background. Mary Antin, in her memoir *The Promised Land* (1912), overcomes the imposition of domesticity through mobility. Instead of fighting "the angel in the house," she simply moves away from it.

KEYWORDS: American literature; British literature; immigrant literature; feminist literary criticism; women's writing; mobility; gender; domesticity; Mary Antin; Virginia Woolf; Sandra M. Gilbert; Susan Gubar

As the conference theme this year focuses on the intersection between theory and practice, I propose to juxtapose the theoretical concepts of feminist literary theory to the practice of mobility. Specifically, I examine the theoretical premises developed by Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, influential American feminist literary scholars of the 1970s, through the lens of female immigrant experience as imagined by Mary Antin in her seminal work about immigration, her memoir *The Promised Land* (1912).

In their now classic work of feminist literary theory, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (1979), Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar show how women's authorship developed in a difficult and complex struggle with the conventions of Victorian domesticity. More than thirty years after the publication of their study, and in spite of the critique it has received from younger generations of feminist literary critics,[1] Gilbert's and Gubar's ideas remain important for the examination of women's writing today.[2] This is because the division between the private and public sphere according to gender, the legacy of the Victorian era that Gilbert and Gubar criticize, is still a pressing issue in both literature and society.

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1. See, for example, Toril Moi's *Textual/Sexual Politics: Feminist Literary Theory* (London: Routledge, 1985). Moi criticizes feminist literary theory of the 1970s for its lack of inquiry into the category of the female subject, thus essentializing it and failing to consider it as a fragmented and fluid concept.
2. See, for example, a collection of essays edited by Annette R. Federico, *Gilbert and Gubar's* The Madwoman in the Attic *After Thirty Years* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 2009).

The Victorian era, the central focus of Gilbert's and Gubar's study, designated the home as a haven secluded and guarded by an angelic woman. The concept of the "angel" comes from Coventry Patmore's poem, *The Angel in the House* (1885), epitomizing the concept of woman as "angel" responsible for generating and maintaining domestic bliss. Gilbert and Gubar argue that this identity required by the Victorian society prevented women from developing their creativity, and that women writers since the nineteenth century have been grappling with this fateful icon, rebelling against it, and seeking to transcend it. One of the strategies that women writers employ, for example, is developing a contrasting image of a woman who, because of her eccentricity, or rather sheer insanity, exceeded all social norms. Gilbert and Gubar explain that "by projecting their rebellious impulses not into their heroines but into mad or monstrous women (who are suitably punished in the course of the novel or poem), female authors dramatize their own self-division, their desire both to accept the strictures of patriarchal society and to reject them."[3] Thus, they continue, the madwoman "is usually in some sense the author's double, an image of her own anxiety and rage."[4] Through this "mad creature," they conclude, "female authors can come to terms with their own uniquely female feelings of fragmentation, their own keen sense of the discrepancies between what they are and what they are supposed to be."[5]

As case in point, take the author Virginia Woolf, whose work reflects her struggle with the Victorian legacy. Her ideas on the female writer's predicament appear in her non-fictional works, *A Room of One's Own* (1928) and *Three Guineas* (1938). However, Woolf directly confronts the "angel" in a short lecture written in 1931, "Professions for Women." For Woolf, a confrontation with the "angel" means killing it. This act is necessary, as Woolf explains, for a woman to write – more specifically, to write in her own voice, without ventriloquizing the voice of the society, the voice of the "angel." She describes her own murderous impulse toward the "angel," an impulse that had, indeed, resulted in a deadly incident, a murder. Very allegorically, Woolf kills the angel by throwing an inkpot at her. "Had I not killed her, she would have killed me," she explains in her defense.[6] In the following passage, she describes the workings of the "angel's" demanding presence on a female writer's imagination:

> I will describe her as shortly as I can. She was intensely sympathetic. She was immensely charming. She was utterly unselfish. She excelled in the difficult arts of family life. She sacrificed herself daily. If there was chicken, she took the leg; if there was draught she sat in it – in short she was so constituted that she never had a mind or a wish of her own, but preferred to sympathize always with the minds and wishes of others. Above all – I need not say it – she was pure. Her purity was supposed to be her chief beauty – her blushes, her great grace. In those days – the last of Queen Victoria – every house had its Angel.
>
> And when I came to write I encountered her with the very first words. The shadow of her wings fell on my page; I heard the rustling of her skirts in the room. Directly, that is to say, I took

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3. Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 78.

4. Gilbert and Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, 78.

5. Gilbert and Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, 78.

6. Virginia Woolf, "Professions for Women," in *The Death of the Moth and Other Essays* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1974), 238.

my pen in my hand to review that novel by a famous man, she slipped behind me and whispered: 'My dear, you are a young woman. You are writing about a book that has been written by a man. Be sympathetic; be tender; flatter; deceive; use all the arts and wiles of our sex. Never let anybody guess that you have a mind of your own. Above all, be pure.' And she made as if to guide my pen.[7]

The most detrimental effect of the Victorian imposition on women writers, apparent from Woolf's passage above, is that besides being selfless and sexless, the angelic woman is also story-less. Gilbert and Gubar put it bluntly: "She has no story of her own."[8] However, Gilbert and Gubar also argue that the act of rebellion against this major lack constitutes a story in its own right. They explain that it is a story that all women writers have in common, the story of their rebellion against the Victorian domestic ideal. Gilbert and Gubar claim that it is, in fact, not merely a similar but exactly the same story, "the one plot that seems to be concealed in most of the nineteenth-century literature by women," which is "a story of the woman writer's quest for her own story," the story representing "the woman's quest for self-definition."[9]

However, how does Gilbert's and Gubar's theory of one story square with the case of immigrant women writers, the writers whose main story is not primarily that of rebellion against social impositions, but that of encountering a new world? It can be assumed that the "one story" of rebellion against the "angel," one that Gilbert and Gubar claim is shared by women writers, must take a different turn if modified by the experience of mobility. It can also be assumed that for an immigrant woman, the imposition of domesticity is modified, if not completely replaced, by a new set of impositions. An immigrant woman, uprooted from her home, must create a new life in a new country, culture, and language, and thus acquire a new national, cultural, and linguistic identity. This task is certainly taxing, but in some respects it may be quite liberating. It may be assumed that adhering to the Victorian ideal of domesticity is rather a minor concern to an immigrant.

The hypothesis that mobility, with its new set of impositions and challenges, enables a woman writer to escape the "angel's" influence resonates well with Mary Antin's immigrant experience. Mary Antin (1881–1949), who came from a Russian Jewish family, immigrated to the United States when she was only thirteen. In her book that has become a classic in the genre of immigrant autobiography, *The Promised Land*, she describes the story of her progress toward becoming an American. She wrote it when she was thirty years old and when she believed her journey had been completed. She succeeded in acquiring a new identity and became an American.[10]

It can be said that Antin circumvents the "angel's" shadow by embarking on a completely different project. In her story of immigrant progress, gender hardly plays a significant role. If mentioned at all, gender is treated only indirectly. For example,

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7. Woolf, "Professions for Women," 237.
8. Gilbert and Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, 22.
9. Gilbert and Gubar, *The Madwoman in the Attic*, 76.
10. Throughout her life and career, Antin was a vocal activist for immigrant rights, defending them, for example, in her famous manifesto *They Who Knock at Our Gates: A Complete Gospel of Immigration* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914).

Antin regrets that her older sister, Frieda, married too young, therefore missing a unique chance of self-transformation in America, a chance that Antin used to the fullest. She writes:

> Before we had been two years in America, my sister Frieda was engaged to be married. This was under the old dispensation: Frieda came to America too late to avail herself of the gifts of an American girlhood. Had she been two years younger she might have dodged her circumstances, evaded her Old-World fate. She would have gone to school and imbibed American ideas. She might have clung to her girlhood longer instead of marrying at seventeen. I am so fond of the American way that it has always seemed to me a pitiful accident that my sister should have come so near and missed by so little the fulfillment of my country's promise to women. A long girlhood, a free choice in marriage, and a brimful of womanhood are the precious rights of an American woman.[11]

Or, there is another example of Antin's indirect criticism of what she calls "the Old-World fate." Remembering their poor life in the immigrant ghetto in Boston, devoting special attention to a ruthless landlady, Mrs. Hutch, she critically comments on the birth of her two younger siblings, whom she saw as a hindrance to the family's power to make further and steadier progress toward the American Dream. Commenting on the birth of her sisters, May and Celia, Antin recollects her feelings then:

> There was this last baby, my mother's sixth, born on Mrs. Hutch's premises – yes, in the windowless, air-tight bedroom. Was there any need of this baby? When May was born, two years earlier, on Wheeler street, I had accepted her; after a while I even welcomed her. She was born an American, and it was something to me to have one genuine American relative. I had to sit up with her the whole of her first night on earth, and I questioned her about the place she came from, and so we got acquainted. As my mother was so ill that my sister Frieda, who was the nurse, and the doctor from the dispensary had all they could do to take care of her, the baby remained in my charge a good deal, and so I got used to her. But when Celia came I was two years older, and my outlook was broader; I could see around a baby's charms, and discern the disadvantages of possessing the baby. I was supplied with all kinds of relatives now – I had a brother-in-law, and an American-born nephew, who might become a President. Moreover, I knew there was not enough to eat before the baby's advent, and she did not bring any supplies with her that I could see. The baby was one too many. There was no need of her. I resented her existence.[12]

Antin thus mentions some events related to domestic life, noting the role of gender in a larger story of immigration. However, she hardly develops these themes further. Moreover, such issues as romance, marriage, and sexuality in her life are missing. Some critics see this lack as telling. Magdalena Zaborowska, for example, draws attention to this lack and interprets it as Antin's necessary sacrifice to a successful life in a new country. She argues that "the immigrant heroine sometimes has to renounce traditional gender roles – marriage and motherhood – to attain an education in America."[13] In this sense, Zaborowska sees Antin making a conscious choice to skip over gender-related themes: "Antin is conscious of making her character a heroine who violates the conventional story about a 'nice girl' with her experience of growing up amid the harshness and lack of privacy in the ghetto, and this may be another reason why there is no chapter about Mary's romance and her sexuality."[14] Finally, she concludes: "The

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11. Mary Antin, *The Promised Land* (New York: Penguin, 1997), 217–18.
12. Antin, *The Promised Land*, 246.
13. Magdalena Zaborowska, *How We Found America: Reading Gender through East European Immigrant Narratives* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 49.
14. Zaborowska, *How We Found America*, 65.

book ends with the girl being in charge of her life and conscious of her individual achievement, which would not have been possible if she had been securely and traditionally married."[15]

Does then finally Antin truly escape the "angel," the Old World's ideal of a domestic woman, or is she merely repressing it? Since Antin was married and had a daughter, she perhaps had to negotiate the meaning of domesticity in her life, after all. However, considering Antin as a writer enables a different perspective. As a writer, Antin shows a new way of fighting the "angel" by distancing. She does not kill the "angel" but instead keeps moving away from her. Moreover, Antin moves away from the past conventions not only through her immigration to America but also through her writing. She claims: "I take the hint from the Ancient Mariner, who told his tale in order to be rid of it."[16] At the end of her story, she feels that her distancing act works successfully. By moving away from the past and by writing the past away, she had managed to outgrow it: "The past was only my cradle, and now it cannot hold me, because I am grown too big."[17]

Whether Antin truly achieved her freedom, or whether such freedom from the past is possible or even desirable, remains a matter for further speculation. However, Antin's example manages to move the debate on women's literature further, that is, beyond seeing the problem of female authorship and literary imagination strictly in Victorian terms. Antin's story suggests that becoming a writer depends less on the strength of the past and more on individual mobility. This approach toward negotiating the tradition, I believe, raises new challenges and questions for today's writers who grapple with the new and diverse forms of migrancy and itinerancy. These new questions, waiting for their answer, gain increasing prominence in today's globalized world in which the phenomenon of mobility becomes a shared experience, and thus a pivotal concern of contemporary literature by men and women alike.

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15. Zaborowska, *How We Found America*, 65.

16. Antin, *The Promised Land*, 3.

17. Antin, *The Promised Land*, 286.

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From "Youth and Beauty" to "Age and Decrepitude": Age, Ageing, and Ageism in American Gay Fiction*

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ABSTRACT: The paper deals with the treatment of age-related issues in American gay literature, focusing on Christopher Isherwood's *A Single Man* (1964) and Andrew Holleran's *Dancer from the Dance* (1978) and *The Beauty of Men* (1996). Even though Holleran's *The Beauty of Men* is inspired by *A Single Man*, there is a major difference between the two authors: while the protagonist of Isherwood's novel is isolated from other gay men, Holleran's protagonists in many ways interact with gays of other generations. A line of mentor-protégé relationships can be identified in *Dancer from the Dance*, while the characters of *The Beauty of Men* replace the vertical line of relationships with a horizontal network of peers, losing some of the opportunities offered by intergenerational interaction.

KEYWORDS: American literature; gay literature; ageing; ageism; intergenerationalism; Christopher Isherwood; Andrew Holleran

> [O]nly in age and decrepitude do we see truth; in youth we're just careless.
> – Andrew Holleran[1]

If we tried to find a group/population in the present-day western world that is most obsessed with youth and beauty, the gay subculture would be one of the choicest candidates. This interest can also be observed in the themes explored by American gay fiction, as a significant portion of it explores youth-related issues when it deals with boys and young men coming out, i.e., coming to terms with their homosexuality. Of course, there is a good reason for this interest in coming out: Edmund White once remarked that "[s]ince no one is brought up to be gay, the moment he recognizes the difference he must account for it,"[2] and coming-out narratives portray a universally shared, though varied experience of all gays. Thus it comes as no surprise that most authors of gay literature start their careers with a coming-out novel. Indeed, the first works of gay fiction published at the end of the 1940s and 1950s focused on young protagonists undergoing coming out; only occasionally did there appear a young character of uncertain age, but definitely not older than in his thirties, e.g., Cousin Randolph in Truman Capote's *Other*

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1. Andrew Holleran, "Andrew Holleran," interview by Richard Canning, in *Gay Fiction Speaks: Conversations with Gay Novelists*, ed. Richard Canning (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), 142.

2. Edmund White, foreword to *The Faber Book of Gay Short Fiction*, ed. Edmund White (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), ix.

Voices, Other Rooms (1948), David in James Baldwin's *Giovanni's Room* (1956) or Eric in Baldwin's *Another Country* (1962).

Treatments of the other end of the spectrum, middle and old age, are much more difficult to find. The first author to explore the theme of age and ageing in gay fiction was Christopher Isherwood (1904–1986) in his novel *A Single Man* (1964). As many critics have demonstrated, Isherwood's *A Single Man* was groundbreaking for many reasons, and it was extremely influential: David Bergman pointed out that this novel became a model for the members of the Violet Quill, a group of New York-based authors who gathered informally at the turn of the 1970s and 1980s and who are sometimes dubbed as the first gay literary movement.[3] Indeed, just as the issue of aging is a great contribution of Isherwood to the themes explored in gay fiction, it also features in all the works of one of the most prominent members of the Violet Quill, Andrew Holleran (b. 1944).

A Single Man was a true revolution in its time. It portrays a single day in the life of George, an Englishman in his fifties living in the USA. George recently lost his lover in a car accident, yet he is unwilling to admit it to his neighbors, preferring to tell them that his lover is visiting family. The novel starts with a view of George's sleeping body coming alive and becoming George, George's morning routine, a seminar at the university where he teaches, his workout, his visit to a friend dying of cancer, an evening spent with a friend, a British woman contemplating her return to Europe. His day finishes in a bar where he meets a student of his, Kenny, with whom, after some talk, he goes skinny-dipping in the ocean, is brought by him home and tucked into bed. Then, at the end of the novel, George falls asleep – and perhaps dies . . .

The achievements of the novel at the time of publication include its unapologetic portrayal of homosexuality, the new theme of age, or rather, ageing, or the novel's narrative technique (Monika Fludernik points out that it is one of only a few English texts that use the personal pronoun *it* for introducing a human protagonist[4]). Yet in spite of the accolades, *A Single Man* has received some criticism as well. If the novel was to become a model for the Violet Quill members, it is quite significant that the British literary historian Gregory Woods notes exclusion of George from the gay community:

> The book's problem, to my mind, is that its central character is as single-dimensional as he is single. More sophisticated in the conception than in the execution, this most explicitly gay-affirmative of its author's novels is undermined by the fact that George's jaundiced anti-heterosexualism is unrelieved by any sense of the homosexual as a social being: George has no gay friends.[5]

Indeed, George lives in isolation from other gay men, which is in sharp contrast with Holleran, for whom the interaction between members of different generations within the gay community has always been an important motif. Moreover, while *A Single Man* can be called anything but a coming-out story, Andrew Holleran was able to connect the issue of age and ageing with the genre of coming-out narratives in his first novel

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3. See David Bergman, *The Violet Hour: The Violet Quill and the Making of Gay Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 60.
4. See Monika Fludernik, *Towards a 'Natural' Narratology* (London: Routledge, 1996), 235.
5. Gregory Woods, *A History of Gay Literature: The Male Tradition* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1998), 345.

Dancer from the Dance (1978). This novel has been called "languorously underplotted"[6] by Reed Woodhouse, and the same thing might be said about later novels as well, as Holleran uses his idiosyncratic narrative technique: he dwells on certain issues and keeps commenting on them and looking at them from various perspectives. His novels should thus be read as cultural commentary on the gay community through their characters, events, as well as the camp style, rather than action-driven fiction.

Dancer from the Dance was published fourteen years after *A Single Man* and nine years after the Stonewall Riots of 1969 marking the beginning of the gay liberation movement. According to Woodhouse, *Dancer* belongs to a category of books called "ghetto fiction," i.e., fiction focusing on life in the gay community without any normative reference to the outside, straight world.[7] Holleran's novel is a novel-within-a-novel: the setting of embedded story is primarily the New York gay underworld of the 1970s, and the plot revolves around events in the life of Anthony Malone, who comes to New York as a virgin at the beginning of the 1970s and leaves it after eight years "on the circuit." Malone's story is framed by a series of letters exchanged between the fictional author of the embedded novel about Malone and a friend of the author who has left New York for the American South.

The setting and the period it covers are key for understanding the novel. The 1970s are a unique period in the history of gay culture, libertine after the Stonewall Riots and yet still uninhibited by AIDS. Youth is glorified in *Dancer from the Dance*, as in all of Holleran's fiction. Yet what is even more important is an interesting pattern of intergenerationalism that emerges in the novel. Malone's beauty and youth are contrasted with the age of Sutherland, a man about fifteen years older, who took Malone in after he was attacked by his former lover. Sutherland soon became Malone's guide and mentor, and, in the end of Malone's career in New York, his pimp.

While Sutherland admires Malone's beauty and youth, there is no sexual relationship between them, no matter how close their relationship may be. There are many reasons for that: First of all, Malone and Sutherland belong to different generations. While Malone belongs to the culture of clones,[8] Sutherland is a middle-aged drag queen, "*She Who Must Be Obeyed*,"[9] an arbiter of taste for the next generation. Sutherland introduces Malone into the gay community, which is again enchanted by Malone's good looks and good behavior. While Malone first obeys Sutherland, like all good protégés, after some time he "matures" and develops his own views.

However, Malone is not the only young man introduced to the gay community by Sutherland; another one is John Schaeffer, a twenty-one-year-old multi-millionaire,

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6. Reed Woodhouse, *Unlimited Embrace: A Canon of Gay Fiction, 1945–1995* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), 121.

7. See Woodhouse, *Unlimited Embrace*, 2.

8. "Clone" is a "[u]sually pejorative term for gay men, and sometimes lesbians, who slavishly conform to a particular style to the point of being almost indistinguishable from other affecting the same look." Steve Hogan and Lee Hudson, *Completely Queer: The Gay and Lesbian Encyclopedia* (New York: Henry Holt, 1998), 139.

9. Andrew Holleran, *Dancer from the Dance* (New York: William Morrow, 1978), 15. Hereafter cited in the text as *DFD*.

who, like all others, falls in love with Malone. Sutherland wants to "marry" the two men at the party where Malone and Sutherland later die; Malone agrees, but only so that he can pass his legacy to John. Before Malone leaves New York for an unknown place (or perhaps drowns while swimming from Fire Island towards Long Island), he warns John that the people around them "are a visual people. . . . And being people who live on the surface of the eye, they cannot be expected to have minds or hearts" (*DFD* 228). Malone continues:

> Expunge [the words "I love you"] from your vocabulary, it will save you a lot of trouble. You don't love me. I am a professional faggot. *Now what other lessons can I pass on to you? . . .* Indifference is the greatest aphrodisiac, . . . never underestimate the value of indifference, it is, finally, the great freedom. Try not to be self-conscious, . . . or so critical. Don't mope around looking for someone else to make you happy, and remember that the vast majority of homosexuals are looking for a superman to love and find it very difficult to love anyone merely human, which we unfortunately happen to be. Oh, God, let's dance! (*DFD* 228–29, my emphasis)

Malone, a protégé of an older man, becomes a mentor to a member of another generation. The existence of a line of mentor-protégé relationships is further revealed when, at Sutherland's funeral following his overdose, an older man appeared, "a retired queen who had been to Sutherland what Sutherland was to Malone" (*DFD* 234).

While the novel ostensibly celebrates the beauty of young men, this line of four mentors and protégés demonstrates that Holleran is well-aware of the importance of older, i.e., experienced, men for the survival of community. However, a fundamental shift in Holleran's fiction appears when in his later novels this line of intergenerational relationships in the form of mentor-protégé relationships, so important in *Dancer*, disappears and intergenerational support is replaced with intrageneration support from members of the same generation, sharing the same experiences.

This can be best seen in Holleran's third novel, *The Beauty of Men* (1996), which includes chapters with tell-all titles such as "Youth and Beauty" or "Age and Decrepitude,"[10] which I allude to in the title of my paper. In *The Beauty of Men*, the setting is primarily Florida, with the main character, Mr. Lark, taking care of his bed-ridden, quadriplegic mother and undertaking only occasional trips to New York. The novel is episodic in nature, with no coherent plot. In an interview, Holleran admitted: "I said: 'By God, there are things I can get off my chest in *The Beauty of Men* through the guise of fiction that I couldn't have said in an essay.' Mr. Lark has many thoughts I couldn't have argued for rationally; many opinions I could never have defended."[11] This gives credence to the idea that Holleran's fiction should be read primarily as a commentary on gay culture.

The Beauty of Men is the first novel by Holleran that speaks explicitly of AIDS; in *Nights in Aruba*, published in 1983, only cases of strange "cancer" are alluded to. Holleran himself escaped the AIDS disaster in the 1980s, and that is probably why survivor's guilt has marked his writing since the early 1980s. The elegiac tone of *Dancer from the Dance* has found a new expression in *The Beauty of Men*, as long passages mourn the

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10. Andrew Holleran, *The Beauty of Men* (New York: William Morrow, 1996), 40, 51. Hereafter cited in the text as *BM*.
11. Holleran, "Andrew Holleran," 130.

deaths of the protagonist's friends. The world of Mr. Lark is disappearing and not being renewed. All the key characters, Lark's friends, die, either from AIDS (Eddie, Sutcliffe), or from suicide because of fear of it (Joshua). Moreover, Lark realizes the true nature of relationships with people only after they disappear. Only after Sutcliffe died did Mr. Lark realize that he lost his best friend.

The devastating effects of AIDS are equaled with that of aging, the loss of youthful beauty. In relation with the Kaposi sarcoma, Holleran remarks that AIDS is indeed "a sadistic disease for homosexuals," who are so focused on their good looks (*BM* 72). In another place, he comments: "It was hard to distinguish sometimes between the psychological effect of the two – age and AIDS. Both tended to produce withdrawal" (*BM* 35).

Withdrawal, or, in another word, invisibility. The real nature of the process of aging was suggested to Lark by his own bed-ridden mother, who once remarked that "The worst thing about getting old is being invisible" (*BM* 12). This is exactly what Eddie, a friend of Lark's, experiences at the boat ramp, a cruising area where men are looking for sex, when he is ignored by younger men – he is invisible to them, they look as if through him.

However, the protagonist, now 46, is still obsessed with youth to such a degree that he stalks Becker, a man in his mid-thirties with whom he had sex a year before. The protagonist's obsession is expressed in the text by constant repetition of everything related to Becker (indeed, repetition seems to be the basic technique of the novel). While unsuccessful with Becker, Mr. Lark makes observations on ageism in the community. Middle-aged men face only two reactions from younger men, either rejection or fetishization as "daddies"; and Mr. Lark refuses to be looked at as a daddy. The acceptance of such a role would move him to a social role which he is not willing/ready to accept. The relationships between the generations of gay men can be observed in the wry comments of a support group, in which Mr. Lark takes part:

> The group is mostly middle-aged men; the students, loath to attend a group with older people, have formed a club of their own at the university. When he was twenty years old, Lark did not want to have anything to do with older men either: trolls, lurking beneath the bridges over the River of Life he was floating down. So, cut off from the rich possibilities of intergeneration exchange – the real function this meeting might have served, the old and young infusing one another with their different perceptions – they are herded in a little corral of age before slaughter. (*BM* 69–70)

While critics like David Bergman list many parallels between *The Beauty of Men* and *A Single Man*,[12] there are also fundamental differences: While George in Isherwood is isolated from the gay community, *all* Holleran's fiction is deeply rooted in it and reflects its development.

Thus it is interesting to note that *The Beauty of Men*, portraying the America of the 1990s, lacks the mentor-protégé relationship present in *Dancer from the Dance* between Malone and Sutherland; instead, a confidant is introduced, a friend to whom the protagonist confides all his worries, and who belongs to the same generation. Thus

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12. See Bergman, *Violet Hour*, 69–70.

rather than vertical, intergenerational relationships are replaced with horizontal ones. (It is worth noting that George in *A Single Man* had also a confidant – a heterosexual woman – which is yet another proof of his exclusion from the gay community.)

The difference in the generational relationships between the worlds of *Dancer from the Dance* and *The Beauty of Men* demands an explanation. The key, of course, is the fact that the two novels are set almost twenty years apart, in the 1970s and 1990s. While the worlds of John Schaefer, Malone, Sutherland, and the anonymous man who was Sutherland's mentor were different and each was set apart from the other's by one generation, all of them were part of the gay subculture/underworld, opposed to the mainstream culture. Yet this common opposition necessarily led to increased solidarity between the generations and mutual interdependence.

On the other hand, in *The Beauty of Men*, the experiences of the middle-aged members of the gay community are fundamentally different from those of the young generations. While members of the old generation, represented by Lark, have lost most of their close friends to AIDS and suffer from survivor's guilt, the members of young generations were largely unaffected by the disease. Quite the contrary, as members of Generation X, they do not have the first-hand experience with the devastation in their community from AIDS; their culture has entered mainstream, their families are not "families of friends" on which the gay counterculture relied but real procreative families, as in Becker, who brings up his own thirteen-year-old daughter. Indeed, rearing a child is something that would be unimaginable in the world of *Dancer from the Dance*.

While Isherwood brought the theme of age and ageing to gay fiction, he primarily showed how a single man isolated from a larger community experienced his ageing. Holleran, on the other hand, went much further: his protagonists have always been involved in the gay community, and their experience of ageing also parallels the profound changes in the perception of age. In *Dancer from the Dance* he shows a complex network of intergenerational relationships that is vital for the preservation of the community up to the 1970s. However, in the post-AIDS world of *The Beauty of Men*, this vertical line of mutual support is replaced with a limited horizontal network of peers, much to the detriment of all involved as all the opportunities of intergenerational interaction are lost.

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"The United Snakes of America" – Mutabaruka's Dub Poetic Anti-Imperialism: Postcolonial Theory and Dub Poetic Practice

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ABSTRACT: Typical of Caribbean dub poetry, the texts of Jamaican-born Mutabaruka vocalise dissatisfaction with the economic/class and geopolitical status quo. Hence, one of the primary roles of the poet is to be a communal facilitator, a civil activist/protester who defies social stratification, typified by bourgeois sensibility and middle-class mores, moulded abroad (in Europe as well as in the USA) and entrenched at home, in the West Indies. Therefore, this paper is an attempt to present the poet's 1980s and 1990s artistic re-imagining of the USA, construed by him as "the United Snakes of America," an appellation that Mutabaruka fondly confers upon the USA in his *Cutting Edge* radio show, holding the neo-colonial empire accountable as the source of all unnecessary evil, including havoc wrought domestically. The poet makes concrete the interdependence of the Caribbean on the West, in particular on the USA in its many guises. Thus, in Mutabaruka's select poetic texts the USA is identified as Babylon, which in turn constitutes dub poetry's thematic/conceptualised axis of evil.

KEYWORDS: dub poetry; reggae; Caribbean literature; Jamaica; Mutabaruka; postcolonialism; United States of America

1. Dub Poetry: Preliminary Definitons

Let me begin with a conclusion, albeit a foregone conclusion. Plying one's dub poetic trade presupposes an inherent anti-establishment stance. Forged in the furnace of the post-independence Jamaican politics of the 1970s, dub poetry is steeped in diverse cultural traditions, the phenomenon of which is characteristic of the cross-pollinated Caribbean where, it seems, "establishing correspondencies between inner & outer worlds [is] . . . a method . . . widely recognised by poets."[1] Seen in this light, dub poetry may be described as a "Jamaican genre of poetry (also disseminated in printed form) usually performed with reggae-style accompaniment, using Jamaican creole language and uncompromising political lyrics,"[2] which corresponds to the definition to be found in *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage*. Originally published in 1996, the dictionary,[3] emphasising the genre-specific social commitment, classifies dub poetry as "[l]ines

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1. Rajeev Shridhar Patke, *Postcolonial Poetry in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 68.
2. Peter Lamarche Manuel, Kenneth Bilby, and Michael Largey, *Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music from Rumba to Reggae*, rev. ed. (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2006), 303.
3. However, neither dub nor dub poetry – a product of the 1970s musical culture of Jamaica – was included in the *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (1967). Its current edition (2002) is still devoid of both entries.

meant to be spoken, generally to a two-beat rhythm, and dealing mostly with the life experience and/or point of view of Black people in or from the Caribbean."[4]

Typically of Caribbean dub poetry, the texts of Jamaican-born Mutabaruka – collected in his *The First Poems (1970–79)* and *The Next Poems (1980–2002)* – vocalise dissatisfaction with the economic/class and geopolitical status quo. Hence, one of the primary roles of the poet is to be a communal facilitator, a civil activist/protester who defies social stratification, typified by bourgeois sensibility and middle-class mores, moulded abroad (in Europe as well as in the USA) and entrenched at home, in the West Indies. In this respect, it is incumbent on a (dub) poet to object to neocolonial dominance by any poetic means necessary. These comprise postcolonial terms of engagement such as, among others, linguistic creolisation manifested by dint of non-capitalised Englishes, for instance, Dread Talk[5] and/or the Caribbean "classical norm"[6] of Nation Language. Countering the cultural hegemony of the West, dub poets, Mutabaruka included, cultivate African retentions that counter spatiotemporal deracination. Writing back to the official history of the Empire International enables the poet to rework the collective past of the diaspora, reconstitute neglected history, "the half [of which] has never been told"[7] and re-evaluate the present. In the words of Winston Rodney, a contemporary classic roots reggae artist, internationally known as Burning Spear: "There is changes of / teachers / but the subjects remain."[8] Mutabaruka is one of such poetic pedagogues.

Not swayed by "reductivist Afrocentrist appeals,"[9] Mutabaruka is critically involved in the process of answering the non-rhetorical question "who is telling whose story to whom,"[10] a query/quest textually embedded in his Afro-Caribbean-centred, anti(neo)colonialism-inspired verses. Therefore, this paper attempts to present the poet's 1980s and 1990s artistic re-imagining of the USA, construed by him as "the United Snakes of America," an appellation that Mutabaruka fondly confers upon the USA in his *Cutting Edge* radio show, holding the neo-colonial empire accountable as the source of all unnecessary evil, including havoc wrought domestically. Thus, in Mutabaruka's select poetic texts the USA is identified as Babylon, which in turn constitutes dub poetry's thematic/conceptualised axis of evil. It stands for any essentialist, usually institutionalised, coercion targeting the archetypal "sufferah," be it external, e.g., by means of monopolised marketplace (as discussed in the present paper) or individually internalised, e.g., by dint of the creeds of Western canons of beauty (as discussed

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4. Richard Allsopp, ed., *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2003), 206.

5. Dread Talk is Standard English modified and subverted by the Rastafarians. See Velma Pollard, *Dread Talk: The Language of Rastafari* (Kingston: Canoe Press/University of the West Indies, 2000), 24.

6. Edward Kamau Brathwaite, *History of the Voice: The Development of Nation Language in Anglophone Caribbean Poetry* (London: New Beacon, 1984), 46.

7. Manuel et al., *Caribbean Currents*, 183.

8. Burning Spear, "Old School," in *Freeman* (Burning Spear Records BPFM 001, 2003, compact disc).

9. Simon Featherstone, *Postcolonial Cultures* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), 163.

10. Featherstone, *Postcolonial Cultures*, 179.

elsewhere). The USA is othered, babilonised/demonised and projected as a multi-faceted, many-headed monstrosity. However, for the purpose of the present paper I focus on Mutabaruka's conceptualising the USA as an international occupant – "a globo cop,"[11] an acquisitive predator hell-bent on monopolising the Caribbean and a neo-colonial slave-driver all in one.

2. Dub Poetry and Its Discontents

Stuck in jammed Jamaica/Caribbean, a far cry from Bob Marley's late 1970s unfulfilled prophecy of uplifting "Jamming," caught in "the turmoil of the political [and economic] warfare in Jamaica in the 1980s, it is almost always from the perspective of the [reggae] warrior, the combatant calling for a dignified end to the hostilities"[12] that Mutabaruka's personae speak. "One of the fundamental tasks of warrior/priests," notes Prahlad, "is to assist in the deconstruction of the Babylonian reality. At the same time, they facilitate the construction of a new system of thought, being, and action that can potentially transform the nature of human relationships and bring an end to the suffering caused by the greed, avarice, and ego-centered perspectives characterizing Western society up to this point."[13]

Since "[a]fter [West Indian] independence," writes Thomas D. Boswell, "a new type of economic dependency upon North American and European countries replaced the old-style political colonialism,"[14] the US-led Babylon that Mutabaruka decries "signals the Western materialistic empires, which include politicians and all others whose reality revolves around the capitalistic ethic."[15] The poet's conventional personae use "picong tongue[s],"[16] as sharp and scathing as the retorts of West Indian calypsonians, which – despite being unable to offer a silver-bullet solution to the vampiric predicament of Babylonian/capitalistic subjugation – provide an incantation to stave off duplicity, as in "The Outcry," one of Mutabaruka's poems: "babylon can't see/free/I . . . big samfie: lie."[17] Here, the creole lexeme "samfie/samfai," explained by the *Dictionary of Jamaican English* as a word "the basic sense [of which] involves witchcraft in some way . . . [and practising] pretended witchcraft so as to trick people,"[18] epitomizes the pervasiveness of, often imported/imposed, fraudulence the former European colonies, such as Jamaica, are rife with.

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11. Jan Mair, "Rewriting the 'American Dream': Postmodernism and Otherness in *Independence Day*," in *Aliens R Us: The Other in Science Fiction Cinema*, ed. Ziauddin Sardar and Sean Cubbitt (London: Pluto Press, 2002), 35.

12. Kwame Senu Neville Dawes, *Natural Mysticism: Towards a New Reggae Aesthetic in Caribbean Writing* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 1999), 67.

13. Swami Anand Prahlad, *Reggae Wisdom: Proverbs in Jamaican Music* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), 114.

14. Thomas D. Boswell. "The Caribbean: A Geographic Preface," in *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean*, ed. Richard Hillman and Thomas J. D'Agostino (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2003), 49.

15. Prahlad, *Reggae Wisdom*, 121

16. John Agard, *Mangoes and Bullets: Selected and New Poems, 1972–1984* (London: Pluto Press, 1985), 40.

17. Mutabaruka, "The Outcry," in *The First Poems (1970–79)* (Kingston: Paul Issa Publications, 2005), 14.

18. Frederic Gomes Cassidy and Robert Brock Le Page, eds., *Dictionary of Jamaican English* (Kingston: University of the West Indies Press, 2002), 392.

Utilizing the figure of a Third World political commentator/scientist – a rehash of the warrior persona – Mutabaruka chants down the babylonian USA, "which includes making sounds that mystically undermine evil forces as well as educating, organizing, and rhetorising for effective change."[19] In a recurrent verse of his 1990s "Haiti," Mutabaruka, evoking Malcolm X's 1963 "Message to The Grass Roots" speech, adds the body politic to the already-explosive mix[20]: "too black too strong you'll ave to pay."[21] What seems to be implied in the text by the disapproving poet is that with the US military (i.e., the 1980s military intervention in Grenada and the 1990s US military & UN peace-keeping missions in Haiti) and economic involvement in the Caribbean,[22] the four centuries of enslavement have been elasticised and stretched for years to come. Similarly, the conviction "that paternalistic American attitudes to the Caribbean amount to a kind of re-colonisation of the region"[23] is shared by many a West Indian artist, including Trinidadian rapso poets and Trinidadian or Barbadian Calypsonians. In other words, in the absence of the British Empire, the USA opted to lead the way in the region. Construed as ethnically over-prominent, West Indian blacks in particular, and/or the current disenfranchised population in general, along with their ancestral permanence, are methodically weakened by fine-tuned, if strong-armed, penalties, economic sanctions courtesy of "the [North] Americanised 'privatopia' of today,"[24] as in Mutabaruka's "The Eyes of Liberty": "the true owners of your nation / are forced to live on a reservation / now i see u in my land / makin all kinds of plans / spending billions of dollars every year / to keep us all living in fear / . . . talk of invading libya / no talk of invading south afrika / but u invade the sandinista government / using jamaica as your caribbean investment" (*NP* 14).

Here, in "The Eyes of Liberty," the USA is a global bully, a rogue country terrorising the world: "u invade grenada / u invade nicaragua / u bomb hiroshima / u bomb philadelphia" (*NP* 14–15).[25]

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19. Prahlad, *Reggae Wisdom*, 19.

20. Blackness constructed by Mutabaruka is the hue of corporeality: the realism of the ethno-entwinement of the bodily and the linguistic – the blackness of the skin (pigmentation) and the bleakness of daily life.

21. Mutabaruka, *The Next Poems (1980–2002)* (Kingston: Paul Issa Publications, 2005), 49. Hereafter cited in the text as NP.

22. In the 1980s "The Eyes of Liberty," written without the hindsight of the 1990s US campaigns in Haiti, Mutabaruka noted: "the symbol of true justice and equality / stand erect for all to see / making plans for the haitians / helping to keep down the black americans" (*NP*, 15).

23. Stewart Brown, *Tourist, Traveller, Troublemaker: Essays on Poetry* (Leeds: Peepal Tree Press, 2007), 138.

24. Owen Hatherley, "The Shock of the Newish," *The New Statesman*, March 13, 2008, http://www.newstatesman.com/books/2008/03/heritage-landscape-england.

25. As corroborated by the quotation, the catalogue of incriminating evidence includes an act of violence perpetrated by the local government against the citizens of the Quaker City. On May 13, 1985 a residential block of Philadelphian Osage Avenue was burnt to the ground as a result of a set of explosives, authorised by the city's constabulary, having been dropped onto the estate from a police helicopter: "As the nation watched, Philadelphia became the city that bombed its own people." Martha T. Moore, "1985 Bombing in Philadelphia Still Unsettled," *USA Today*, November 5, 2005, http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2005-05-11-philadelphia-bombing_x.htm. The reckless move, devised to target the house of the African-American MOVE collective, cost 11 people their lives.

Such non-propitiatory phrases, not in contradistinction to "[b]oasting and insulting [which] are two traditional poetic modes,"[26] have earned Mutabaruka the label of a "populist poet," the modifier "US intellectuals use to designate those whom Hollywood and the Pentagon call the bad guys. A 'populist' is a sort of person who dares to encourage his people to challenge a north Atlantic view of things."[27] A gritty griot,[28] whose impassioned lines, such as another couplet culled from "The Eyes of Liberty": "economical [sic!] pressure is your game / liberty reaching with her torch of flames" (*NP* 14), show, however, a "discrepancy between revolutionary [if conventionalised] rhetoric . . . and its aesthetic conservatism."[29] As artifice is sacrificed and authenticity elevated, the committed poet occasionally persists in hammering against Babylon until his poetic instrument/weapon becomes blunt. As an incendiary mode, it frequently suffers from circumscribed one-track poetics: the public takes precedence over the personal, confession is taken over by the (self-)righteous mission, subtlety is coagulated and sacrificed for the sake of a transparent "declarative pattern"[30] that is disseminated through the ghetto grapevine. It is then that Mutabaruka's lines, "carrying a radical and contestatory content,"[31] leave no room for ambivalence. "[S]elf-evident, non-negotiable, black-and-white"[32] as the verses are, they store all the space for agency with which they empower the implied disenfranchised readers/listeners.

3. Global vs Local

As noted by Ian Thomson, "after 1962, when the United States – the 'Colossus of the North' – began to strengthen its influence, . . . the island [of Jamaica] which had been overrun by one kind of empire was overrun (in a different way) by another."[33] Hence, outside the shanty town of immuring destitution endemic to the Caribbean, there looms large the corporatised countryside of Mutabaruka's "Famine Injection," which invades the land of the poet-in-residence who, if only textually, refuses to bow to the imposed/imported arrangements of predatory Reaganomics: "but yu nuh si / is only wi / a feel de drought / nuh food a wi mout / wi sell to dem / an buy it back agen" (*NP* 13). The speaker is an advocate of economic self-sufficiency who waxes lyrical on the state

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According to *USA Today*, over 60 neighbouring houses were destroyed by the ensuing inferno. See Moore, "1985 Bombing in Philadelphia Still Unsettled."

26. James Fenton, *An Introduction to English Poetry* (London: Penguin, 2003), 94.

27. Hugh O'Shaugnessy, "A Good Feeling," *The New Statesman*, January 3, 2008, http://www.newstatesman.com/books/2008/01/latin-america-chavez-oil.

28. Griots are West African wandering poets, black patrons of dub poets, selected to emphasise the fact that their social role/profession stems from the medieval Mali Empire, rather than the courts of feudal Europe (or ancient Greece).

29. Dawes, *Natural Mysticism*, 42.

30. Dawes, *Natural Mysticism*, 82.

31. Stephen Slemon, "Unsettling the Empire: Resistance Theory for the Second World," in *The Postcolonial Studies Reader*, ed. by Bill Ashcroft et al. (New York: Routledge, 2006), 103.

32. James Procter. *Dwelling Places: Postwar Black British Writing* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 104.

33. Ian Thomson, *The Dead Yard: Tales of Modern Jamaica* (London: Faber and Faber, 2009), 6.

of the West Indies, construed as a region most beset with, at first, imperial, then Cold War, and – at present – globally/multinationally neocolonial afflictions.

A decade later, during the presidency of Bill Clinton, the "US insistence on a free market policy"[34] resulted in the island "fac[ing] the problem of having to import produce for local consumption while being unable to export its cash crops."[35] It was then that the Clinton administration, angered by the "special preferences European nations gave to Jamaican bananas,"[36] lodged a formal complaint followed by a lawsuit at the behest of Chiquita and Dole.[37] Both companies lobbied against the colonial economic "holdover[s]" and in 1997 took the Jamaican government to court. In view of such detailed contextualisation "Famine Injection" may be read as a poetic complaint against having been immersed "in a [geopolitical] market overseen by the WTO, which favours global giants."[38] Currently, "[a]ccording to Jamaican trade statistics released in 2003, 55 per cent of Jamaica's goods are imported from the United States."[39]

Mutabaruka, whose direct poems are instances of, to evoke Lemn Sissay's description of orature, "shooting from the lip / from the tip of the tongues of the wronged,"[40] makes a doctrinal statement – in support of "ital" diet and against capitalist and cultural monopoly in his "Junk Food," a poem that targets totalising culinary discourses. In Mutabaruka's Rasta-inspired text, the evocation of "ital refers specifically to a natural, organic vegetarian diet. . . . It is an all-encompassing ideology centering on the idea of the 'natural man.'"[41] Junk food, be it ice cream – as vilified by Mutabaruka, or a mass-produced hamburger – as castigated in "Rong Radio Station" by Benjamin Zephaniah, a fellow if disparate dub poet, does not provide any link with nature, being the antithesis of contemplative slow food. As ital/vegan diet is recommended, not only because of its nutritious and health-enhancing qualities but also due to its organic nature, throwaway edibles are regarded a no-go area: junk food is the fat of the land at its thinnest: "rememba de cold suppa shop / dat u use fi stop at / u coulda eat anythin/it was like u granny cookin" (NP 40).

In "Junk Food" ackee, constituting a major ingredient of "ackee and saltfish" (a staple of traditional Jamaican diet), is a source of local pride, "corn dumplin and ackee / from big fat mattie / stew peas and rice / use fi really taste nice" (NP 40), battling against corporate

34. Jenny Sharpe, "Cartographies of Globalisation, Technologies of Gendered Subjectivities: The Dub Poetry of Jean 'Binta' Breeze," *Gender & History* 15 (2003): 446.

35. Sharpe, "Cartographies of Globalisation," 446.

36. Sharpe, "Cartographies of Globalisation," 446.

37. It was decades earlier, however, that the US economic interests did make inroads into the Caribbean. Richard Hillman and Thomas J. D'Agostino explain: "[In the 1950s] efforts to bring sorely needed reforms to [Guatemalan] landholding, agriculture and the rights of labour ran up against U.S. Cold War paranoia as well as the vested economic interests of private capital, in particular UFCO [United Fruit Company; now Chiquita Brands International]." Stephen J. Randall, "The Historical Context," in *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean*, ed. Richard Hillman and Thomas J. D'Agostino (Kingston: Ian Randle, 2003), 77.

38. Sharpe, "Cartographies of Globalisation," 446.

39. Thomson, *The Dead Yard*, 167.

40. Lemn Sissay, *Morning Breaks in the Elevator* (Edinburgh: Payback Press, 1999), 17.

41. Prahlad, *Reggae Wisdom*, 12.

adversaries – the confectionery industry, the retailers of which, amplified by radio commercials, are "teckin ova de lan / . . . [making] miss mattie shop affi move / granny cooking out a groove / de disc jockey seh / announcin de openin of a / ice cream stan / in de parish of St. Ann / nex month is Westmoreland / an annada one in Clarendon / watch out Portland" (*NP* 40–41). Not unlike "Revolt Ain't A Revolution," which advances agrarian self-reliance: "we have to plant some food on the land/agriculture is the key for buildin a nation" (*NP* 20), "Junk Food" defies rural uprooting. Depopulated rural areas, drained by an ebb in jobs, are deluged by "annada disgrace / junk fullin up de place" (*NP* 40), the clutter that truncates one's life expectancy, either directly, as a cause of, for instance, a heart attack, or indirectly, as a serious impediment to – literally – life-saving physical activity: "run u mus / but u belly might buss / gun shot clap / one a u fren drop / flex out time / flex out time / leavin u ice cream behin" (*NP* 41). In sync with this preparatory image, the nightmare of before-death entombment and/or the considerable shortening of one's life span is homophonically expressed towards the end of the poem: "strawberry ice cream / rasberry ice cream / dem a bury wi / u no si" (*NP* 41). Ultimately, the homonymic double-entendre of "ice cream"[42] (mirroring "I scream") becomes the individualised (first person singular) shriek, triggered by the polar opposite of "de american dream" (*NP* 41).

Thus, the nightmarish US economic overall involvement, repudiated in the 1980s "Famine Injection," leads to "atmospheric disturbance everywhere" and subsequent "destroyin wi lan / wid dem radio active reaction" (*NP* 12), an explicit reference to the damage done to the rural areas "used to store nuclear waste."[43] Premeditated – "is a plan a plan / is a plan yes a plan" (*NP* 12) – ecological and agricultural impairment, manifested in "industalizin your piece of earth," transforms the countryside into a deruralised global village, a product of the transnational rat race and the heat of the Cold War arms race: "star wars," warns Mutabaruka, "is a reality" (*NP* 13). Therefore, "the global village – as a metaphor derived from an agrarian way of life – is no village at all but a series of interconnected urban[ised] centres,"[44] monstrously cinematised by Michael Winterbottom in *Code 46*, or portended in "Famine Injection" by the foreboding image of ubiquitous dams "buil up everywhere" (*NP* 12), clear-cut landmarks of industrialisation. These are ominous structures erected to control the flow of life-giving water and to drip-feed the contents of the titular syringe, the injector of contagion. To do the US involvement justice, it should be noted that "[t]he United States Peace Corps, for instance, has been in Jamaica since 1962, working in HIV/AIDS education, birth control, water sanitation and environmental projects."[45] However, even – Mutabaruka's persona seems to imply – if the USA plays the role of an investor, it eventually morphs into an infestor.

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42. "[H]ot dog ice cream" (*NP* 41) – another verse culled out of "Junk Food," not only includes similar binary opposites but also, due to its phonetic ambiguity, may be construed as a street vendor's call, related by a first-person narrator.

43. Sharpe, "Cartographies of Globalisation," 445.

44. Sharpe, "Cartographies of Globalisation," 442.

45. Thomson, *The Dead Yard*, 50.

Instead of making Jamaica immune from transmittable diseases, the injection aids and abets the dissemination of a killer virus, economic subordination, as voiced by the poet in his "Life and Debt": "Borrowin money fi lend / World Bank a nuh wi friend" (*NP* 58). The poem's title summarises one's existence reduced to a non-regenerative cycle of birth and death, in the wake of having one's account hopelessly overdrawn (the Jamaican Creole pronunciation of English "death" overlaps that of "debt," phonetically equalising these two discrete lexemes). On a more collective level, however, the poem is a seditious critique of the International Monetary Fund and the loan-making policies of the World Bank: "Farmers get a blow / Foreign food suh an suh / Amerikan farmer get a upper hand / While our farmers goin one by one / Bank crash pay slash news flash" (*NP* 58). In particular, Mutabaruka's text, written as a contribution to and a leitmotif of Stephanie Black's *Life and Debt* documentary, targets the numerous high-interest loans taken, under the auspices of Michael Manley's government (as early as in the late 1970s), by individual Jamaican politicians, in the name of the over two-and-a-half million inhabitants of the island: "Country deh pon lease / Politicians a fraud / De people draw bad card" (*NP* 58). So as to reduce the risk of the spread of the plague, be it bubonic or banking, the inflamed speaker proposes a final, irreversible solution – unless the situation is officially/diplomatically reversed (and usury eradicated), fiery fumigation will cleanse all that is left, including Christian mythology: "But tings affi tun / Or a pure fire bun / Someone will affi pay / Nuh more man out a clay / Nuh more blind faith / Wi need food inna wi plate / Look how long wi a sweat / Too much foreign debt" (*NP* 59).

4. Neocolonial Slavery

The practice of "the empire coming to Britain,"[46] as shown, for instance, by Mutabaruka in "Old Cut Bruk," is, in the absence of the British Empire proper, counterbalanced by seasonal commuting to the USA, as narrated by the cane-cutting hired hand "comin from de island of jamaica" (*NP* 18) in Mutabaruka "H2 Worka." H2 stands for the H-2 type visa that allows its holders to enter the US to perform seasonal/temporary, mainly agricultural, work. Like "Life and Debt" or "My Great Shun," this poem is not a page torn from an imaginary diary of a nostalgist, but a muckraking text. Slaving on the US cane fields[47] and toiling in the apple orchards of Florida – "workin suh hard in de burning sun . . . workin for yu meager dolla bill . . . wantin to make a betta life / for mi children and wife" (*NP* 18) – the speaker, working lyrically in the tradition of the slave/field song,

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46. Peter J. Taylor, "Which Britain? Which England? Which North?," in *British Cultural Studies: Geography, Nationality and Identity*, ed. David Morley et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 129.

47. The cane field, as explicitly evoked by Mutabaruka, provides a mental and physical link with the pre-abolitionist past, being (re)enacted by neocolonial working-class commuters. In John Holt's "Police in Helicopter," a reggae song whose lyrics contrast the illegal yet life-supporting ganja fields with licit sugarcane plantations, the latter, a manifestation of the established double code, are to be incinerated in revenge for the authorities' ruination of the marijuana. Comparably, in a more general sense, Kwame Dawes associates generic, almost metronomic, reggae guitar chords with the echoes of a cat-o'-nine-tails striking against the flesh of the enslaved: "For every chekeh of the guitar, / a whip cracks, / how can you hear the sound / and not weep?" Dawes, *Natural Mysticism*, 60.

composes his disenchanted chant of vocal protest: "dis is not slavery / jus poverty / talkin to democracy // betta yu did sen mi to war / den a woulda si what a fightin for . . . dis is not slavery / jus poverty / wantin democracy" (*NP* 18–19). If "Life and Debt" is a poem of protest against the inflated interest rates meted out to fledgling island-states, such as Jamaica, by multinational banking conglomerates (and affiliated, construed as neocolonial, institutions), then "H2 Worka"[48] publicly decries employment law abuses – in particular, unmitigated underpayment leading to wage slavery and the prevalence of an (im)migrant underclass: "dont treat mi like i'm a slave here / jus gimme a wage dat is fair . . . suh dont tek mi fi granted and pass mi / like is only yu cane and apple yu si" (*NP* 18). In an act of class-struggle transference, both speakers, in their capacity as plaintiffs, exercise transient control: in "Life and Debt" the poetic persona assumes the role of a public prosecutor, while in "H2 Worka" the physical labourer serves as a witness for the prosecution, providing a literary affidavit. He does not seek retribution, rather, in the vein of many a reggae song, he awaits, to cite Peter Tosh's roots classic, "equal rights and justice." Yet, the H-2 worker's newly-acquired, if ephemeral (court-room only), status allows the neocolonial subaltern to warn the corporate powers that be, too eager to dehumanise the H2 worker(s), as if heedless of being dependent on their joint labour: "suh dont bite de hands dat feed yu / i have dreams like yu to" (*NP* 19).

Though "H2 Worka" does not stem directly from the slave-song tradition of "'canne-boulay', patois for burning canes, because they were sung more often than not while the slaves helped to put out the [cane field] fires they had often themselves started,"[49] the poem acknowledges the speaker's being conscripted into the army of capitalism and neocolonialism. Not an arsonist of yore, he – a mere private (one of the countless constituents of cannon fodder) – suffers from the consequentiality of the distribution of wealth. Unlike the speaker of "Thievin Legacy," who at the end of the poem scathingly advocates confrontational isolationism: "gimme back mi every ting yu got / gimme a space a can run mi own life . . . / gimme a break . . . " (*NP* 27), the persona of "H2 Worka," though disillusioned, seeks conciliation through the (local) redistribution of (global) wealth, if only in the shape of hourly rates: "jus gimme a wage dat is fair" (*NP* 18). Mutabaruka's seasonal worker speaks in favour of permanence, apprising the general public of his disapprobation and socioeconomic maltreatment. The conclusive couplet of the poem – the poem which, in itself, is a personal account presented by a citizen journalist – emphasises the enmeshment of the individual in the corporate system, one's furtive and foisted complicity: "i'm workin workin / workin on yu cane field still" (*NP* 19). In spite of having been misemployed ("still" being synonymous with "nevertheless"), the labourer persists in his contractual obligation ("still" construed as "until/even now"), remaining an obedient, if indentured (the twentieth-century update on the nineteenth-century workers of Indian descent, offensively subsumed under the "coolie" rubric),

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48. Like 2000s "Life and Debt," which provided the title as well as a literary leitmotif of Stephanie Black's 2001 documentary, Mutabaruka's 1980s "H2 Worka" is a poem used by the filmmaker in her *H2 Worka* (1990), a documentary treating the exploitation of sugar-cane workers in Florida.

49. Alan Ross, *Through the Caribbean: England in the West Indies, 1960* (London: Pavilion Library, 1986), 82.

servant. Potentially, however, such ominously ambiguous stillness, evocative of, for instance, "stillbirth" or "still life," may kick-start investigative journalism, intent on probing the thieving legacy of epoch-long welfare disproportionality. Hence, the poet according to Mutabaruka is a public prosecutor and a judge in one, but the role of the executioner is left to the readers, the interpretative community. His writings present incriminating evidence and form the legislation, yet – despite playing the part of the judiciary – the writer leaves the last word to the public, the executive authority. The poem, as Mutabaruka asserts in his programmatic meta dub text aptly entitled "Dis Poem,"[50] "is to be continued in your mind / in your mind / in your mind" (*NP* 11).

Obviously, as the collected sample of Mutabaruka's poems corroborates, the poet, alongside his personae, is unable to make peace with Pax Americana. Judging by his artistic texts, the USA is a fiendish tyrant whose serpentine body invades every nook and cranny of the Caribbean. Though by no means a revelatory contestation, it remains a model postcolonial position and a quintessentially dub poetic concern.

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50. The ambiguity of the poem is expressed through the creolisation of the title's definite article "this," which in the context of Mutabaruka's self-reflexive text may be also construed as "dissing" and, consequently, be Mutabaruka's act of criticising his own poetic strategies, skills and concerns.

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The Role of Language in Postcolonial Theory

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ABSTRACT: This paper deals with the problem of language in postcolonial theory. Stemming from the premise that language has always played a fundamental role in, first, colonisation and, then, decolonisation and neo-colonisation, the three main positions in regards to language are distinguished and discussed, with a focus on the hybridised forms of English used in some selected postcolonial literatures in English. Particular attention is paid to Edward Kamau Brathwaite's concept of nation language as opposed to dialect, Ken Saro-Wiwa's notion of "Rotten English" and Jack Davis's blend of Standard Australian English and Nyoongah Aboriginal dialect.

KEYWORDS: postcolonial theory; language; colonisation; English; literature; hybrid

Since one of the most fundamental questions in postcolonialism is what language the postcolonial writer should employ in order to communicate with their readers, the aim of this paper is to disclose the role and position of language in postcolonial theory. In what used to be called "Commonwealth" literatures, there have been various approaches to the English language, including numerous instances of "hybrid" languages, that is to say, mixes of Standard English and regional dialects or some form of corrupt English, Pidgin or Creole English, which never satisfied the newly-emancipated native writers, who, on the one hand, wished to address the local communities, frequently with little or no education and basic literacy, and, on the other hand, to continue vernacular traditions so as to make their books readable through the former colonisers' language and attractive to their publishers and distributors. Some examples of these approaches will be given further in the paper.

It is noteworthy that the early beginnings of postcolonial criticism are popularly associated with Indian independence (1947) and "as part of a general leftist reorientation of the 'Third-World' struggles (above all in Algeria) from the 1950s onwards."[1] Although born in Martinique (the Caribbean), Frantz Fanon, one of the founders of postcolonial theory and an Algerian by his personal choice, situated language at the centre of colonisation, servitude and marginalisation. In *Black Skins, White Masks* (1952), he declared that "a man who has a language consequently possesses the world expressed and implied by that language," and concluded that "[m]astery of language affords remarkable power."[2] Putting language together with power does not seem to be a particularly original idea nowadays – recall Michel Foucault's famous *bon mot* to the effect that knowledge is power – but, situated within the postcolonial context, it

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1. Raman Selden, Peter Widdowson, and Peter Brooker, *A Reader's Guide to Contemporary Literary Theory*, 5th ed. (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2005), 218.
2. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins, White Masks*, trans. Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 1986), 18.

acquires a fresh meaning. The English language – the language of the colonisers – would thus enable the former colonised to possess "the world expressed and implied by that language," that is – to use Foucault's words – the world of power and knowledge.[3]

If language is power, then language is by all means also a site of power struggle – to use a Marxist formula – a site of class struggle or, as Fanon would have it, a site of a struggle for decolonisation/de-neocolonisation. Postcolonial countries, then, would be that territory in which the conflict occurs more generally at the level of languages and cultures, one of which is devalued while the other takes dominance over it. The English language dominates worldwide, repressing other languages, also local or regional dialects, which leads – in the best of solutions – to hybridisation of local or national languages and in the worst case – to their complete eradication and annihilation. There are virtually no contemporary postcolonial theorists who would not emphasise the role of language as a sign of power and a tool of oppression for the colonised. In the founding book for postcolonial studies, *The Empire Writes Back* (1985), Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin highlight this significance:

> One of the main features of imperial oppression is control over language. The imperial education system installs a 'standard' version of the metropolitan language as the norm, and marginalizes all 'variants' as impurities. . . . Language becomes the medium through which a hierarchical structure of power is perpetuated, and the medium through which conceptions of 'truth', 'order', and 'reality' become established. Such power is rejected in the emergence of an effective post-colonial voice. For this reason, the discussion of post-colonial writing . . . is largely a discussion of the process by which the language, with its power, and the writing, with its signification of authority, has been wrested from the dominant European culture.[4]

Cutting off the ties with the former Empire in all possible senses – political, economic, military, cultural and linguistic – has been a long-time dream of most of the former British colonies, particularly in Africa and the Caribbean, but soon the newly-formed intellectual elites had a rude awakening. Leaving the extra-linguistic reasons aside, they quickly discovered that even within the sphere of imperial language any radical changes would prove futile. As a result, what followed were the attempts to construct Englishes (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin would spell them "englishes"[5]) for individual nations, either in a hybridised form of English, Pidgin English or Rotten English. In his version of Rotten English for the Nigerians – not to be confused with the Nigerian English – Ken Saro-Wiwa (1941–1995) appropriates the English language for his own purpose, that is, to make it more genuinely Nigerian in a sense of using oral techniques, culturally specific vocabulary, simpler syntax (repetitive to emphasise adjectives) and grammar (no declensions). In *Postcolonial Literature* (2008), Justin D. Edwards correctly comments on Ken Saro-Wiwa's attempts to create an independent form of literary English for the Nigerians:

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3. See Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. Colin Gordon (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

4. Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-Colonial Literatures* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 7.

5. Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back*, 8.

[r]ather than rejecting the language of the colonizer, Saro-Wiwa appropriates, shifts and changes English (the medium of the centre) as a tool that allows for a renewed sense of local expression. In this, Saro-Wiwa celebrates the survival of a local, Nigerian culture in the language and the literary form of the colonizer.[6]

Saro-Wiwa's greatest achievement in the field of literature was probably his *Sozaboy: A Novel in Rotten English* (1985), being a telling example of his theoretical stance, in which he uses the main Western genre (the novel), constructs the plot in what he calls in the title "Rotten English" – a blend of Pidgin, corrupt and Standard English ("Because the work on the farm have finished and the yams were growing well well."[7]). As Edwards notes:

The language, then, is a composite; it is not a mere written version of the language spoken in Nigeria. Nor do Nigerians speak or write in this way. Instead, the small and yet vibrant vocabulary captures the voice of Sozaboy ('soza' means 'soldier') who narrates the terror and horror of [the Nigerian civil war of 1967–1970] from his perspective. The 'Rotten English' therefore captures the immediacy of the subjective point of view, and the replication of the Nigerian accent along with the use of local words and phrases (which are explained in a glossary) locates the voice in a specific place.[8]

Another of such composites or hybrids would be what Edward Kamau Brathwaite, the poet and literary critic from Barbados, postulates, a nation language, a regional form of English to articulate a specific identity that resists Standard English and would be different from a mere dialect since – he argues – dialect carries with it pejorative connotations as an inferior form of the European language. In his critical work, *History of the Voice* (1984), subtitled *The Development of Nation Language in Anglophone Caribbean Poetry*, he pointed out the differences between the official English language as an imposed imperial language and the actual variety spoken in the Caribbean by Caribbeans. Distinguishing it from Creole English, he defines nation language as "the kind of English spoken by the people who were brought to the Caribbean, . . . the language of slaves and labourers, the servants who were brought in."[9] More precisely,

[i]t is *nation language* in the Caribbean that, in fact, largely ignores the pentameter. Nation language is the language which is influenced very strongly by the African model, the African aspect of our New World/Caribbean heritage. English it may be in terms of some of its lexical features. But in its contours, its rhythm and timbre, its sound explosions, it is not English, even though the words, as you hear them, might be English to a greater or lesser degree. . . .

I think, however, that language does really have a role to play here, certainly in the Caribbean. But it is an English which is not the standard, imported, educated English, but that of the submerged, surrealist experience and sensibility, which has always been there and which is now increasingly coming to the surface and influencing the perception of contemporary Caribbean people. It is what I call, as I say, *nation language*.[10]

Further, he opposes his concept of nation language to a notion of dialect, most likely in the belief that very frequently dialect is viewed as language socially subordinate to

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6. Justin D. Edwards, *Postcolonial Criticism: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 29.

7. Ken Saro-Wiwa, *Sozaboy: A Novel in Rotten English* (Port Harcourt: Saros, 1985), 1

8. Edwards, *Postcolonial Criticism*, 28.

9. Edward Kamau Brathwaite, *History of the Voice: The Development of Nation Language in Anglophone Caribbean Poetry* (London: New Beacon, 1984), 6.

10. Brathwaite, *History of the Voice*, 13.

a national standard language – in this case – Standard English, the language of the colonizers:

> I use the term in contrast to *dialect*. The word 'dialect' has been bandied about for a long time, and it carries very pejorative overtones. Dialect is thought of as 'bad English'. Dialect is 'inferior English'. Dialect is the language used when you want to make fun of someone. Caricature speaks in dialect. Dialect has a long history coming from the plantation where people's dignity is distorted through their language and the descriptions which the dialect gave to them. Nation language . . . may be in English: but often it is in an English which is like a howl, or a shout or a machine-gun or the wind or a wave. It is also like the blues. And sometimes it is English and African at the same time.[11]

In his concept of nation language, Brathwaite sees a reflection of Caribbean inborn energy of life and fight, and at the same time, an African blend of animistic spirit of past and future, an echo of a thunderstorm and a gentle breeze. Nation language should be like music: sad at times like the blues, but also revolutionary should a need arise, like a machine-gun or a shout, or soothing like a gentle wave or wind. Indeed, his poetic vision has little in common with what linguists normally call dialect.

In Australia, Aboriginal writers – like other indigenous artists in most postcolonial countries – have always had a dilemma whether to express themselves in their own local dialect or to use for this purpose the language of the colonisers, that is, English. And this was not the only difficulty: the major problem was, first and foremost, the fundamental lack of tradition of expressing artistic productions in writing, that is to say, by using letters, and, secondly, the essentially communal character of oral literary transmission, which naturally resulted in the absence of this function of literature that may be referred to as individual expression. Thus, any attempts to create literature in the Western sense have been received by the Aboriginal Australians with great reservation, if not an open hostility. Even though Jack Davis was an Aboriginal himself and his dramatic productions dealt with the problem of Aboriginality, his encroachment into the sphere of Western genres – print poetry and staged drama, alongside his city-dwelling, earned him an adjective "Metropolitan," which basically should be read as "not true, not genuinely Aboriginal."

Mudrooroo Narogin, another Aboriginal poet and critic also known as Mudrooroo Nyoongah, agrees that indigenous culture cannot exist and does not exist in a cultural vacuum, that is, the Aboriginal writers are exposed to other forms of artistic expression and techniques.[12] This also necessitated the importation of the English language in an attempt to get the writers' messages more easily across to the wider and predominately white readership and audiences. The English thus used was not, of course, Standard Australian English, but a peculiar mixture of local dialect and corrupt English, only with occasional lapses into its standardised form, particularly in reference to white Australians' speech.

There is no denying that the stories are made much more vivid in the way Davis narrates them in colloquial Aboriginal dialect than if they were recounted in Standard

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11. Brathwaite, *History of the Voice*, 13.
12. See Mudrooroo Narogin, *Writing from the Fringe: A Study of Modern Aboriginal Literature* (Melbourne: Hyland House, 1990).

Australian English. Note the role of mimics and gesturing in Black Australian drama. They seem to be closer to fundamental theatrical practice where words have a lesser significance than the movements of hands – holding them up or down, violent thrusts of body, stamping of feet, alongside body paint and singing. Like other Aboriginal playwrights, Davis uses the native words that possess onomatopoeic qualities to emphasise certain emotions such as pain, hatred, praise, astonishment, etc. (e.g., "waiwai" for wailing). Davis's attempt at interpreting this part of Australian history which deals with Aboriginal people – though by all means successful and convincing – is grim in its general tone, and then, inevitably, some questions spring to mind: "Just how important to Black Australians as a whole – and specifically, to the Aboriginal movement – are the black playwrights?" "Can the way in which Aboriginal history is shown on stage for (mostly) white audience counterbalance the account they may get in school history books?" "Aren't black playwrights – like Davis – traitors of the Aboriginal cause since they surrender to the whites' dramatic structure of the play and, most importantly, their language?" Jack Davis's transgression of both Aboriginal and English languages and cultures results in construction of a very specific hybrid of, on the one hand, Aboriginality, particularly of the Nyoongah dialect of Western Australia, and, on the other, the Australian English language drama. And it remains to be seen if critics will ever speak of his plays as truly "transnational," or just "Aboriginal" or, at best, "black Australian."

It is just in recent decades that some work has been done to redefine Australian literature in terms of its postcolonial heritage and Aboriginal ancestry. Stemming from the statement that "[t]here is no history of Australian literature as creolisation,"[13] Philip Mead maintains in his *Networked Language: Culture and History in Australian Poetry* (2008) that

> [i]f 'Australian literature', then, is to transform itself into a fresher and broader stream (to use Scott's metaphor) – more inclusive and less 'national' in the old sense – one of the first things it has to do is come to terms with the *un*settling difference of Indigenous narratives of place and history and the plural knowledges of the multicultural present.[14]

It basically means that we should take into account not only what he calls the "toxic legacy of colonialism" in the form of, first of all, the English language alongside, broadly speaking, European tradition and civilization (inclusive of mythic narrative), but also something that has fundamentally evaded definition for a long time, that is, Indigenous narrative, primarily, of the land and also of, as they call it, the Dreaming – their own version of the world creation. Mead also stresses the importance of ethnic writers and their versions of the English language, together with their own religions, backgrounds, knowledge, etc.

> In the sphere of literary production, this amounts to much more than just recognizing the various literary representations of Aboriginality and ethnicity, or simply assimilating the work of some

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13. Philip Mead, *Networked Language: Culture and History in Australian Poetry* (Melbourne: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2008), 400.
14. Mead, *Networked Language*, 400–401

> Aboriginal and multicultural writers into the canon. It involves a radical reformulation of stories of language and nation – how it is defined? who belongs to it? who gets to imagine it? The stories need to abandon the chauvinist discourse of a single Australian identity and an obsessive monoculturalism and monolingualism in favour of the plurality of local and minority languages and cultures, often creolised ones.[15]

It is a potentially dangerous fiction, therefore, to believe that language and literature can provide any settled home for self-definition and national identity; rather, it is felt that postcolonial literatures need a fundamental reconceptualisation and, consequently, postcolonial cultural policy should encourage diversity in the form of, among others things, bilingual literacy.

Finally, the last approach to language is a complete shift from the colonial language (English) into vernacular due to the conviction that it is the language of oppression and (post)colonial power. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, a Gikuyu writer from Kenya, after a successful career as a writer in English, decided to depart from English entirely and come back to his original, tribal roots also in a linguistic sense. His conviction was that language is inseparable from culture and community, and since the culture and community in which he was born and brought up were the African ones so should be the language. In *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (1986), he famously stated that:

> Language as communication and as culture are then products of each other. . . . Language carries culture, and culture, particularly through orature and literature, the entire body of values by which we perceive ourselves and our place in the world. . . . Language is thus inseparable from ourselves as a community of human beings with a specific form and character, a specific history, a specific relationship to the world.[16]

Ngugi sees a fundamental link between the language one uses and one's vision of the world, and, therefore, it is vital for him to preserve local African languages so that one may hold on to one's national identity and see the world not from the imperial perspective, but from the perspective of true Africa.

To conclude, postcolonial studies is particularly sensitive to language since language played a fundamental role in colonisation and its role has remained so in postcolonial periods. Among the positions most postcolonial writers take in regards to language, the three most important ones are to be distinguished:

1. the use of Standard English, only with occasional lapses into vernacular (e.g., Vikas Swarup's *Slumdog Millionaire*, and to this category one may also include most of Salman Rushdie's writings),

2. the use of hybridized English: Nigerian Ken Saro-Wiwa wrote *Sozaboy* in what he calls "Rotten English" and included a glossary with terms like "big big English/big big grammar," the definition of which he gives as tedious, erudite arguments or statements in standard English; Jack Davis's plays, which are a blend of Standard

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15. Mead, *Networked Language*, 401
16. Ngugi wa Thiong'o, *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1986), 16.

Australian English and Nyoongah dialect, Edward Brathwaite's poetry written in "nation language,"

3. a complete departure from English as the language of postcolonial discourse and literature, e.g., Ngugi wa Thiong'o's later fiction.

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Stereotypes, Spectacles, and Self-Defense: A Case Study of African American Women in U.S. Media

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Abstract: African American women, with the exception of a few TV and entertainment celebrities and – more recently – First Lady Michelle Obama, do not feature prominently in U.S. media. Every so often, however, what media critic John Fiske aptly calls a "media event" turns America upside down and produces a spectacle; frequently at the expense of its African American female population. This happened to Anita Hill in 1991 and, as history tends to repeat itself, occurred again with the players of the women's basketball team at Rutgers University in 2007. This article summarizes a case study of selected print media, focusing on the presence or, rather, the absence of Black women's and Black feminists' perspectives in the mainstream and Black press, respectively.

African American women, with the exception of a few TV and entertainment celebrities and – more recently – First Lady Michelle Obama, do not feature prominently in U.S. media. Every so often, however, what media critic John Fiske aptly calls a "media event"[1] turns America upside down and produces a spectacle; frequently at the expense of its African American female population. This happened to Anita Hill in 1991 and, as history tends to repeat itself, occurred again with the players of the women's basketball team at Rutgers University in 2007. Both incidents lend themselves well to a Black feminist analysis, taking into account intersecting factors of oppression in U.S. society; yet the media response to each event was dominated by White people and Black men and oftentimes based on stereotypes of Black women. This paper summarizes an analysis of selected print media, focusing on the presence or, rather, the absence of Black women's and Black feminists' perspectives in the coverage of these now infamous episodes. To this end, articles in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, representing two highly regarded mainstream newspapers, were compared to articles in *Ebony*, *Essence* and the *New York Amsterdam News* as three outlets of the ethnic press.

In 1991 the confirmation hearings regarding the Supreme Court Justice nominee Clarence Thomas, a Black man, were a media spectacle from their very start. When Anita Hill, then a law professor at the University of Oklahoma and a Black woman, publicly made charges of sexual harassment against her former boss Clarence Thomas, the national outcry was unmistakable. As Fiske maintains, because of its high-profile

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1. John Fiske, *Media Matters: Race and Gender in U.S. Politics*, rev. ed. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 1.

coverage the boundaries between reality and its media representation were no longer visible, thereby making it a prime example of what he came to call a "media event." Even though the incident was front-page news throughout the U.S., the coverage itself was far from unified. White women were largely sympathetic with Hill, but many Black men accused her of airing dirty linen in public. This cast Hill as being a race traitor and a pawn of White women, who wanted to merely destroy another Black man's career. Yet, the most crucial aspect was always missing from mainstream news reports and commentaries as well as from the Black press: the voices of Black feminists or womanists were nowhere to be found, and this despite the fact that a Black woman was, according to critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw, who was also a legal aid in the Hill-case, "at the crossroads of gender and race hierarchies."[2] After all, this was an issue that centered on the politics of being Black *and* female in the United States. Consequently, it would have required Black feminist theory to explain the intersecting oppressions of race, gender, and class that surfaced here.

My analysis of selected articles in the mainstream press confirms the silencing of Black women on this issue: Of more than 400 articles on the controversy in both the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* between September and December 1991, roughly thirty contained the words "feminism" or "feminist." None of these, however, entailed a Black feminist perspective. On the contrary: through qualitative content analysis it was determined that in all but one case White feminists were either interviewed or quoted, or White journalists took a firm "White" feminist stand. Karen De Witt is the only Black woman journalist who marginally addressed feminism but she also passed on the opportunity to include an analysis of all the oppressive factors at play.[3] She rather chose to quote a White feminist who again emphasized only the gender aspect. The single article containing somewhat of a Black feminist perspective was written by Anna Quindlen, a White woman. This op-ed piece in the *New York Times* addressed the fact that African American women were supposed to "choose whether to align themselves with their sisters or the brothers. To choose whether to stand against the indignities done them [sic!] as women, sometimes by men of their own race, or to remember that black men take enough of a beating from the white world and to hold their peace."[4] In other words, Black women are required to choose one identity over the other, when, in fact, these cannot be easily separated. By addressing this, Quindlen partly acknowledged Frances Beale's "double jeopardy" of being Black and female in the U.S.,[5] without using this terminology. In all other mentionings of "feminism," Black male journalists or White reporters – both male and female – either interviewed White

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2. Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Whose Story Is It, Anyway? Feminist and Antiracist Appropriations of Anita Hill," in *Race-Ing Justice, En-Gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality*, ed. Toni Morrison (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992), 403.

3. See Karen De Witt, "The Thomas Nomination: The Evolving Concept of Sexual Harassment," *New York Times*, October 13, 1991, A28.

4. Anna Quindlen, "The Perfect Victim," *New York Times*, October 16, 1991, A25.

5. See Frances M. Beale, "Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and Female," in *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall (New York: New Press, 1995), 148.

women or sought to speak on behalf of all women. Unfortunately, they failed to make any reference to race as an influencing factor. This indicates ignorance of any other than a White feminist perspective, thereby completely disregarding the fact that Hill was after all a Black woman who held a special position in society. While this analysis of selected newspaper articles certainly does not allow for generalized conclusions, it is significant that a study of articles on the Thomas-Hill case in the *New York Times* uncovers similar results (1999).[6] In her analysis, which – unlike my own – did not focus on a Black feminist perspective, Linda Steiner concludes that Anita Hill was reduced in complexity by being treated in terms of a monolithic dimension of gender,[7] something that can be ultimately seen as a result of journalists' reluctance to engage on two seemingly opposing fronts simultaneously.

In comparison to what can be called "mainstream media," the number of Black feminist pieces found in the Black Press was, unfortunately, equally small. Of twenty articles dealing with Hill that were analyzed in the weekly African American newspaper *New York Amsterdam News*, only four were written by Black women. Two of those articles were completely anti-Hill and only one marginally included a Black feminist viewpoint. In that article a young Black female admirer of Hill's courage to speak out is quoted criticizing Black women's continued exposure to lewd remarks at their workplaces. Still, the author failed to make a connection to the multidimensionality of the problem.[8] Even though the coverage was generally well-balanced in favor of or against Thomas's Supreme Court nomination, if the articles conveyed resentment of the candidate it was mostly because the authors saw him unfit for the position, irrespective of the fact that he might have harassed Hill.

Of only two suitable articles in the monthly magazine *Ebony*, one at least featured a brief comment by an outspoken Black feminist. In an article titled "The Year of the Black Woman," Johnnetta Betsch Cole, the first African American female president of Spelman College, is quoted as saying that Anita Hill had contributed to the positive developments in the lives of Black women and that Black feminism was "a connector between the modern Black Liberation and Women's movements."[9] The brevity of Cole's quote, however, clearly confirms Barbara Ransby's assessment of Black women's views being only mentioned marginally in otherwise lengthy and detailed articles, both in general and in reference to Anita Hill:

> [. . .] in the midst of this media orgy, an obvious set of voices was consistently muted or overlooked. These were the voices of Black Feminists, or Womanists, who, in contrast to the painfully superficial commentators and ill-informed theorists masquerading as analysts, could have synthesized most of the complex issues of race, class, and gender raised by the hearing. But the mainstream media would have none of it. Aside from a few one-line quotes in lengthy news stories or articles in

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6. See Linda Steiner, "*New York Times* Coverage of Anita Hill as a Female Cipher," in *Mediated Women: Representations in Popular Culture*, ed. Marian Meyers (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, 1999), 225–50.

7. See Steiner, "*New York Times* Coverage," 242.

8. See Carolyn A. Butts, "Women Share Silent History of Sexual Harassment Says Hill," *New York Amsterdam News*, May 2, 2007, 54.

9. "The Year of the Black Woman," *Ebony*, October 1992, 118.

the alternative press, a Black feminist/Womanist viewpoint was sorely absent from the national debate.[10]

Possible reasons why *Ebony* in its role as a strong voice in the Black community did not reflect on the issue more would be the subject of a different investigation, yet the divisiveness on the incident, or as Crenshaw calls it, "the almost routine polarization of 'blacks and women' into separate and competing political camps,"[11] could have been a contributing factor here.

The only bright spot in the coverage of Anita Hill from a Black feminists' point of view comes as no surprise: *Essence*, as a monthly Black women's magazine, not only had all four articles on the incident written by Black women, but also conveyed more of a Black feminist perspective. In one article, twenty-one women were interviewed on their opinion of the case.[12] Except for Michele Wallace, however, no other known Black feminist was asked to comment. This certainly is not representative of the great number of scholars and advocates active in what was known to many as the Black Feminist Movement throughout the 1970s and 80s.

Eventually, it took direct action on the part of Black feminists to make themselves heard in relation to the Hill case. In response to the treatment of Hill during her testimonial and the following hearings, the ad-hoc organization "African American Women in Defense of Ourselves" collected funds to print a paid advertisement by the same name in several newspapers and magazines, most notably the *New York Times*. The statement was signed by 1,603 Black women, the majority of whom were scholars. Among other things, it spoke out against the ignorance and misrepresentation of African American voices in the media.[13] Barbara Ransby, one of the three organizers of the collective, later claimed, "Ironically, an event that made a single Black woman more visible to more people than at any time in our recent memory simultaneously signified our collective invisibility."[14] This statement was not the only action Black women took to speak for themselves, however. In the years after the event Black women published a large number of books that dealt critically with the incident, most notably two edited collections, one by Toni Morrison and one by Geneva Smitherman.[15] In spite of these two important books, media coverage of the abuse of Black women does not seem to have changed much. In fact, history repeated itself in 2007. Sixteen years after the Thomas-Hill drama, news stories about Black women were still mostly covered from a

10. Barbara Ransby, "A Righteous Rage and a Grassroots Mobilization," in *African American Women Speak out on Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas*, ed. Geneva Smitherman (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995), 45.

11. Crenshaw, "Whose Story Is It," 403.

12. See "A House Divided," *Essence*, January 1992, 58–59, 92–93.

13. See Elsa Barkley-Brown, Barbara Ransby, and Deborah King, "African American Women in Defense of Ourselves," in *Still Lifting, Still Climbing: Contemporary African American Women's Activism*, ed. Kimberly Springer (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 42–43.

14. Ransby, "A Righteous Rage and a Grassroots Mobilization," 46.

15. See Toni Morrison, ed., *Race-Ing Justice, En-Gendering Power: Essays on Anita Hill, Clarence Thomas, and the Construction of Social Reality* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1992); Geneva Smitherman, ed., *African American Women Speak out on Anita Hill-Clarence Thomas* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1995).

White male and female or Black male point of view, and often perpetuated stereotypes. This is clearly demonstrated by an analysis of the coverage of a radio host's racist and sexist remarks about the women's basketball team of Rutgers University.

When on April 4, 2007 radio shock-jock Don Imus insulted the almost all-Black women's basketball team of the "Scarlet Knights" of Rutgers University by calling them "nappy-headed hos" on both public radio and television, the subsequent news coverage was by and large characterized by one thing: the absence of Black women's voices. What was later referred to as a "double-barreled slur,"[16] clearly contained racist and sexist elements. It was analyzed from different angles, but again, Black women, and even more so, Black feminists, were excluded from the debate and were not given agency to speak. Because Black women's specific standpoint in American society was once again marginalized, the media focused mainly on one aspect only, this time the racist elements of the insult. These are not only found in Imus's use of the term "nappy-headed," which carries racist connotations dating back to slavery, but also in the very fact that it was a middle-aged White man who assumed the right to label young Black athletes with terms used to objectify, stereotype, and ridicule. The latter part of his slur, "hos," evoked the age-old stereotype of the Black woman as exotic and oversexualized, and a sexually available object for White men, in other words a clear play on the word "whore." When one looks at the media coverage, the Rutgers women were identified not so much as women as they were focused on as Black. Unlike in the Thomas-Hill case, it was not White feminists but Black men who expressed their volcanic outrage, with Reverend Al Sharpton and Reverend Jesse Jackson being the two most vocal advocates for the young athletes.

If one believes a rare, more nuanced analysis in the *New York Times*, the equally blatant sexism that was uncovered with that phrase was hardly recognized anywhere. At best, the discussions revolved around putting the blame on hip hop and rap, two genres the artists of which are notorious for perpetuating misogyny in their songs and performances and frequently using the word "ho." While it is legitimate to say that such tolerated sexist attitudes contribute to a stereotyped image of Black women, that again limits the discussion to one based on racial politics. At the same time the blame is placed within the Black community, which is the origin of these music genres. Nothing, however, can justify the exclusion of Black women, who should be given center stage in these debates.

Over the course of three months after the incident occurred, almost fifty articles in the same mainstream media outlets as for the Thomas-Hill case were examined. What became clear immediately was that the incident was not connected to feminism in the public debate, because that word never came up in combination with the coverage. Altogether, only nine of those fifty articles contained somewhat of a Black feminist perspective. Of thirteen articles analyzed in the *New York Times*, only two considered the fact that, by insulting Black women, Imus was racist and sexist at the same time. One

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16. See, for example, Weston Kosova, "The Power That Was," *Newsweek*, April 23, 2007, http://www.newsweek.com/2007/04/22/the-power-that-was.html.

commentary by Black journalist William C. Rhoden cites, for example, Black feminist Paula Giddings, and concludes that, "Whether a foul-mouth radio host stays or goes, the larger issue is that sexism and racism are very much alive."[17] The other article that showed awareness of Imus's insult of those who were Black *and* female, was written by White journalist Selena Roberts, who emphasized the aforementioned exclusive focus on race within the general media:

> Racism, shouted prominent black male politicians and journalists. And on the crawls across the screens of cable networks, when news of the Imus rant fomented, the word "racial" bumped into "racially charged." Right account, if only partly. By its lonesome, "ho" has barely registered a ripple for anyone outside Gloria Steinem's buddy list or the Rutgers team.[18]

Of the articles analyzed in the *Washington Post*, none was written from a Black feminist point of view. This indicates that even if there were some coverage that took into account a Black feminist viewpoint outside of the range of this analysis it was probably very slight. Jill Nelson, who in 1991 covered the Thomas-Hill events in *Essence*, aptly summarizes what happened in a blog entry of the *Huffington Post*: "Even when we're the ones being dissed and dogged, when it comes to analyzing the situation, no one much gives a damn what we have to say."[19] This observation not only applies to the mainstream press, however. Also the Black media largely ignored Black women's voices. The *New York Amsterdam News*, for example, published only one article that dealt with Black women and Black feminists directly, quoting, for example, Black feminist and former editor of *Ms.* magazine, Marcia Ann Gillespie, and Spelman College professor Cynthia Neal Spence. The latter is quoted saying that Imus's comments were "steeped in a promiscuous and hypersexual remnant of [the Black woman's] enslavement in which males were able to take advantage of her."[20] Of the fourteen articles suitable for analysis in the *Amsterdam News*, two other pieces dealt with Black feminism, but only marginally.[21]

By its very nature as a Black woman's magazine, *Essence* included a Black feminist perspective in some – but not all – of the coverage of the Imus incident. The articles ranged from an outspoken letter by editor-in-chief Angela Burt-Murray that called for an end to the "sexually degrading images directed at Black women"[22] to a critical analysis by Michael Eric Dyson of what was referred to as an "ongoing character assassination of Black women."[23] Except for Dyson's article, which clearly portrays

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17. William C. Rhoden, "The Unpleasant Reality for Women in Sports," *New York Times*, April 9, 2007, D7.

18. Selena Roberts, "A First-Class Response to a Second-Class Put-Down," *New York Times*, April 11, 2007, D1.

19. Jill Nelson, "Black Women: First Dissed, Now Disappeared," *Huffington Post*, April 12, 2007, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/jill-nelson/black-women-first-dissed-_b_45720.html.

20. Tanagachi Mfuni, "Black Women Demand Respect and Resolution in Imus Mess," *New York Amsterdam News*, April 12–18, 2007, 1.

21. See Glenn Towners, "Clinton Praises Rutgers Basketball Team," *New York Amsterdam News*, April 26–May 2, 2007, 4; Mshinda N. Jackson, "Sorority Hosts Social Action Forums at York College," *New York Amsterdam News*, May 31–June 6, 2007, 32.

22. Angela Burt-Murray, "A Letter from the Editor," *Essence*, June 2007, 16.

23. Michael Eric Dyson, "Bull's Eye," *Essence*, July 2007, 120.

Black women's position in society as one that is afflicted by more than one power structure, what was missing was the chance for Black women themselves to speak up and analyze their situation. *Ebony*, which dedicated its July 2007 issue to a "culture of disrespect," included a Black feminist perspective on the Imus slur in five of its ten articles that largely focused on a discussion around misogyny in hip hop. One of these articles was written by a Black feminist. Tracy Sharpley-Whiting emphasized that sexism and misogyny "appear to be working overtime in America to box us into these very narrow depictions of Black womanhood."[24] The other four articles at least mentioned Black feminist issues in passing, with one questioning, for example, whether one should blame the "isms of race, sex, and class."[25]

Eventually, Imus, who was certainly no first-time offender in terms of racist and sexist remarks, was suspended and subsequently fired from his job. Nevertheless, his firing was an exception to the rule, when – as the racist "N-word" rant of radio talk host Laura Schlessinger in August 2010 demonstrates – he is not the only one expressing such views in public.

The coverage of Imus's 2007 remarks reveals that just as in 1991, when Anita Hill's sexual allegations against Clarence Thomas made headline news, the media largely ignored, as they did in the case of Anita Hill, the Rutgers women's position of being both Black *and* female. Just as with the coverage of Anita Hill's testimony during the Clarence Thomas confirmation hearings, Black women were not given agency to speak up, even though it was they who were directly affected. There are some differences, however. Hill was by and large portrayed as "race-less" with the focus being on her as a woman. White feminists heavily supported her, which certainly contributed to the fact that the Black community was divided on its view of the case. This can be explained, however, when taking into consideration the – often false – rape allegations on behalf of White women in the Jim Crow South. As a consequence, some in the Black community considered Hill a race traitor for making her charges public, something the media failed to contextualize completely, not least because of the almost exclusive focus on gender in the public discourse. In contrast to the Hill case, the coverage of the Rutgers women largely focused on racial aspects, aided by the likes of Sharpton and Jackson, who maintained that Imus was a racist. They hardly mentioned that his comments were equally sexist. Over all, the Imus incident united the Black community against what was perceived as the White enemy, and this is also reflected in the ethnic press. In other words, if Hill divided the Black community, the Rutgers women helped to unite it.

What stayed the same was the news coverage in the media frenzy – both in its sensationalistic manner, but even more in the practice of ignoring Black women's and Black feminist's voices in public discourse. That is why, as different as the two incidents are, they share two characteristics. On the one hand, they reveal how little attention is directed to Black women's issues and that little has changed in sixteen

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24. T. Denean Sharpley Whiting, "The Irony of Achievement for Black Women," *Ebony*, July 2007, 88.
25. Adrienne P. Samuels, Eric Easter, and Monica Jones, "The Culture of Disrespect: How Did We Get Here?," *Ebony*, July 2007, 65.

years. It still seems easier to talk about race and gender separately, rather than consider those concepts as intersecting. Here, Kimberlé Crenshaw's traffic intersection metaphor comes to mind, where one can picture ambulances rushing to the scene of an accident in the middle of an intersection on a highway but failing to help the Black female victim lying there because they cannot decide whether the accident had been caused by race, gender, class, or some other reason.[26] Obviously, if the media does not provide the general public with those more complex concepts of identity, the images will remain distorted and will continue to reflect harmful stereotypes that should have been alleviated long ago.

On the other hand, both the Anita Hill and Don Imus incidents demonstrate that Black feminists try to use each moment for itself. This was more visible in the Anita Hill case with the ad-hoc collective "African American Women in Defense of Ourselves," but in the Don Imus case Black feminists at least succeeded in making themselves heard in *Ebony*, which – as a general-interest Black magazine – invites a broader audience than *Essence*. Due to the horrible school shooting at Virginia Tech twelve days after the Imus story broke, coverage of the incident came to an abrupt end. It remains open whether a prolonged debate would have created a reaction on the part of Black women similar to the one over Anita Hill, and one wonders to what extent their voices would have been featured in follow-up discussions in the mainstream media. The Thomas-Hill case, however, clearly indicates that Black women, particularly Black feminists, have a chance – however marginal – to enter public discourse with their messages; provided that they take things in their own hands.

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26. See Kimberlé Crenshaw, "'What Kind of Ally Are You?' Or, What Is Your Disaster Relief Kit?," in *A Primer on Intersectionality* (Los Angeles: African American Policy Forum, 2009), 8–9.

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Wicca in the USA: How a British-born Religion Became Americanized

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ABSTRACT: Wicca, or contemporary witchcraft, is currently among the fastest growing religions in the USA. The goal of the paper is to outline the character of this new religion, its origin and development on the American continent as well as to present its distinct American face, particularly its assimilation into the women's spirituality movement. The text also examines the reasons for the growing popularity of the new religion, particularly its emphasis on the freedom of individual spiritual development as well as its pluralistic approach. Last but not least, the paper will discuss some of the most current topics connected with the religion's struggle for mainstream acceptance and outline the position of Wicca within the contemporary American religious scene.

KEYWORDS: Wicca; witchcraft; coven; Goddess spirituality; pagan; magic; initiatiatory tradition; mystery religion

The American religious scene is changing dramatically, a fact that did not escape the attention of Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony, American sociologists who co-edited a study of religion aptly titled *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America.* This paper documents a relatively new religion that was first noted by the American Religious Identity Survey at the start of the new millenium (see later). The goal of the paper is to outline the character of Wicca, or contemporary witchcraft, its development and its distinct American face. It concludes with a sociological perspective that demonstrates the position and role of Wicca in the rich and intricate pattern of religion in the USA.

Wicca is a modern religion with ancient roots, and in many aspects it resembles any other religion. Its main purpose is to put the individual in harmony with the cosmos – with the world in which the practitioner lives, with the cycles of nature and human life and with the divine.

Wicca is a duotheistic religion. As the divine is seen as male and female, it worships a god and goddess in their numerous forms and by their different names. The god is perceived and depicted as a horned god, and as such he is a representation of the animal, human and godly. The goddess is depicted as a trinity, maiden, mother and crone, which corresponds to the three phases of the moon – waxing, full and waning.

Seeing the world and the divine as the cooperation and harmony of male and female principles is also reflected in the structure of the group – the rituals are led by a priest and priestess whose responsibilities and importance are perfectly equal. The proportion of men and women in the working group, the so-called "coven," should also be balanced. The Wiccans call themselves witches (both men and women), although recently they also present themselves as priestess or priest.

Wicca is a pagan religion. As such and in contrast with the so-called "revealed" religions like Christianity, Judaism or Islam, it has no dogma. In the center of the religious life, therefore, stands not a fixed belief system but a religious practice. In other words, whatever the practitioner believes or thinks about the religion, what matters most is performance and participation in rituals. Modern witches follow the so-called "wheel of the year," a set of eight seasonal rituals called Sabbats. Apart from these, Wiccan covens also meet for "esbats" that take place at the full moon. The esbats tend to have more practical purposes, such as the practice of magic for healing purposes.

Regarding ethics, there is only one general rule of conduct, called the Wiccan rede: "An it harm none, do what ye will."[1] There is no further explanation or specification, and to follow the rule the practitioner is left with his or her own judgement and interpretation.

Wicca is a nature religion, but nature is understood as a complex reality; it is unnecessary to live in a forest to be a Wiccan. In fact, most Wiccans live in big cities. The wheel of the year is perceived in terms of planetary, solar, lunar, botanical and agricultural cycles that impact the human body and mind and can therefore be interpreted psychologically. The purpose of the rituals is to achieve harmony with these natural tides and cycles. For example, Yule, the winter solstice ritual, celebrates the end of the darkest part of the year. Beltine is a celebration of the renewal of life, strength, fertility and sexual power in nature and people. Mabon is concerned with harvest and therefore serves as a time to contemplate accomplishments.

Wicca is a mystery religion and initiatory tradition. Much of what the Wiccans do is secret and revealed only to the initiates under the oath of secrecy. This means that a person interested in Wicca has to go through a relatively difficult phase of training to be finally initiated. Through initiation a person becomes a member of a coven but at the same time a priest or priestess. There is no clergy and congregation in Wicca, and everybody assumes an active role in the coven's rituals.

As a pagan religion, Wicca is related to an ancient, pre-Christian tradition, but the goal is not a reconstruction of a concrete, perhaps Celtic, tradition. Wicca is eclectic in that it takes inspiration from any tradition that might serve its needs. Apart from working with European pagan mythologies and pantheons, it uses also Eastern conceptions of Chakras and works with energy, meditation and visualization techniques and with the Kabalistic tree of life. All these diverse phenomena are adapted and modified to fit contemporary Western needs.

As a mystery and initiatory religion, Wicca is a part of the Western esoteric tradition together with, e.g., the Hermetic Order of the Golden Dawn and Freemasonry or the teachings of the influential English occultist Aleister Crowley (1875–1947). The ritual practice, especially the structure of the initiation rituals, bears evidence of the influence and inspiration of these mystery orders on Wicca and cooperation with the main figures of the Western occultism at the beginning of the 20th century.

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1. Janet Farrar and Stewart Farrar, *A Witches' Bible: The Complete Witches' Handbook* (London: Robert Hale, 1984), 135.

Apart from being a religion, Wicca is also a craft, or witchcraft, and its practitioners aim at achieving practical ends with psychic means; in other words, they practice magic.

Wicca is not an exclusivist religion and does not claim to be the only true religion. Wicca offers relative freedom of thought, but it requires deep commitment in the sense of intensive study, daily meditation practice, deep self-understanding and constant self-improvement as well as active participation in rituals where the priest and priestess are expected to exhibit certain skills and take on specific responsibilities. As present-day witches see it, Wicca is not for everyone. There are other religions equally valid for people with different needs and capabilities. Wiccans do not proselytize. If a person wants to become a Wiccan, he or she has to find the coven – which is not easy – and then go through a relatively demanding training period. The trainee as well as the initiated witch[2] is allowed to leave whenever they feel like it. This is an important aspect of Wicca – it is very difficult to get in but very easy to get out.

Origin

The person who compiled the Wiccan rituals in the 1940s using archeological, anthropological and occult sources of the day and thus built the basic framework of the religion that was to spread all over the world in the following half of the century was the British former colonial administrator Gerald Gardner (1884–1964). He publicly declared himself a witch in 1951, just after the anti-witchcraft laws were repealed in England, and he devoted the rest of his life to building the new religion, promoting it in the public and initiating people into priesthood.

In a struggle to gain public acceptance and recognition, Gerald Gardner presented the religion as an old one, a hereditary tradition surviving from the pre-Christian times, into which he was supposedly initiated in the 1930s.

Nowadays no one would insist on Wicca's continuity as a pre-Christian tradition surviving up to the present. However, as Wiccans see it, this fact does not diminish the power and vitality of their religion.

One of the people initiated into Gardnerian Wicca in the early 1960s was Raymond Buckland, a Brit living in the USA at the time of initiation. It was Buckland who in 1963 "founded the first securely recorded Wiccan group in the United States."[3] Meanwhile, however, the books by Gerald Gardner and others began to be known in the US, and many groups and covens were spontaneously formed there, the ritual practices of which were based on individual research and inspiration. Their members were not initiated within the Gardnerian tradition, they had no direct link to Gardner and they adapted to local needs. The old-new religion offered both freedom of individual spiritual paths unrestricted by dogma as well as sharing within a wider pagan community. Its popularity grew fast. During the 1960s and 1970s, the US saw the arrival of all forms of

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2. In contemporary witchcraft the term "witch" is used for both female and male practitioners; the terms "wizard" or "warlock" are not used.

3. Ronald Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon: A History of Modern Pagan Witchcraft* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 250–51.

European witchcraft and at the same time the emergence of forms distinctly American. The result was a rich diversity of paths, many of which could be labeled Wiccan. The spread was so fast, notes historian Ronald Hutton, that "from the 1970s onward the United States, and not Britain, has been the world centre of modern paganism, exerting the greatest influence over its development, as over most forms of Western culture, and probably containing the largest number of adherents."[4]

However, the most distinctive contribution of American witchcraft, as stated by Hutton, is "its assimilation to the women's spirituality movement."[5] As he explains further, "[t]his was based upon the simple and fundamental fact that the witch is one of the very few images of independent female power which historic European cultures have bequeathed. As the United States became the main source of modern feminist thought in general and radical feminist thought in particular, the appropriation of this image became virtually inevitable."[6]

The simple logic behind the Goddess spirituality – a title that became almost synonymous with American Wicca – was that the witch (as she was imagined) was a powerful and free individual uncontrolled by a man. Therefore, to gain such power and freedom the contemporary woman had to release her hidden potential and become a witch. As this action was understood as revival or reclaiming rather than creation of something brand new, the women turned to archaeology and history, or better yet, to their own version of history.

There was much to draw on. The idea that matriarchal society actually existed was rather popular among certain academics in the latter half of the nineteenth century. The one that directly inspired some of the important figures of the American feminist spirituality movement was the British classical anthropologist Jane Ellen Harrison (1850–1928). Her vision of a prehistoric, Goddess-oriented, magic-practising and emotional religion evolving into the male-ruled, God-oriented, rational religion of ancient Greece had a strong appeal for American feminists of the 1970s.

Another scholar of note was Egyptologist Margaret Murray (1862–1963), author of *The Witch Cult in Western Europe* (1921), in which she assumed that the victims of early modern witch trials were in fact practitioners of a surviving pagan religion. Later she was severely criticized for a high degree of selectivity in working with her sources. She tended to use only the evidence that fit her theories and to avoid that which did not. This however had no real effect on the popularity of her theories among feminist witches, who saw that the power of the idea lay elsewhere than in the facts.

The third scholar worth mentioning is Lithuanian-American archaeologist Marija Gimbutas (1921–1994), "the only front-rank archaeologist in recent years to give full support to the idea that prehistoric European cultures were woman-centred in both society and religion, and that the destruction of such cultures by patriarchal invaders

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4. Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, 340.
5. Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, 341.
6. Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, 341.

represented a tragedy for humanity."[7] In her research, Marija Gimbutas identified diverse Paleolithic and Neolithic representation as the single Great Goddess. The Great Goddess became the central figure of the new female spirituality.

These and other sources seemed to bring sound enough evidence for the fact that in the past women were free from the control of men, both in social life as well as in religion, and the cultures venerating the Great Goddess and led by queen-priestesses were peaceful and creative. The coming of Indo-European patriarchal cultures was seen as a kind of dark ages lasting up to the present. The patriarchal oppression was even intensified at times, for example during the witch trials, the "burning times"[8] as they were commonly referred to, during which millions of wise women and cunning men – bearers of ancient pagan religion and wisdom – witches – were supposedly killed. Over time, however, the term *witch* began to shed its negative connotation and thousands of women and men began to proudly identify with it.

The most well-known representatives of the women's spirituality movement are Zsuzsanna Budapest and Starhawk. Zsuzsanna Budapest (born in 1940), a witch and an author, as she describes herself on her web pages, is the founder of Dianic Wicca, named after Diana, the goddess of witches connected also with the shunning of men. Dianic Wicca is based on traditional Wicca, and Dianic rituals resemble Wiccan rituals in details such as the use of ritual tools, e.g., casting a ritual circle with the athame.[9] The essence of traditional Wicca – a duotheistic religion and witchcraft based on the balance of male and female principles, reflected in the worship of a god and a goddess and performance of the rituals led by a priest and a priestess is completely altered here. The goddess alone is revered, and women only are admitted into the rituals led by a priestess or priestesses.

When asked why men and gods are excluded from her rituals she answered in a 2007 interview:

> It's the natural law, as women fare so fares the world, their children, and that's everybody. If you lift up the women you have lifted up humanity. Men have to learn to develop their own mysteries. Where is the order of Attis? Pan? Zagreus? Not only research it, but then popularize it as well as I have done. Where are the Dionysian rites? I think men are lazy in this aspect by not working this up for themselves. It's their own task, not ours.[10]

It is interesting to note how tradition travels and transforms. The British-born Wicca transformed in the US into Goddess-only worship found its way back to Europe, even to the Czech Republic. Discussing the point of exclusion of men from rituals with the Czech Dianic Wiccans as a part of my fieldwork, I received a similar yet more cautious answer. Men are important but there are things which men are naturally excluded from, such as the so-called "blood mysteries." There is no way to share with men the experience

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7. Hutton, *The Triumph of the Moon*, 356.
8. An emotionally charged term coined by Gerald Gardner.
9. An athame is a ritual knife with a straight, double-edged blade.
10. Zsuzsanna Budapest, "Z Budapest Interview 2007," *Z Budapest*, 2007, http://zbudapest.com/media-press-kit/ZBudapestInterview.pdf.

of menstruation or childbirth. Therefore, Czech Dianic Wiccans perform rituals where they invite their male partners and friends as well as rituals closed to men.[11]

Miriam Simos, or Starhawk, as she is internationally known, introduces herself on her web pages as follows:

> Welcome! I'm Starhawk, author of many works celebrating the Goddess movement and Earth-based, feminist spirituality. I'm a peace, environmental, and global justice activist and trainer, a permaculture designer and teacher, a Pagan and Witch. To see how it all weaves together, follow the many strands of my web.[12]

Her book *The Spiral Dance: A Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess* was first published in 1979 and immediately became a best-seller. One of the reasons for its immense success is surely the fact that Starhawk is an exceptionally gifted writer capable of making the reader emotionally involved in what she is trying to say. In the chapter devoted to the goddess she summarizes the historico-magical thinking lying behind the goddess movement (as feminist spirituality began to be known). Because with Starhawk the way she says things is as important as what she says, I will quote her in full:

> The symbolism of the Goddess has taken on an electrifying power for modern women. The rediscovery of the ancient matrifocal civilizations has given us a deep sense of pride in woman's ability to create and sustain culture. It has exposed the falsehoods of patriarchal history, and given us models of female strength and authority. Once again in today's world, we recognize the Goddess – ancient and primeval; the first of deities; patroness of the Stone Age hunt and of the first sowers of seeds; under whose guidance the herds were tamed, the healing herbs first discovered; in whose image the first works of art were created; for whom the standing stones were raised; who was the inspiration of song and poetry. She is the bridge, on which we can cross the chasms within ourselves, which were created by our social conditioning, and reconnect with our lost potentials. She is the ship, on which we sail the waters of the Deep Self, exploring the uncharted seas within. She is the door, through which we pass into the future. She is the cauldron, in which we who have been wrenched apart simmer until we again become whole. She is the vaginal passage, through which we are reborn.[13]

The female principle represented by the goddess is described not only as culturally creative but also more intimately as the only true connection to an individual's inner self. If a person wants to become whole and live up to his or her potential, the connection to the female principle is presented as essential. This connection is believed to have been there once but was lost for millennia through patriarchal regimes and the rule of men. Modern women are seen as a new generation of women who manage to see through the falsehood of these regimes and who are able to bridge this imaginary gap in the history of authentic existence of people by re-discovering and re-gaining the power that has been taken from them – all this for the good and better future of humankind.

As we have seen, the image of the lost female spiritual power that can be re-gained today and used in the service of humankind had a strong appeal for women on both sides of the Atlantic, but in the USA it grew into the large scale women's spirituality

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11. Informal conversation with a Czech Dianic Wiccan, April 18, 2010, Prague, Czech Republic.
12. Starhawk [Miriam Simos], *Starhawk's Tangled Web*, 2010, http://www.starhawk.org.
13. Starhawk [Miriam Simos], *The Spiral Dance: A Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1999), 103.

movement that took shape in the form of goddess religion and more specifically in the formation of women-only religious groups like Dianic Wicca. Needless to say, this represents only the most typical, or better – the most visible – face of American contemporary witchcraft, but its picture is much richer. There are many mixed (male-female) covens, and many that trace their origin back to Gerald Gardner. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the goddess and the importance of the role of the priestess is significantly greater in America than in Europe. While the roles of priest and priestess in European Wicca are strictly equal, in the United States, as observed by a British Wiccan who's identity cannot be revealed, "the men are only used for carrying about incense."[14] The American high priestesses also seem to indulge in the titles of honour such as "Lady" and "Witch Queen," a feature unknown in Europe. A witch queen is a high priestess who has initiated a number of priestesses who then set up their own covens and these covens therefore trace their origin to this original high priestess. As I have been informed by another British Wiccan: "The Americans have invented 'fealty & coronation rituals' where the high priestess is actually crowned and her initiates have to swear fealty."[15] There is no such title as the witch king in Wicca.

Nevertheless, the majority of Americans who identify themselves as Wiccans or witches are so-called solitary or hedge witches. These are not members of any coven, they have come through so-called "self-initiation" and their unique religious system is based on their study and solitary practice.

There are still places where it is dangerous to declare openly to be a witch or Wiccan in contemporary America, especially in the southern Bible Belt states, and many individuals keep their religion secret to avoid ridicule, harassment or loss of employment. Slowly, however, Wicca is gaining public recognition and acceptance. As expressed by Raymond Buckland, the founder of the first Gardnerian Wiccan coven in the USA:

> From a few solitary groups meeting in secret in homes and apartments, it has come to be a religion that is touted in hotel conference centers and huge campgrounds. Witches serve on interfaith committees and speak at international religious conferences. Wiccan priests and priestesses are able to work with prisons and hospitals. The religion is acknowledged by the armed services. It is becoming – dare I use the phrase? – mainstream![16]

That this is indeed the case is supported by the fact Wiccans appeared in the Simpsons in 2009. The basic idea of the episode is that Lisa Simpson meets three Wiccans performing the esbat ritual in the forest and decides to join them. During the initiation ritual, however, the witches are caught by police and arrested. Lisa then witnesses the first Springfield witch trial.[17]

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14. Informal conversation, June 2010
15. E-mail message to author, September 18, 2010. For more information see Raymond Buckland, *The Witch Book: The Encyclopedia of Witchcraft, Wicca, and Neo-paganism* (Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 2002), 381–82.
16. Raymond Buckland, "An Interview with Raymond Buckland," interview by Beth Scudder, *New Worlds* 36 (2010): http://www.llewellyn.com/journal/article/540, accessed September 30, 2010.
17. See Kevin Curran, "Rednecks and Broomsticks," *The Simpsons*, season 21, episode 7 (448).

Other evidence that Wicca is becoming a mainstream religion is the 2007 approval – after a decade-long fight – to legally include the Wiccan pentacle on soldier's graves with other religious symbols.[18]

SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

In 1990, the sociologists Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony described the American religious scene at the end of the twentieth century critically and very clearly. As they observed, "American religion at the end of the 1980s seems to be simultaneously experiencing revival and a crisis."[19] The so-far mainline Protestant denominations were on the decline but secularism was not what was replacing them. Some religious groups were experiencing a steady growth and new religions were emerging and gaining popularity. It seemed that the religiosity of Americans remained unchanged, but there appeared to no longer be a need for "overarching denominational structures" any more, a fact glossed with regret by the sociologists:

> [T]he religious unity or harmony of the American people is a fading vision. . . . Young Americans of the Baby Boom generation are exhibiting a marked interest in religion, but their patterns of church shopping and church switching seem to reflect a consumerist orientation to religion that destabilizes particular commitments. Occult, New Age, and neo-pagan beliefs and practices are spreading, but they often seem to resist firm organization so that the survival of many new groups may be in doubt.[20]

It is too early to evaluate the situation in the first decade of the current century but the numbers are telling. So far, it is evident that many new groups whose survival was "in doubt" in the 1990s are now flourishing. In the recent *Modern Paganism in World Cultures* (2008), the editor Michael Strmiska states boldly:

> Modern paganism is among the fastest growing religions in the United States. According to the American Religious Identity Survey (ARIS) carried out by sociologists at the City University of New York in 2001, an estimated 307,000 Americans identify their religious affiliation as "Wicca, Pagan, or Druid," making this one of the twenty largest religious categories in the United States, anticipated at the time of the survey to grow to some 433,000 by 2004. A similar survey carried out in 1990 did not even mention Wiccans, Pagans, or Druids, which underscores how fast modern Paganism, in its different forms, has been growing in recent years.[21]

CONCLUSION

Wicca is an earth-based religion worshipping ancient pagan Gods. It is a mystery religion, and as such it claims to offer the individual to achieve harmony with the divine principles, with the cosmos and with oneself. It requires deep commitment: self-education, meditation practise and active participation in regular rituals. What the

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18. See Channel 3000, "Wiccan Pentacle Legally Added To Soldiers' Graves," *Channel 3000*, May 29, 2007: http://www.channel3000.com/news/13402039/detail.html.

19. Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony, "Introduction: Conflict and Change in American Religions," in *In Gods We Trust: New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America*, edited by Thomas Robbins and and Dick Anthony, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), 3.

20. Robbins and Anthony, "Introduction," 3.

21. Michael F. Strmiska, ed., *Modern Paganism in World Cultures: Comparative Perspectives* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio, 2008), 1.

concrete form of the individual path may be is fully up to the individual and it is open to development and change. The emphasis on the uniqueness of individual experience as well as the possibility of sharing the individual perspective within the frame of a wider witching community seems to fit well with the needs of modern men and women.

In the United States, the emphasis on the female part of the divine principle found especially fertile ground – the American Wiccans contributed to the British-made duotheistic religion by remaking it into the Goddess-oriented spirituality. In the 1970s, significant numbers of American women began to proudly identify with the titles "witch" and "priestess."

Despite the scepticism expressed by the sociologists of religion writing about the non-denominational, non-dogmatic new religions at the end of the 20th century, the numbers of people calling themselves witches, priests, priestesses or Wiccans grew steadily and are growing even faster in the first decade of the new century. Apart from the above mentioned reason – combination of individualism and sharing unrestricted by dogma or authority – there is another important aspect that seems to stand behind the increasing popularity of contemporary witchcraft, and that is its inclusive nature and pluralistic approach. Wicca is not essentially a result of a protest against another religion, trying to replace it with something better. Wiccans do not wish to persuade other people to become Wiccans. On the contrary, they seem to be happy that other people remain Christians, Muslims or atheists. With the assertion that different individuals need different religions, Wicca contributes to the rich mosaic of religions in the USA, and as the evidence demonstrates it is becoming a more and more visible element in that pattern.

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The Failure of the Allied Naval Dardanelles Campaign Explained

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Abstract: In November 1914, Britain went to war against the Ottoman Empire. Shortly thereafter, the British Navy attacked Turkish forts in the Dardanelles with the objectives of forcing the Straits, attacking and conquering Constantinople and knocking Turkey out of the war early. The month-long purely naval attack, however, proved unsuccessful, as the British Navy was never able to silence the forts and force the Straits. Instead, the British aborted their purely naval campaign, opting instead for a land invasion of the Gallipoli peninsula that also failed. This paper documents the multiple strategic, operational and tactical errors made by the British during their naval Dardanelles campaign, concluding that tactical errors loomed large in the campaign's failure.

Keywords: World War I; British Navy; Ottoman Empire; Turkey; Turks; Dardanelles; Gallipoli; H. H. Asquith; Winston Churchill; Sackville Carden; John de Robeck; Lord Kitchener

[T]he passage of the Dardanelles must be forced.
– Lord Kitchener[1]

Britain went to war against the Ottoman Empire on November 4th, 1914. Soon thereafter, the British war council debated a purely naval assault on the Dardanelles. Such a campaign was attractive, not only because it "would break the deadlock of trench warfare without diverting troops from France,"[2] but because it would "assist Russia, persuade Italy and the Balkan neutrals to join the Entente and knock Turkey out of the war."[3] It would also serve as "a prophylactic against revolution in India and Egypt."[4] With these possible advantages in mind, and thanks to some persuasive arguments put forth by Winston Churchill, the war council voted unanimously on January 13th, 1915 that the admiralty "should prepare for a naval expedition to bombard and take the Gallipoli Peninsula, with Constantinople as its objective."[5] The final plan was approved by the war council on January 28th,[6] and on February 19th, the purely naval attack on the Dardanelles began. This campaign, which lasted for one month, failed in every aspect to achieve its goals. On March 18th, Vice-admiral John M. de Robeck withdrew his fleet, deciding in favor of a joint operation that would place the navy in a secondary, supporting role of a land invasion of the peninsula. The failure of this land invasion is

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1. Quoted in George Arthur, *Life of Lord Kitchener* (London: Macmillan, 1920), 3:126.
2. A. J. P. Taylor, *English History 1914–1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 24.
3. David French, "The Dardanelles, Mecca and Kut: Prestige as a Factor in British Eastern Strategy, 1914–1916," *War & Society* 5, no. 1 (1987): 53.
4. David French, *British Strategy and War Aims, 1914–1916* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986), 138.
5. Taylor, *English History*, 24.
6. See Taylor, *English History*, 24.

outside the scope of this paper. Instead, this paper will focus solely on the purely naval attack on the Dardanelles in an attempt to prove that the naval effort was not doomed from the start but instead failed as the result of bad decisions at all levels, strategic, operational and tactical,[7] with the weight of the failure resting on tactical.

On February 19th, 1915, the Allied fleet, under the command of Admiral Sackville Carden, and comprised of fourteen British warships and four French warships, along with a host of support ships and minesweepers,[8] made its first real attack against the Straits. The attack was made at a range of six to nine miles and was lead by the British battleship, the *Inflexible*.[9] The Turkish defenses, which were under the command of Otto Liman von Sanders and included minefields, minefield batteries, long guns in a series of forts, mobile howitzers and searchlights,[10] fired not a single shot in reply. British aerial observation suggested the forts had been heavily damaged, and Carden, sensing victory, ordered the ships to close-in on the forts. But, as the ships steamed nearer, the forts began to shoot. They had not been silenced, leaving Admiral Carden little choice but to withdraw the fleet.[11] For the next week, inclement weather postponed an attack,[12] but on February 25th, firing on the forts resumed, from a distance of nine miles, by both the *Irresistible* and the *Queen Elizabeth*. By 5:00 PM that afternoon, the forts at the entrance to the Strait were silenced, and the Allied fleet could move freely into the Straits, but the real difficulty remained ahead. The forts at the Narrows were well armed, and the narrow waterway "deprive[d] ships of their power to maneuver freely."[13]

Attacks on the forts of the Narrows continued day-to-day through March 7th, when it was believed that the Chanak forts, the strongest of the forts in the Narrows, were silenced. The reality of the situation within the forts was best described by an anonymous German officer who said that "it was hard to keep the guns constantly in action, not so much on account of any serious damage, but because the batteries were flooded with stifling vapors from the shells, and it was necessary to withdraw the men until the air cleared." Further, the men manning the batteries of the forts were instructed to "reserve their fire for the closer attack which they believed would follow." For this reason, the Allied forces again and again believed the forts were silenced, only to have them fire on them again the next day.[14]

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7. For this paper, "strategic" is defined as planning, "tactical" is defined as production, and "operational" is defined as what takes place between planning and production. It is understood that there can be considerable overlapping between these three categories.

8. See Bernadotte E. Schmitt and Harold C. Vedeler, *The World in a Crucible, 1914–1919* (New York: Harper and Row, 1984), 106.

9. See George H. Allen, *The Great War*, vol. 4, *The Wavering Balance of Forces* (Philadelphia: George Barrie's Sons, 1919), 91.

10. See Schmitt and Vedeler, *The World in a Crucible*, 106.

11. See Allen, *The Great War*, 91–92.

12. The bad weather was not detrimental to the ships but was detrimental to the airplanes that were spotting for the gunners on the battleships.

13. Allen, *The Great War*, 92–93.

14. Allen, *The Great War*, 95–96.

Admiral Carden somewhat questionably became ill and found it necessary to give up his command on March 16th. His replacement Vice-admiral de Robeck, was determined to launch a major offensive that would silence the forts forever. This attack came just two days later on March 18th. At 10:45 AM, the Allied fleet steamed into the Narrows and immediately came under fire "not only by the forts but by howitzers and field guns on the heights."[15] The fleet fired on the forts for several hours, and once again the forts ceased firing. The fleet steamed ahead, this time to within four miles of Chanak, when all the forts suddenly fired again, demonstrating that they were not seriously damaged. In fact, according to Turkish accounts, all of the Allied firing had dismounted just one Turkish gun. Then disaster struck the Allied fleet, as several ships, including the *Irresistible*, hit mines and sank. When the sun set on March 18th, the Allied fleet withdrew once more, having lost three battleships, over 2,000 men, and having done only slight injury to the military integrity of the forts of the Dardanelles. The following day, de Robeck telegraphed the admiralty to say that, "it was necessary to reconsider the plan of attack."[16] This telegraph signaled the end, and the failure, of the purely naval attack on the Dardanelles.

In examining the strategic failures of the Dardanelles campaign, it is first necessary to examine the manner in which the decision to attack was made. First, it is no secret that decisions of the war council during the Asquith administration were often made indiscriminately. Concerning these decisions, on January 19th, 1915, Admiral John Jelicoe wrote, "The way the war is conducted both ashore and afloat is chaotic! We have a new plan every week!"[17] Second, at the end of a war council meeting, although votes were taken to decide courses of action, the ultimate decisions were made by Asquith alone, a fact confirmed by Asquith himself in a letter written just days following the January 13th war council meeting: "I maintained an almost unbroken silence until the end, when I intervened with my conclusions."[18] Finally, not only were members of the war council often against the decision of Asquith, as Admiral Jackie Fisher was against a "ships alone" attack on the Dardanelles,[19] but "[t]he general staff was kept in the background both during the planning and execution" of the campaign,[20] and the attack went ahead as planned even considering "the view[s] of some of [the war council's] senior advisors that it could not succeed."[21]

Next, the decision to attack the Dardanelles was based on two key misconceptions: that a fort was no match for a battleship, and that the Turks were a second-rate military that could never succeed against the mighty British navy. First, in making the decision

15. Allen, *The Great War*, 97.
16. Allen, *The Great War*, 97–98.
17. Vulcan [pseud.], "Gallipoli: ANZAC Legend, Allied Defeat," *Army Quarterly and Defence Journal* 129, no. 2 (1999): 159.
18. Raymond Callahan, "What about the Dardanelles?," *American Historical Review* 78, no. 3 (1973): 646–47.
19. Vulcan, "Gallipoli," 159.
20. David R. Woodward, "Britain in a Continental War: The Civil-Military Debate over the Strategical Direction of the Great War of 1914–1918," *Albion* 12, no. 1 (1980): 39.
21. David French, "The Origins of the Dardanelles Campaign Reconsidered," *History* 68 (June 1973): 216.

to attack by ships alone, the war council attached "undue importance" on the swift fall of the Belgian fortresses at Leige and Namur to the Germans in August 1914, which suggested to them that "permanent works were easily dealt with by modern long-range artillery."[22] In doing so, notes historian David French, they mistakenly concluded "that low-trajectory naval guns would be able to demolish land fortifications as easily as German howitzers had destroyed the Belgium forts."[23] Further, they failed to recognize the multiple lines of defense employed by the Turks to defend the Straits, and they failed to recognize Britain's own historical experiences in the arena of naval attacks on forts as well as Britain's own research on the subject. For instance, in 1807, the fleet of Admiral Duckworth rushed the Turkish Straits and sailed to Constantinople, only to be forced into retreat when its supply lines were cut off behind it. Later, in 1882, the royal navy bombarded the forts protecting Alexandria, only to learn the hard way that "a naval attack on modern forts, well-armed and adequately manned . . . would most probably end in failure."[24] Then, in 1906, an official report on the feasibility of forcing the Dardanelles concluded that "even a combined operation would be very hazardous" and would not guarantee success.[25] However, Churchill discounted all of this information and insisted that, due to new military technology such as aircraft for spotting that would enable indirect-laying, and the eight, fifteen-inch guns on the *Queen Elizabeth*, military history and past research were no longer admissible as a basis for making a decision.[26]

Second, the war council underestimated the Turkish forces, considering them a "recalcitrant native regime" instead of a serious military power.[27] According to David French, the British were convinced of "the innate superiority of the white over the coloured races and the Christian over the Islam. They regarded all coloured races as being . . . savage and incompetent."[28] As such, the war council, and Lord Kitchener in particular, expected the Turks to evacuate the peninsula as soon as the first fifteen-inch shell was fired. According to the Dardanelles Commission report, Kitchener and Earl Grey not only expected the Turks to throw down their arms but, stated historian George Allen soon after the conclusion of the war, "confidently looked forward to a revolution taking place in Constantinople once the British fleet appeared in the Sea of Marmora."[29]

Therefore, examining the strategy of the Dardanelles campaign points to three flaws: the ultimate decision to launch the campaign was made hastily and haphazardly, ignoring both the input of the general staff and senior military advisors, as well as the misgivings of some members of the war council; the decision-makers harbored misconceptions concerning the effectiveness of new military technology utilized in a sea-based attack on land-based targets; and the war council underestimated the fortitude

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22. Allen, *The Great War*, 82–83.
23. French, "Origins," 216.
24. Allen, *The Great War*, 82–84.
25. French, "Origins," 211.
26. See Allen, *The Great War*, 82–84.
27. French, "Origins," 210
28. French, "Origins," 211.
29. Allen, *The Great War*, 78.

and resolve of the enemy to stand up to this new military technology. Ultimately, it might be argued that the strategists behind the campaign were blindly overconfident, and as such, failed to adequately plan the campaign. In fact, the war council spent more time planning the partitioning of Turkey after her surrender than they did on planning the campaign itself. It is for this reason that historian David Woodward was not wrong when he asserted that "the British ship of war . . . had no strategical rudder."[30]

Multiple operational downfalls also contributed to the failure of the campaign. British intelligence experienced considerable difficulty in gathering information on the defenses of the peninsula. By February, the Turks had evacuated all civilians from the peninsula, so intelligence had to rely on indirect sources such as Greek diplomatic reports, observations from British ships and aerial reconnaissance flights.[31] However, as historian Jeffrey Wallin has noted, the seaplanes performing this reconnaissance were inefficient: "The planes were to provide observation data for the naval gunners, but it was discovered on the spot that they were not capable of flying high enough to do so."[32] Pre-existing intelligence information was also ignored. In 1908, years of intelligence information was published in a memorandum entitled "The Turks' coast defences." Yet there is no record of this memorandum being referenced prior to the attack.[33] Furthermore, in 1906, an officer named Charles Woods landed secretly on the peninsula and reconnoitered the Turkish fortifications. His report was filed with the general staff and the naval intelligence department but was lost. Before the bombardment began in February, Woods mailed them another copy of the report, but it was either ignored or lost again.[34] Beyond these failures, there was also poor coordination between the British and the French fleets,[35] and poor communication with and between British bases and ships. Concerning the British fleet on hand, the fact that some of the ships were antiquated did not help, as their well-worn guns were not very accurate. Also it was found that the calibre of the crews was not high. As Admiral C. G. Brodie wrote in his book *Forlorn Hope*: "'Some of this residue was first class, more was green, mostly with age.'"[36]

The greatest failures of the campaign, in the sense that they alone ultimately resulted in the failure of the fleet to meet its campaign objectives, were tactical in nature. To understand why the fleet failed to force the Straits, it is necessary to examine two tactical failures, namely the fleet's inability to clear the mines from the Straits, and the fleet's failure to continue the attack when they knew that the forts were dangerously short of ammunition. By February 25th, 1915, the Turks had laid ten lines of underwater mines in the Narrows that were protected by seventy, three and four-inch guns and six search

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30. Woodward, "Britain," 65.
31. See French, "Origins," 222.
32. Jeffrey D. Wallin, *By Ships Alone: Churchill and the Dardanelles* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 1981), 147.
33. See French, "Origins," 221.
34. See French, "Origins," 221.
35. See Callahan, "What about the Dardanelles?," 647–48.
36. Vulcan, "Gallipoli," 160.

lights.[37] To clear these mines, the admiralty enlisted the assistance of North Sea trawlers, manned by fishermen and commanded by a retired officer with no minesweeping experience. The minesweeping was done at night, and was made exceedingly difficult by swift currents.[38] For the first nine nights of March, the trawlers fled when they were fired upon. March 10th was the first evening that they had some success, detonating two mines. But when a third mine sank a trawler, the other trawlers retreated again. On March 11th, the trawlers withdrew as soon as fired upon. At this point, the navy assigned three military personnel to each trawler in hopes of maintaining order and instilling courage in the trawler crews. On March 13th, the trawlers stayed on duty, even under fire. As a result, all six trawlers received hits, casualties were suffered and the sweeping was of little success.[39]

At this point, night sweeping was given up, and the trawlers were assigned to sweep the lower Straits, which they did, between March 14th and 17th. However, in sweeping the lower Straits, they missed a line of twenty underwater mines, known as line eleven, which had been laid by the Turkish minelayer *Nousret* on March 7th. What made this line different from the others, and the reason it went undetected, is that the line was laid parallel to land, not perpendicular like the other lines. On the morning of March 18th, the commander of the minesweepers reported that the lower Straits had been swept and that all was clear. The fleet proceeded to attack, and during the attack, the *Bouvet*, the *Irresistible*, and the *Ocean* were sunk, and the *Inflexible* was severely damaged, not by the guns of the forts or by the mobile batteries protecting them, but by the mines of line eleven.[40]

In response, Admiral de Robeck ordered eight Beagle class destroyers to be fitted out as minesweepers. These were ready by April 4th. By April 16th, sixteen more Beagle minesweepers had arrived, bringing the total number available to the fleet to twenty-four. With twelve pairs of sweepers at the fleet's disposal, a channel one mile wide could be swept in front of battleships. With this new capability, the fleet could have forced the Straits. However, the mindset of de Robeck had already changed in favor of a joint operation. The time for a purely naval attack had passed, and the Beagles were not used to force the Straits.

Furthermore, as noted by French, "[o]n 12 March the naval intelligence department at the Admiralty had intercepted a telegram between Berlin and the Dardanelles which indicated that the Dardanelles batteries were short of heavy ammunition." The attack on March 18th resulted in the Turks "firing off even more of their precious ammunition."[41] On the evening of March 18th, the Turkish forts had only twenty-seven shells remaining that were capable of damaging a battleship. Had the fleet renewed its attack the

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37. L. A. K. Boswell, "The Naval Attack on the Dardanelles," *Royal United Service Institute Journal* 110 (1965): 145.

38. The current ran from two to four knots, and the trawlers traveled at five knots, which meant that some nights they were sweeping at a speed of just one knot, making them practically sitting targets for the Turkish guns.

39. See Boswell, "Naval Attack," 145–46.

40. See Boswell, "Naval Attack," 146.

41. French, "Origins," 218.

following day, the forts would have only been capable of mounting limited resistance. The situation was so dire that General Mertens, the chief technical officer of the forts, was considering ordering an evacuation. However, a new attempt to force the Straits was never made, and a great opportunity was missed.[42]

Therefore, despite the overconfidence, hastiness and lack of depth involved in the strategic planning of the campaign, and despite the multiple operational errors that occurred, it was tactical errors that ultimately led to the failure of the British fleet to force the Straits. If Carden or de Robeck had used the Beagle class destroyers as minesweepers, or if de Robeck had decided to continue with the naval attack after March 18th, the British fleet almost certainly would have succeeded in forcing the Straits, which in turn would have enabled the fleet to attack Constantinople and possibly force Turkey out of the war. In his 1918 memoir, U.S. Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire Henry Morgenthau suggested as much, lamenting the fact that "the great Allied armada never returned to the attack."[43]

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42. See Boswell, "Naval Attack," 145–47; see also Henry Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1918), 223–28.

43. Morgenthau, *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story*, 228.