

ZLÍN PROCEEDINGS IN HUMANITIES
VOLUME 3

ZLÍN PROCEEDINGS IN HUMANITIES

This series includes volumes of proceedings from conferences and workshops in the humanities that took place at Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic.

1. Theories in Practice: The First International Conference on English and American Studies (September 9, 2009)
2. Theories and Practice: The Second International Conference on English and American Studies (September 7–8, 2010)
3. Theories and Practices: The Third International Conference on Anglophone Studies (September 7–8, 2011)

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ON ANGLOPHONE STUDIES

SEPTEMBER 7–8, 2011

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EDITORS' NOTE

ROMAN TRUŠNÍK, KATARÍNA NEMČOKOVÁ, GREGORY JASON BELL

The present volume, the third in the Zlín Proceedings in Humanities book series, contains selected papers from “Theories and Practices: The Third International Conference on Anglophone Studies,” held on September 7–8, 2011, and hosted by the Department of English and American Studies, Faculty of Humanities, Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic.

Since our proud but comparatively humble beginnings in 2009 when we attempted to open a dialogue primarily among Czech and Slovak scholars, our conference has grown in size, diversity and respectability and has gained firm footing on the Central European scene as a conference that documents the most current research trends in the region. In order to accommodate scholarly interest in all aspects of the English-speaking world, this year we chose to widen the conference’s focus from the traditional “English and American Studies” to “Anglophone Studies.”

While the conference itself hosted scholars from the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Poland, Romania, Lithuania, the United States and Sweden, not all participants’ papers found their way into the proceedings. The success of the conference has afforded us, as editors, the enviable yet difficult task of picking and choosing the best and also best fitting contributions, all the while keeping in mind the goal of producing a representative record of current research primarily from the Czech Republic and Slovakia. The welcomed presence of papers from other countries infuses the proceedings with global perspectives.

There can be no better reward for editors of a series of proceedings than to have their efforts bear fruit. Thus, as editors, we have been pleased to see articles from our previous two volumes cited in other scholarly publications. This volume, like the previous ones, is published as a print volume and distributed primarily to libraries, both in the Czech Republic and abroad, while being simultaneously released in PDF format on the Internet (<http://conference.uaa.utb.cz/tp2011>) for easy indexing, searching, and sharing among scholars worldwide.

The form and format of the proceedings remain faithful to what worked best in the previous two volumes. The volume is divided into two sections: linguistics in the broadest use of the term, and literature and cultural studies. While some articles are highly theoretical, others are more practical, often with a pedagogical overlap. We also adhered to the same format as in previous volumes, using both systems defined in the current edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*: papers on linguistics use the author-date system, while papers on literature and cultural studies make use of footnotes. In electronic sources, we give access dates only in cases when we were unable to verify the sources in August 2012.

While the ink on this volume is still drying, participants from around the globe will once again be gathering in Zlín to continue the ongoing discussion begun three years ago. However, before we increase our scholarly footprint yet again, we wish to take this

opportunity to thank all of the participants, organizers and many others whose efforts made our third annual conference not only a reality but a great success. Our thanks are also extended to the rector of Tomas Bata University in Zlín and to the Zlín Region for their continued financial support and encouragement.

LINGUISTICS

ENGLISH INDIRECT PASSIVES: STRONG EVIDENCE FOR A SHARPLY BIFURCATED LEXICON

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ABSTRACT: Previous studies of the English passive have not recognized a distinct subtype where the auxiliary is not simply *be* or *get*, but a transitive grammatical verb, in particular *have*, *get*, *want*, *need*, *see* or *hear*. These “indirect passives,” as I name them, are shown here to be verbal and not adjectival, and to NOT consist of embedded passive clauses containing traditionally analyzed simple passives, such as reduced relatives or other types of “small clauses.” Rather, indirect passives are structurally parallel to the traditional (“direct”) passives, except that their auxiliaries are transitive rather than intransitive verbs that select adjective phrase complements. The limitation of indirect passive auxiliaries to grammatical rather than open class verbs provides crucial evidence for dividing lexicons into two components, the members of which enter syntactic derivations differently. Open class items, including the *-en* of passive adjectives, enter trees only when derivational “phases” begin, while closed class items, including auxiliaries and the inflectional passive *-en* can also enter derivations “late,” after a phase has been interpreted.

KEYWORDS: adjectival passive; English passive; indirect passive; late insertion; passive auxiliary

1. PREVIEW OF THE HYPOTHESIS

This paper has two aims:

- to show that English verbal passives (not adjectival passives) include a construction not traditionally included in this class,
- to show how lexical insertion levels crucially distinguish on the one hand open class verbs and derivational morphology (e.g., passive adjectives of the form *V+en*), from, on the other, closed class or “grammatical” verbs and inflectional morphology (passive participles of the same form).

2. WHAT ENGLISH INDIRECT PASSIVES ARE: MONO-CLAUSAL VERBAL PASSIVES

English active clauses can optionally express an NP that is “affected” by an action, either beneficially (with *for-NP*) or adversely (with *on-NP*).

- (1) a. Her husband redecorated the kitchen (for / on Kamila) last week.
b. Professional thieves have stolen her car (for / on Kamila).
c. Her daughter is trimming the hedge (for / on Kamila).
d. A new doctor will soon treat Kamila’s infection (for / on her).

Some of these combinations are strange only for pragmatic reasons: *for* is good in (1b) only if Kamila wants her car stolen, perhaps to collect insurance; *on* is strange in

(1c)–(1d) unless Kamila likes overgrown hedges (1c) or is among those who in principle refuse antibiotics (1d). These variations are not of concern here; grammatically, all the examples in (1) are fine.¹

Although this is not a central point here, these PPs expressing an affected NP can remain in passives, often more naturally if the agent NP is deleted. The pragmatically odd combinations are the same as in (1).

- (2) The kitchen was / got redecorated (for / on Kamila) last week.
 Her car has been / gotten stolen (for / on Kamila).
 The hedge is being / getting trimmed (for / on Kamila).
 Kamila's infection will soon be / get treated (for / on her).

For this kind of affected NP, Japanese has a different and much studied construction, called the “indirect” or “adversative” passive, in which the affected NPs are *the subjects* of their clauses. Two of many studies of this construction, one of the earliest in the generative tradition and one which I think gives the best analysis, are respectively Kuroda (1979) and Kubo (1992). This construction can be grammatically mimicked with word-for-word glosses. In these glosses, I switch Japanese final verbs to English verbs in medial position, and translate the Japanese passive verbal suffix *-(r)are* by the English passive auxiliaries *be* and *get*. These English examples are of course ungrammatical and serve only to aid in the exposition that follows.

- (3) *Kamila was / got redecorated the kitchen (by her husband) last week.
 *Kamila has been / gotten stolen her car (by professional thieves).
 *Kamila is being / getting trimmed the hedge (by her daughter).
 *Kamila will soon be / get treated her infection (by a new doctor).

In the Japanese sentences that the examples in (3) transliterate, the object NPs occur exactly as in the corresponding active sentences, i.e., in accusative case marked with *-o*. The agent of the active clauses can be expressed in an optional PP (*NP-ni*), exactly as in Japanese simple or “direct” passives, and exactly analogous to the optional *by*-phrases in English passives.²

Though the examples in (3) are ungrammatical, English speakers do have a closely related passive construction for expressing the same meanings as their Japanese counterparts. It is only necessary to change the “auxiliary” *be* to *have* and place the object NP in front of the participle; the passive auxiliary *get* need not be modified. These two passive auxiliaries are underlined.

1. Also irrelevantly, prescriptive grammar stigmatizes this absolutely common use of *on*.

2. Japanese indirect passives tend to be interpreted as adversative for their subject NP, but Kubo (1992) shows that this is not necessarily the case. She constructs some unmistakably “beneficial” Japanese indirect passives.

- (4) Kamila had / got the kitchen redecorated (by her husband) last week.
 Kamila has had / gotten her car stolen (by professional thieves).
 Kamila is having / getting the hedge trimmed (by her daughter).
 Kamila will soon have / get her infection treated (by a new doctor).

A natural question is whether this construction tolerates other verbs besides *have* and *get*. Somewhat surprisingly, as will be shown in subsequent sections, there appear to be *precisely four* other such English verbs. Like *have* and *get*, (i) all have very general meanings and (ii) all play other particular roles in the grammatical system not available to open class verbs.

- (5) Kamila wanted / needed / saw / heard the kitchen redecorated (by her husband).
 Kamila wanted / needed / saw / heard her car stolen (by professional thieves).
 Kamila wants / needs / is seeing / is hearing the hedge trimmed (by her daughter).
 Kamila will soon want / need / see / hear her infection treated (by a new doctor).³

These passives of course do not translate the Japanese indirect passives, but they share the syntactic properties of the English passives in (4) that do translate them. I therefore propose to call all the constructions in (4)–(5) “English indirect passive” since they are all parallel and include translations of the much studied Japanese construction with this name. To my knowledge, this English construction has been identified as such only in Emonds (2007, ch. 8) and has not been singled out by other authors. The traditionally described English passives, with the auxiliaries *be* and *get* as in (2), I will call “direct passives.”

The essence of the English passive construction, with or without auxiliaries present, is of course the *verbal passive participle*, standardly notated V-*en* (*eat-en*, *tak-en*, *redecorat-ed*, *stol-en*, *trim-ed*, *treat-ed*), since this form is the sine qua non of English passive clauses and has no other uses outside of forming perfect tenses. The auxiliaries *be* and *get* are quite different in this respect, since they appear in a plethora of other constructions and have no specific link to characterizing anything as passive. English direct and indirect passives can be simply subsumed under a single label “passive,” *provided it is understood* that the language contains *seven*, not two, passive “auxiliaries”: *be*, *get*, *have*, *want*, *need*, *see* and *hear*. I use this latter term here in what is a quite standard, if informal, cross-linguistic usage:

- (6) **Auxiliary:** A verb of very general meaning, often with construction-specific properties, which is used with another lexical verb in the same clause.⁴

3. This example is grammatical with *hear*, but is obviously pragmatically strange.

4. Traditional, descriptive and pedagogical grammars of English are at a loss trying to establish what “auxiliary” should refer to. Unless they accept the well-motivated generative dichotomy between a functional head I of a clause and a verbal head of a VP, they usually stumble back and forth between “auxiliary” as defined in (6) and auxiliary as an ad hoc term for items that invert in questions and precede *n’t* (thus illogically including the main verb *be* and excluding the passive auxiliary *get*).

Thus, the Czech verb *bych* ‘would’ is a “conditional auxiliary,” French *faire* ‘make’ is a “causative auxiliary,” German *werden* ‘become’ is a “future auxiliary,” the Japanese adjectival verb *-(a)na-* ‘not’ is a “negative auxiliary,” Spanish *haber* is a “perfect auxiliary,” etc.

3. THE NATURE OF THE SEVEN ENGLISH “PASSIVE AUXILIARIES”

Not all the seven verbs that precede an English verbal passive participle in the same clause intuitively correspond to what informal grammatical tradition calls auxiliaries. However, their characteristics fit perfectly into a formally defined class of “*grammatical verbs*” analyzed in Emonds (2000, ch. 4). Roughly, these are verbs with (i) *minimal and broad meanings* and (ii) *central roles in grammatical processes*, such as inversion in questions, negative placement, tense / modal / aspect systems, causative constructions, etc.

Verbs whose complements can be verbal passive participles possess these characteristics of grammatical verbs. It is no accident that these auxiliaries are not seven open class near synonyms like *exist* (vs. *be*), *obtain* (vs. *get*), *possess* (vs. *have*), *desire* (vs. *want*), *lack* (vs. *need*), *notice* (vs. *see*) and *record* (vs. *hear*):

- (7) Our car got / *obtained smashed by our son in an accident.
 We had / *possessed our house cleaned by the neighbors.
 The insurance agent wanted / *desired it taken to a different garage.
 We needed / *lacked it repaired right away.
 My sister saw / *noticed the desserts we brought eaten before the others.
 They heard / *recorded Jiri sung Happy Birthday.

A first characterization of the limited distribution of passive participles is thus (8):

- (8) Verbal passive participles occur as complements to only a few “grammatical verbs.”

In contrast, hundreds of English verbs select complements that are verbal present participles or gerunds formed with *V-ing*; Rosenbaum (1967) lists about two hundred. In addition, gerunds formed with *V-ing* can also appear freely as clausal subjects and as objects of prepositions.⁵ But, bare passive participles can never serve in either capacity:

- (9) We try to avoid paying / *paid late for our services.
 The manager continued criticizing her customers / *criticized by her customers.
 Washing / *Washed every day isn’t a pleasant experience.
 They were arguing over sending / *sent out traffic tickets.

5. Counter to Rosenbaum’s taxonomic treatment, the differing distributions of English gerunds (*V-ing* VPs that behave as NPs) and present participles (*V-ing* VPs that *don’t* behave as NPs) are *predictable on syntactic grounds*; cf. Emonds (1991 and 2000, sections 7.5-7.6).

Focusing first on understanding the highly restricted distribution of passive participles, *treating direct and indirect passives together*, I begin by clarifying what is meant in (8) by “grammatical verbs.” As stated above, they are the least semantically specified (most vague) verbs, and are moreover those with special roles in grammar. This leads to defining a component of the lexicon, which is the keystone of the lexical theory in Emonds (2000):

(10) **The Syntacticon Component:** *The set Σ of lexical items that lack purely semantic features.*⁶

The closed class of grammatical verbs is thus precisely the set of verbs in the Syntacticon, and the seven passive auxiliaries are a subset of them. Now items lacking purely semantic features that are nonetheless different from each other must differ by *at least one syntactic feature*, and having different features implies different behavior. That is, no two grammatical verbs have the same syntactic properties. Thus, *a hallmark of Syntacticon items is unique syntactic behavior*.

The auxiliaries observed in passives (*be, get, have, want, need, see, hear*) indeed all have the individual idiosyncratic behavior expected from their membership in the Syntacticon:

- Obviously *be* has unique syntactic behavior; it has five finite forms, etc.
- The syntax of *get* is unique in collocations as *have got* and *get + V + ing* (*get working/going*), and it is the only passive auxiliary both intransitive (2) and transitive (4).
- *Have* uniquely forms the English perfect active tenses; in certain uses it inverts in questions and contracts to a final consonant (*'ve, 's, 'd*), and is one of a handful of verbs with an irregular third person singular form.
- The morpheme *need* doubles as a regular verb and a negative polarity modal in English, a property shared only with *dare* (which is not a passive auxiliary).
- The contraction of *want* (i.e., “*wanna*”), treated in several articles in generative frameworks, testifies to its syntactic uniqueness.
- A convincing case for Syntacticon membership of *want, see* and *hear* is based on their Romance counterparts. Their Italian and Spanish translations belong to a small set of grammatical verbs that “restructure” with a following lexical verb (Rizzi 1978), i.e., the two verbs then give every indication of being in a single clause. (Emonds 2000, ch. 6).
- *See* differs from *hear* in having a use in imperatives, even though both verbs are generally stative: *See/ *Hear how well she sings that! Hey, see/ *hear that bird over there! Please see/ *hear that opera soon.*

6. This delineation of syntactic vs. purely semantic features is from Chomsky (1965, 88, 143, 150–51). The latter features, which differentiate items like *destroy* vs. *damage* or *long* vs. *high*, play no role in grammar. On the other hand, syntactic features (e.g., \pm PAST, \pm ANIMATE, \pm DEFINITE, etc.) are *even more central in semantics* than the purely semantic features.

There are other grammatical verbs with unique syntactic behavior which are not passive auxiliaries in either direct or indirect passives, e.g., *do*, *let*, *go*, *come*, *say*. Interestingly, which Syntacticon verbs can serve as passive auxiliaries is predictable. If a grammatical verb *independently selects a complement AP*, then it can serve as a passive auxiliary as well. All the “passive auxiliaries” (*be*, *get*, *have*, *want*, *need*, *see*, *hear*) independently have a subcategorization frame +___AP or +___NP^AP. Such selected AP complements are underlined in (11).

- (11) Her story was / got too long.
 Something at work had / got John angry.
 Father says that for traveling, we want / need the family healthier than it is now.
 I'm glad to see / hear Mary so happy.

The requirement that passive participles occur only in positions where a Syntacticon verb can select an AP explains why, e.g., the grammatical verbs *do*, *let*, *go*, *come* and *say* are not passive auxiliaries; they don't take APs:

- (12) *Bill's strange behavior did his children sad.
 *You should always do the laundry cleaner.
 *The neighbor has let the grass too long.
 *The suspect went / came angry in the police car.
 *Mary said the answer too foolish to believe.

- (13) **Predicting passive structures:** Only grammatical verbs with a frame +___AP (*be*, *get*) can form direct passives, while a frame +___NP^AP can give rise to indirect passives.⁷

Prima facie, the restriction (13) is not surprising, since in languages with agreeing adjectives (Czech, French, Russian, Spanish, etc.), syntactic passive participles also *exhibit agreement morphology* (Schoorlemmer 1995; Veselovská and Karlík 2004). On the other hand, more striking is the lexical “split” between passive participles, introduced by V-*en* and limited by (8), and active participles (introduced by V-*ing*), which can be complements to hundreds of open class as well as grammatical verbs. Until now unremarked by grammarians, this distinction calls out for an explanation. The preliminary aspects of this explanation are the subject matter of Section 5.

7. The verb *make* has a frame +___DP^AP that yields, e.g., *make the load lighter*. Since it selects a bare infinitive in the active (*make them go home*) but a *to*-infinitive in the passive (*be made to go home*), it seems to have the unique syntactic behavior that is necessary and sufficient for being a grammatical verb. Yet, it cannot be an auxiliary in an indirect passive (**make them taken to the hospital*), a gap for which I have no explanation.

4. WHAT INDIRECT PASSIVES ARE NOT: SOME SORT OF “EMBEDDED DIRECT PASSIVE”

Before returning to the relation of verbal passive participles to the adjective phrase (AP) category, I discuss a possibility that doubtless will tempt many a reader skeptical of my conclusions so far. Can it really be true that English grammar, so intensively studied from Bishop Lowth (18th century) to Otto Jespersen (early 20th), can count among its most central devices (here passives generally speaking) a sub-type that traditional studies have not noticed, isolated or named?

Well, it seems it can, as shown for example by the division between gerundive nominals and derived nominals, both formed from *V-ing*, first clearly laid out in the classic study of Chomsky (1970). Other examples include Fillmore’s (1965) clarification of the grammar of English indirect objects and my own work (Emonds 1985, ch. 2) accounting for the sharply different grammatical structures and distributions of English gerunds and infinitives.

With respect to the passives, the skeptic, taking perhaps comfort in tradition and a belief that nothing new can arise under the grammatical sun, will most likely propose that the indirect passive auxiliaries are simply main verbs with some kind of non-finite clausal complement, whose verb phrases are the long familiar direct passives with the peculiarity that they lack an overt auxiliary. To assist the skeptic, I lay out and then refute two logical possibilities: the sought for embedded non-finite clausal complement is *either an NP* (14) or *it is not* (15).

- (14) Kamila had / got [NP [NP the kitchen][VP redecorated (by her husband) last week]].
Kamila has had / gotten [NP [NP her car][VP stolen (by professional thieves)]]].

In (15), SC is *not* an NP.

- (15) Kamila had / got [SC [NP the kitchen][VP redecorated (by her husband) last week]].
Kamila has had / gotten [SC [NP her car][VP stolen (by professional thieves)]]].

In recent decades, generative grammar has spawned many advocates of embedded non-finite clauses that include overt NP subjects, i.e., structures as in (15). They have coined the term “small clause” (SC) for them, which can appropriately be used here.⁸

4.1 INDIRECT PASSIVES AS DIRECT PASSIVES INSIDE NPs?

I first discuss embedded NP structures as in (14). In fact, English has such structures, which are often called “reduced relative clauses”:

8. The a-theoretical nature of the term reflects the fact that it has found no place in any theory of well-motivated categories or their distribution. When arguably invalid justifications for Small Clauses are discarded (Emonds 2007, ch. 1), their only remaining motivation is a perhaps Platonic desire that subjects and predicates be the *sole* immediate constituents of some propositional node uniting them. The SC in (15) have just this role and in my view, no other.

- (16) [_{NP} [_{NP} The kitchen][_{VP} installed by that company]] still isn't paid for.
 Don't trust [_{NP} [_{NP} any car][_{VP} stolen by professional thieves]].
 Jiri will give [_{NP} [_{NP} the village][_{VP} visited by an EU inspector]] an excellent rating.
 They were worried about [_{NP} [_{NP} the patients][_{VP} treated by the new doctor]].

There is however a well known property of such reduced relatives inside NPs: they can modify *neither NPs headed by pronouns nor proper nouns*:

- (17) New kitchens cost a lot. * [_{NP} [_{NP} It][_{VP} installed by that company]] still isn't paid for.
 *Used cars are cheap, but don't trust [_{NP} [_{NP} them][_{VP} stolen by professional thieves]].
 *Jiri will give [_{NP} [_{NP} Pribice][_{VP} visited by an EU inspector]] an excellent rating.
 *They were worried about [_{NP} [_{NP} Jiri][_{VP} treated by the new doctor]].

However, indirect passives are fine with these object NPs, showing that their passive participles are *not* embedded inside DPs as reduced relative clauses:

- (18) The new kitchen cost a lot. Kamila had / got it installed by that company last week.
 They had two cars. Kamila actually saw / heard them stolen by professional thieves.
 Jiri is having / getting Pribice visited by an EU inspector.
 Kamila will soon want / need Jiri treated by the new doctor.

Furthermore, precisely because the passive participles in (18) are *not internal* to NPs of the proper nouns or pronouns they modify, these combinations cannot serve as NP subjects of a predicate (19), nor move as constituents (20):

- (19) *It installed by that company last week looks beautiful.
 *Pribice visited by an EU inspector became the proudest village in the region.
- (20) *It was [them / they stolen by professional thieves] that brought us the best profit.
 *[Jiri treated by the new doctor] got afterwards taken to the hospital.

There are therefore several constructions which show that indirect passives are *not* direct passives embedded inside NP objects of the transitive verbs *get*, *have*, *want*, *need*, *see* and *hear* as in (14). The only possibility that remains for assigning them status as embedded clauses is thus structures as in (15), where the embedded clauses are *not* NPs.

4.2 INDIRECT PASSIVES AS DIRECT PASSIVES INSIDE "SMALL CLAUSES"?

Possible transformational movement is the most basic and general test for detecting phrasal constituents (Ross 1967). Among movements, the syntactic "landing site" for movement with the fewest categorical restrictions (i.e., the most permissive test) seems to be the focus position in what Ross calls pseudo-cleft constructions. This position accepts *any widely recognized category of phrase*:

- (21) What Jiri didn't want was [_{NP} any pity / Rover barking at the neighbors].
 What I promised her was [_{IP} to take care of myself]. ("IP" = clause)
 What we arranged was [_{PP} for [_{IP} her to take care of herself]].
 What the girl felt was [_{AP} ashamed of herself].
 Where you should go is [_{PP} into the garden].
 What she should do now is [_{VP} trim the hedge].

Bracketed strings as in (15) fail even this very permissive diagnostic (22), for the fact is that *these putative "Small Clauses" never move* (Haegeman 1991, 545). The obvious conclusion seems to be that these constituents don't move because they don't exist, i.e., there are no SC categories as in (15).

- (22) *What Kamila had / got was the kitchen redecorated last week.
 *What Kamila has had / gotten is her car stolen by professional thieves.
 *What Kamila is seeing / hearing is the hedge trimmed by her daughter.
 *What Kamila will soon want / need is her infection treated by a new doctor.

Consequently, the passive participles in indirect passives are not direct passives embedded in small clauses; rather, they are simply VP sisters to passive auxiliaries, analogous to direct passives.

A second confirming argument that indirect passives are not inside small clauses is based on the distribution of English progressive aspect. It is well-known that *stative main verbs* (e.g., *contain, have, lack, like, love, need, owe, own, possess, want*, etc.) generally don't appear in the progressive:

- (23) Kamila was getting / *having an infection / a new hedge.
 Kamila is selling / using / *owning / *wanting another car.
 Our garden is providing / creating / *possessing / *needing more shade.

Thus, the restriction (24) holds for active verbs, and as seen in (25) for direct passives as well.

- (24) **Stative verb restriction:** Clauses the main verbs of which are stative cannot be progressive.

- (25) More shade is being / getting provided / created / *possessed / *needed by our garden.
 Another car is being / getting sold / used / *owned / *wanted by Kamila.

The restriction (24) itself, however, implies that the passive auxiliary with minimal content *be* is an exception: it differs from other uses of *be*, which as stative verbs cannot appear in the progressive:

(26) *The garden chairs are (*being) in the shade / old / our ugliest belongings.

Now the auxiliary with minimal content in indirect passives is *have*. If this use of *have* were a main verb with a small clause complement, it should like other stative verbs in (25) be ungrammatical in the progressive. But if *have* in indirect passives is simply the transitive counterpart to the passive auxiliary *be*, the progressive in these indirect passives should be acceptable. And in fact, it is:

(27) Kamila was having (an infection treated by her doctor / a new hedge planted by Jiri).

If the passive participles in indirect passives were (counter to my analysis) embedded small clauses as in (15), *have* in (27) would be a *stative main verb* and so should be unacceptable. So again, a prediction of the small clause analysis is simply not borne out.

Further, if these verbs were somehow exceptionally allowed to be “stative progressive” main verbs with small clause complements in (27), it should then make no difference if the embedded passive verbs are stative or not. But, it indeed does make a difference; the underlined verbs below cannot be stative. According to restriction (24) this means they are themselves the main verbs, exactly as I claim.

(28) Kamila had a new treatment ordered / *needed to cure the inflection.

Kamila wants another car bought / *owned to drive her daughter to school.

There is thus no escaping the conclusion that indirect passive clauses in English are *mono-clausal in exactly the same sense as are its direct passives*, as this section set out to prove.

5. THE ADJECTIVAL HEADS OF PASSIVE PARTICIPLE PHRASES AND THEIR INTERPRETATIONS

The participial suffix *-en*, used in all English passives, direct / indirect and verbal / adjectival, is of course itself a lexical item; its lexical entry must specify that it is a suffix on V. Moreover, as observed at the end of Section 3, *-en* is an A (Adjective), since its counterparts in structurally similar passives in other languages inflect (agree) like adjectives.

A passive suffix has one additional feature, call it φ , which sets it off from the active participle suffix, e.g., English *-ing*. This feature should express the essence of passive structures, i.e., that *some NP object of V+en in English must be an empty category*. That is, all English passives including passive adjectives (=adjectival passives; cf. Levin and Rappaport 1986) are based on one object NP in the VP being a trace of the subject NP (Emonds 2006).⁹

9. Spanish passives have this same requirement (imposed by the presence of φ). However, in languages which allow “impersonal passives” (e.g., French, German, Ukrainian), the feature φ on corresponding

Formally, the feature φ of *-en* is an “alternatively realized” syntactic feature of an *object noun phrase sister* of the participial adjective whose internal structure is $[_A V - [_A -en]]$.

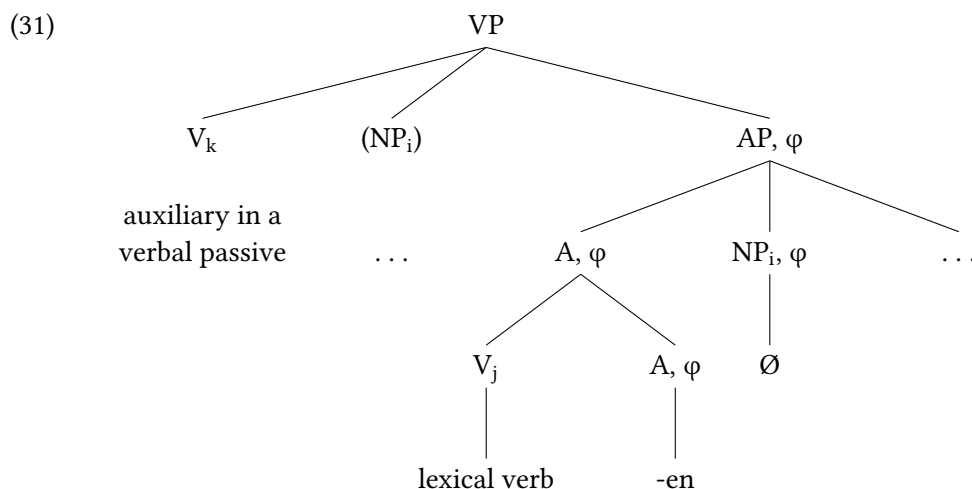
- (29) **Alternative Realization:** A syntactic feature F that is interpreted on a category α can be “alternatively realized” elsewhere in a closed class item under β , provided that *projections of α and β are sisters*.

In passive structures, a nominal feature F (of gender and number in languages where adjectives agree) of the object NP ($= \alpha$) is also alternatively realized under the word-internal head A ($= \beta$); as required, the participle A and this NP are sister constituents.

Thus a full lexical entry (30) for the passive inflection *-en* is arrived at. Since Alternatively Realized features are syntactic, and so are A and the context feature $+V_$, the lexical entry for the suffix *-en* turns out to have *no purely semantic feature*. Consequently but not surprisingly, the passive participle inflection *-en*, like the passive auxiliaries, is also *in the Syntacticon* (10).

- (30) **Lexical entry for all English passive participles:** *-en*, A , $V_$, φ

Putting together everything established up to this point leads to the structure (31) for English passive participles, no matter which passive construction they appear in. The higher NP is absent in direct (classically discussed) passives, but present in indirect passives. The interpretable position of φ is on NP, while on A and AP it is in an alternatively realized position.



The rest of this study requires at least a rough outline of the differences between verbal passives, which have been the sole focus up to this point, and the structurally related

passive morphemes *can be optional* (= parenthesized). In these languages, if (their version of) *-en* is inserted but φ is not chosen, *no empty object NP results*. Rather, the subject NP is an expletive, and lexical object NPs remain “in situ” (Sobin 1985).

adjectival passives (= the “derived passive adjectives” of traditional grammar). At the “pronounced” level of a derivation of a sentence, widely termed Phonological Form (PF), both types of passives in fact have the same morphology in English, French, German and Spanish (though there are some differences in Czech and Russian; cf. Schoorlemmer 1995 and Veselovská and Karlík 2004). In all these languages, the basic difference between them is at the “interpreted” level of a derivation, called Logical Form (LF).

In both verbal and adjectival passives, the participial AP is an interpretable unit (“phase”). A domain is defined as “phasal” if it is interpreted in LF as soon as the *syntactic* derivation of that domain is complete. The interpretation of passive participle APs, as either *verbal* (an activity) or *adjectival* (a property), depends on whether *-en* is inserted in trees *before or after the AP is sent to Logical Form (LF)*.

In more general terms, this study’s theory of lexical insertion is based on a *bifurcated lexicon*, whereby Syntacticon items (10) have privileges of insertion into trees that are completely unavailable to open class items. Namely:

- (32) **Syntactic Insertion:** Syntacticon items like *-en* and *have*, *get*, etc. can be inserted *before* syntactic derivations of a phase begins (like open class items), or unlike them *during* derivations. In both cases, their syntactic features are available for being interpreted.
- (33) **Late or PF Insertion:** A Syntacticon item *with no interpretable feature* is inserted *after a phasal domain is sent to LF* and is then no longer available for being interpreted.

Now the entry (30) of *-en* has only one interpretable feature, namely A itself.¹⁰ In general, the interpretation of A is that of “a property.” This interpretation is precisely what is lacking in verbal passives; they describe actions but not properties. So there must exist some mechanism that makes the property interpretation of the passive *-en* “not available” in LF. I propose to express this by *parentheses around a lexical entry’s grammatical category*.

- (34) **Polyfunctional lexical entry for the English passive participle:** *-en*, (A), V____, φ

These parentheses don’t mean “the category is optional.” Rather, they indicate that insertion of the item can “wait” until *the parenthesized category is no longer available for LF*. This device thus can express the marked “polyfunctional behavior” of *-en* in passives as either adjectival (expression off a property) or verbal (no property expressed); cf. Schoorlemmer (1995). As she observes, relatively few morphemes are polyfunctional, i.e., optionally interpreted, in this sense.

The absence of a lexical entry *-en* under the head A during the syntactic and interpretive derivation of a verbal passive clause can explain the well-known syntactic

10. As stated in (29), alternatively realized features such as the feature φ on A are not interpretable, nor are context features such as V____. Thus, gender and number features are interpreted only on D, but not on items that agree with D (Chomsky 1965, ch. IV).

differences between verbal and adjectival passives. Most of these are introduced and discussed in Wasow (1977).

- (35) In *verbal passive phrases*, the head A is still empty (invisible) in syntax; therefore:
- a. Agent *by*-phrases, generally impossible with adjectives, become possible.
 - b. Items that modify only adjectives (*too*, *very*, *so*, negative *un-*, etc.) are unavailable.
 - c. The subject NP in verbal passives can correspond to *any* surface object in an active verb phrase, such as indirect objects.¹¹
 - d. Verb-object idioms survive in verbal passives because no head (e.g., adjectival *-en*) intervenes between them in LF.

The main question that remains is, why cannot intransitive or transitive *open class verbs* that select an AP complement (e.g., *feel*, *appear*, *remain*, *consider*, *declare*, *judge*) select a verbal passive, like the Syntacticon verbs that serve as auxiliaries in indirect passives?

- (36) **Still to be answered query:** Why does the “late insertion” property of the passive suffix *-en* limit it to being *selected only by Syntacticon (grammatical) verbs*?

A syntactic framework that provides an answer to (36) needs to specify how lexical insertions of open and closed class items differ in their ordering, i.e., how “late inserted” items from the Syntacticon, using (33), can select a phrase, here a verbal passive AP, *after* it is sent to Logical Form without *-en*. A possible answer is spelled out in “Indirect Passives and the Selection of English Participles” (Emonds, forthcoming).

6. INDIRECT PASSIVES ARE NOT ADJECTIVAL PASSIVES

Section 4 has shown that English indirect passives cannot be reduced to direct (traditional) passives that are further embedded, either as reduced relatives or as some type of non-nominal “small clause.” Even so, skeptical readers may still harbor a hope that indirect passives are nonetheless “something else” familiar from grammatical tradition. Along these lines, the indirect passives as in (4)–(5) are perhaps instances of the adjectival passives introduced in the preceding section.

This last section will show, by briefly discussing the differences (35) between verbal and adjectival passives, that the skeptic’s hope is in vain; English indirect passives are decisively verbal and not adjectival.

11. Thus, an English verbal passive can modify what would be an indirect object in an active clause, and the overt direct object then remains inside the participle. This configuration is impossible in adjectival passives; see section 6.3, because adjectives in general reject (= can’t assign accusative case to) direct objects. Fillmore (1965) demonstrates the correlations with a range of examples.

6.1 AGENT BY-PHRASES

Open class transitive verbs like *declare*, *find* and *call* take secondary predicate APs. Since they are not Syntacticon members, these APs cannot be verbal passive participles. Therefore, these AP complements cannot contain agent phrases, as stated in (35a).

- (37) Kamila found her garden so overwatered (*by Jiri).
 The tax office declared the bonus unearned (*by the new coach).
 You will find this dish less / too salted (*by the substitute cook).
 Many customers called our product well made (*by the local supplier).

This paradigm contrasts with *the freely occurring post-verbal agent phrases* in indirect verbal passives in (4) and (5).

6.2 ADJECTIVAL MODIFIERS

The adjectival passives in (37) are already constructed with A-modifiers such as *so*, *un-*, *less*, *too* and *well*. By (35b) in contrast, such modifiers in indirect (or direct) verbal passives are unacceptable:

- (38) Kamila shouldn't have her infection (*un)treated by that doctor.
 The players had / heard insults (*too) shouted at them by the impatient fans.
 Many customers got / wanted samples (*well) handed to them personally.
 You may see / need your receipts (*less) put into the right drawers.

6.3 VERBAL PASSIVES BASED ON INDIRECT OBJECTS

A salient property of adjectival passives (35c) (Wasow 1977) is that the subjects of verbal passives can correspond to an indirect object of an active clause (39a), while the subjects of adjectival passives cannot (39b):

- (39) a. Jiri was / got sent a radio last week.
 New customers won't be / get handed too many leaflets.
 b. *Jiri sounded / became sent a radio for his birthday.
 *Some new customers felt / looked handed too many leaflets.

The same contrast is found in indirect passives. *Overt direct object NPs*, italicized in (40), can remain inside passive phrases, in addition to passivized indirect objects represented with traces t_i :

- (40) Jiri had / got / saw Kamila_i offered t_i *a bouquet of flowers*.
 The manager {saw / wanted} new customers_i handed t_i *enough leaflets*.
 The players had / wanted / heard the coach_i promised t_i *a big bonus*.
 They might see / want their children_i prepared t_i *more tasty snacks*.

But like adjectives generally, adjectival passive phrases do not accept such a second NP:

- (41) *Jiri found / noticed Kamila offered a bouquet of flowers.
 *The manager declared / judged new customers handed enough leaflets.
 *The players considered / imagined the coach promised a big bonus.
 *They might notice / picture their children prepared more tasty snacks.

Instead, adjectival passives always modify noun phrases that correspond to *active clause direct objects* (Levin and Rappaport 1986).

- (42) Jiri found / noticed a bouquet of flowers_i offered t_i to Kamila.
 The players considered / imagined the big bonus_i offered t_i to the coach.
 They might notice / picture more tasty snacks_i prepared t_i for their children.

6.4 VERB-OBJECT IDIOMS LIMITED TO VERBAL PASSIVES

Finally, both direct and indirect verbal passives as in (43) tolerate direct objects that are parts of a verb-object idiom, as stated in (35d). Corresponding adjectival passives as in (44) are ill-formed.

- (43) Too much advantage was / got taken of our staff.
 We had / saw too much advantage taken of our staff.
 More attention should be paid to safety concerns.
 The new guests wanted / needed more attention paid to safety concerns.
- (44) *Too much advantage remained / looked taken of our staff.
 *We judged / declared too much advantage taken of our staff.
 *More attention stayed / sounded paid to safety concerns.
 *The new guests believed / imagined more attention paid to safety concerns.

On the basis of the four well established tests of (35a)–(35d) that distinguish two types of English passives, it can be safely concluded that *indirect passives of (4)–(5) are not adjectival passives*. Rather, they are verbal in precisely the same sense as are traditional direct passives formed with *be* and *get*.

7. CONCLUSION: THE PRIMACY OF SYNTACTIC GENERALIZATIONS

In general then, the English passive structures exemplified in (4)–(5) and elsewhere in this study are a previously unrecognized type of mono-clausal verbal passive. These “indirect passives” taken together with traditionally described English passives (formed with *be* and *get*) bring to the fore a question (36) that has hitherto remained unformulated. As long as the only verbal passives studied were formed with one or

two auxiliaries (*be* and *get*), traditional grammar considered this limitation as natural as saying, e.g., English has only one or two future auxiliaries (*will* and *shall*). But in the case of modals, generative grammar has shown that the syntactically interesting class of auxiliaries, the modals, contains a dozen members, not two, and that only a more sophisticated syntactic theory, *in which item-particular semantics becomes secondary*, can properly express the behavior of modals, including as special cases those that express the future.

Similarly, the demonstrated existence of seven rather than two passive auxiliaries calls for a more formal conception of passive structures, again less dependent on semantics. In particular, such a theory has the immediate task of explaining why only seven grammatical verbs (= those lacking purely semantic features) can take passive participle VP complements in English, while hundreds of open class verbs can take active participle VP (*V-ing*) complements.

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THE STATUS OF THE ENGLISH PARTICLE *NOT* AND THE NEGATIVE ADVERB *NEVER*

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ABSTRACT: The paper compares the English clausal negators *not* and *never*, focusing on the problem of characterizing the constituency of the negative particle *not*. It summarizes the traditional criteria for the categorial classification of *not* and *never*, as these are the two basic formal means of clausal negation in English, and in some contexts they can be used as functional equivalents. Then it provides an analysis of these elements in a current generative framework. The study argues that although *not* is a head of a negative “polarity projection” (ΣP) in both clausal and phrasal negation structures, the lexical item *not* is not merged in the tree in the same way. Phrasal negation is a structure adjoining a ΣP headed by “*not*” to another phrasal constituent, while clausal negation is the merger of a Σ head “*not*,” which projects the clause into ΣP. This distinction is able to explain the intervention effect of *not* on verbal morphology. The study also uses the notion of late insertion of grammatical elements, which is the reason why the so called particle *not* can have head-like characteristics even though it is adjoined as a maximal projection ΣP.

KEYWORDS: clausal negation; constituent negation; English negative *not*; *never*; late insertion; Sigma projection

1. THE PROBLEM: CATEGORIAL AND CONSTITUENT CLASSIFICATION OF *NOT* AND *NEVER*

The paper provides a detailed comparison of the English negative particle *not* and the negative adverb *never* with the aim of explaining the mixed behavior of the negator *not*. The problem is illustrated in the following paragraphs. The examples show that the ‘particle’ *not* (contrary to the adverb *never*) shows characteristics of a syntactic head but at the same time does not so obviously project to a corresponding phrase.

The examples in (1) introduce a frequently discussed distinction contrasting *never* and *not*. It concerns the distribution of the English present tense agreement morpheme, which signals the relation between a subject (*John* : 3.sg.) located in a left peripheral position of a clause and the verbal element that can carry the bound morpheme -s. In English, this agreement morphology can sometimes be dislocated to the right, onto the lexical verb (‘affix hopping’) – in (1) to the verb *read*.

- (1) The ‘Intervention Effect’ of *not* vs. its absence with *never*
- a. *John do-es not read many books.* (no stress on *does*)
 - a’. **John do-es never read many books.* (improves to ? with *does* stressed)
 - b. **John not read-s many books.*
 - b’. *John never read-s many books.*
 - c. *Does John not read many books?*
 - c’. *Does John never read many books?*

Notice that in (1b) the negator *not* prevents affix hopping, contrary to *never* in (1b'). The example shows that the intervening negative 'particle' *not* does not permit finite verbal inflection to follow it, i.e., to get from the subject / tense to the lexical verb.

The above described empirical fact is usually explained by some vague notion like 'the requirement of *Do*-support' for structures containing *not*, given the grammaticality of (1a). *Do*-support, however, is at best a descriptive generalization, and in a more general perspective it is rather unfortunate, because it requires the separate listing of many English structures that also 'require *Do*-support,' even though they do not involve *not*.¹

It would be even worse to try to relate the rule of *Do*-support to the negator *not* since it would moreover contradict the fact that many structures containing the negator *not* do not require any *Do*-support, as in the examples (of phrasal negation) below.

- (2) a. *John cooks **not** in the garden **but** in the kitchen.*
 b. *The car looks **not** blue **but** red.*
 c. *I want **not** to sleep **but** to study.*

Assuming any of the generative proposals for bound morphology, the kind of intervention of *not* as in (1) is a signal of the 'headedness' of *not*. However, if *not* were a head X, the generalized phrasal projection scheme $X \rightarrow XP$ predicts that it should project into a *not*-phrase. This, however, is not the case. This is demonstrated in examples (2) and (3):

- (3) a. [_{DP} *The man*] and [_{DP?} **not** [_{DP} *the woman*]] arrived late.
 b. [_{DP} *The man*] and [_{DP?} **even** [_{DP} *the woman*]] arrived late.
 c. [_{DP} *The man*] and [_{DP?} **also** [_{DP} *the woman*]] arrived late.
 d. * [_{DP} **No** *mother*] and [_{DP?} **not even** [_{DP} *the children*]] arrived late.

Both (2) and (3) show that the categorial label of the constituent does not change to some kind of NegP by adding a negator *not*, and that this puzzling property is not the characteristic of only *not*. The phrases [_{XP?} *not / even / also* [_{DP} *the woman*]] in (3) cannot be *not / even / also*-phrases because one cannot expect that anything but DP can be coordinated with the DP [_{DP} *the man*].²

2. TRADITIONAL CLASSIFICATION: STARTING WITH MORPHOLOGY

Although this paper concentrates on the constituency characteristics (complexity) of *not* compared with *never*, more traditional frameworks do not discuss such classification in any detail. Therefore, I will first sketch traditional criteria for the categorial

1. The conceptually implausible characteristic of *Do*-support is already mentioned in Chomsky (1957).

2. For a thorough discussion of focus particles such as *even / also*, see Aoyagi (1998) and references cited there. The author shows that they cannot be so easily analyzed as heads, although they have some head behavior: English focus particles usually precede the phrase they modify, while in head-final Japanese, their counterparts follow such phrases.

classification of *not* and *never*, since these are the two basic formal means of English clausal negation, which in some contexts can be used as functional equivalents. Then, I will give an analysis of these elements in a current generative framework. I will argue that though *not* is a head of a negative polarity projection in both (1) and (3), the two structures are distinct, and this distinction is able to explain why *not* can have head-like characteristics in (1) but not in (2) and (3).³

According to, e.g., Dušková (2006, 156–60), adverbs are generally characterized as a *heterogeneous* part of speech divided with respect to their morphology as in (4).⁴

- (4) a. **primary**: no suffix (*here, there*) – possibly a closed class of items
 b. **derived**: a suffix (*glad-ly, clock-wise*)
 c. **compound**: fixed phrases, multiple stems (*up-wards, some-what*).

As for inflections, a prototypical Modifier of the category ‘A’ (i.e., adverb as well as adjective) can be graded, when scalar. In English the grading is done either synthetically using the suffix *-er* for comparative and *-est* for superlative, or by means of periphrasis, using *more / most* for comparative / superlative forms.

2.1 MORPHOLOGICAL PROPERTIES OF *NEVER* AND *NOT*

Assuming the above morphological classification, the adverb *never* belongs to the group of primary adverbs, because it can neither be divided into a stem and a derivational suffix nor into two independent stems. According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 566), however, *never*, together with *nor / neither*, ranks among adverbs derived from the primary adverbs *ever / or / either* with the use of the initial morpheme *n-* expressing negation. Onions (1995, 608) traces the etymology of the adverb *never* back to two elements:

- (5) Onions (1995, 608)
 (A) *na* + *æfre* → (B) *no* + *ever* → (C) *no* reduction → *n* + *ever*.

As for grading inflection, *never* is a time adverb expressing zero frequency, and as such it is not scalar and cannot be graded.

As for the negative particle *not*, Onions (1995, 604, 615) claims it is also a kind of compound element. Diachronically the form *not* goes back to the Old English word *nawiht*, which meant *nothing* (*na-* being the negative element, *-wiht* meaning *thing*,

3. Most English sentences in this paper are taken from standard grammatical reference books on English as well as from the British National Corpus (BNC). For the ungrammatical structures I respect native speakers' evaluations.

4. Huddleston (2006, 566–67) gives a similar classification, adding some derived adverbs with the prefix *a-*, the suffix *-less*, and irregular forms of numerals: *once, twice, thrice*. Contrary to Dušková (2006, 160–61) he also lists among compound forms *almost, already, also, always, anyhow, somewhat*, etc., which she classifies as primary adverbs

creature, or *being*). This Old English form was later superseded by derived *naught* and this derivation was later shortened to *not*.⁵

(6) Onions (1995, 615)

(A) *na* + *wiht* → (B) *naught*, → (C) *no* + *t* (=thing)

Concluding these facts, diachronically one could list *not* as well as *never* among compounds consisting of the negative word *no* and some positive element. In the case of *never*, the composition *not* + *ever* is still relatively transparent, whereas with *not* there is no synchronic signal of the fact that it developed from the negative *no-* and the positive element *-thing*. Their external form, starting with (a prefix?) *n-* or *no-*, furnishes their negative meaning, and as such they could both (*never* and *not*) be interpreted as a part of a composed form. Still, as for their categorial nature, the presence of a negative prefix cannot be related to any specific category / part of speech in English, as the following forms in (7) demonstrate.

(7) a. *un-believable*, *im-possible*, *non-sensical*

b. *no-thing*, *n-one*, *no-body*

c. *no-where*, *n-either*, *n-or*, *n-o*, *n-ope* (colloquial), *n-ary* (archaic)

Therefore synchronically, both *never* and *not* are non-derived words. With respect to the category of adverbs, they both can be ranked among primary adverbs. As for their inflection, neither *never* nor *not* are scalar, and therefore cannot be graded.

(8) a. **never-er*, **never-est*, **more never*, **most never*

b. **not-er*, **not-est*, **more not*, **most not*

Thus, comparing them in terms of their internal morphological structure, *never* and *not* are in no way distinct. In standard English grammar manuals the distinction between *never* and *not* is usually stated rather as a distinction in 'function' or 'meaning': *never* is a full-meaning (lexical) word while *not* is synsemantic and non-lexical / functional. I will address both meaning and function in the following sections.

3. SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION

Assuming that categorial classification can also be based at least partly on semantics, there is no doubt that adverbs belong to the category of modifiers. Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 562) state that adverbs are most characteristically used to alter, clarify and adjust the meanings of verbs.

Adverbs can be both concrete and abstract and in their meaning can be divided into several more basic categories. Biber et al. (1999) give a semantic classification of seven groups of adverbs as in (9); the adverb *never* and its label are bold and underlined in the list.

5. *Naughty* is today connected with a different meaning, namely *disobedient*, *morally bad*.

- (9) Semantic classification of adverbs (Biber et al. 1999, 552–59)
- a. Adverbs of place (position, direction, or distance): *here, clockwise, far*.
 - b. **Adverbs of time** (time position, frequency, duration, time relationship): *now, always / never, still, already*.
 - c. Adverbs of manner: *quickly, safely*.
 - d. Adverbs of degree: (a) adverbials (*completely*) and (b) modifiers: amplifiers / intensifiers (*absolutely*), and diminishers / downtoners (*almost*).
 - e. Additive and restrictive adverbs: *too, only*.
 - f. Stance / epistemic adverbs: *probably, unfortunately, frankly*.
 - g. Linking / cohesion adverbs: adverbs of enumeration and addition (*firstly*), summation (*altogether*), apposition (*namely*), result / inference (*therefore*) contrast / concession (*however*), and transition (*now*).

Quirk et al. (1995, 490) also use semantic criteria to divide distinct kinds of adverbs. In fact they do so in even more detail, since they divide the group of Biber's time adverbs of frequency in (9b) into two subgroups, each of which is further subdivided.

(10) **Adverbs of time** (Quirk et al. 1995)

- (i) Adverbs of definite frequency:
 - a. period frequency: *weekly*
 - b. time frequency: *three times a year*.
- (ii) Adverbs of indefinite frequency:
 - a. usual occurrence: *normally*
 - b. continual frequency: *incessantly*
 - c. high frequency: *often, frequently*
 - d. low or zero frequency: *seldom, rarely, never*.

Looking at the lists above, it is rather clear that with respect to their semantics, the category of adverbs is a highly varied category. The sub-classification (the number of kinds of adverbs) varies and seems to depend on the space and time limits of a specific author and / or given grammar manual. Therefore, as far as it is open to discussion, nothing contradicts the claim that both *never* and *not* are members of some group in the more or less detailed sub-classification of the category of adverbs. In the next section I am going to summarize more details about the meaning of *never* and *not*.

3.1 SEMANTIC PROPERTIES OF *NEVER* AND *NOT*

Sinclair (1990, 210) comments that “*never* says that something was not, is not and will not be.” Compared with other indefinite time adverbs, *never* represents one extreme point on a theoretical scale with *always* being its opposite on the other end of the scale.

- (11) A. When/How often have you visited Prague when in Europe?
 B. – *Always./Often./Frequently./Sometimes./Rarely./Never.*

Claiming that *never* in fact intensifies the meaning of the following element and thus stresses the importance of it, Quirk et al. (1995, 456) further sub-classify *never* as a negative *minimizer* (i.e., a *downtoner*) and demonstrate this with the following example (12).

- (12) *You will never catch the train tonight.*
 → *You will not under any circumstances catch the train tonight.*

Contrary to *never*, which is always is considered to be a full-meaning word (in the category of adverbs), *not* is usually classed with **functional** elements having little or no meaning, but fulfilling a certain function. In other words, *not* lacks auto-semantic (full) meaning characteristics. Its synsemantic nature is illustrated in (13), which demonstrates that *not* cannot be used as an answer to a question *When/How often* analogically to the lexical adverb *never*. Compare this with (11).

- (13) A. When/How often have you visited Prague when in Europe?
 B. – *Never./ *Not.*

Given its functional nature, *not* is often called a ‘particle’ which, rather than revealing its categorial nature, reflects the fact that it does not seem to easily fall into any traditional part of speech easily. Nonetheless, Quirk et al. (1995, 432) propose that *not*, which can be called a ‘negator,’ is to be ranked among **negative restrictive adjuncts**, the scale of which depends on its position – and this function is standardly indicated by adverbs. Similarly, Anderwald (2002, 17), referring to the position of *not*, explicitly calls it an adverb. He states that when an adverb *not* is placed between the first Mod./ Aux and the following VP, it gets a clausal scope and should be therefore classified as a special category, ‘*negator*.’

To conclude: In the classification of adverbs based on semantics, *never* falls clearly into the category of time adverbs (9b) of indefinite (zero) frequency (10ii/d), and is also labeled a downtoner and minimizer. As for *not*, no data disallow the classification proposed in Section 2.1, i.e., the claim that *not* is a kind of adverb, too. The category of adverbs clearly tolerates a huge variation in semantics and *not*, which is a ‘*negator*,’ can easily be ranked among adverbs with non-lexical meaning. Above all, the synsemantic characteristics of *not* (and in many ways also of *never*, especially when only semantics is considered) make these expressions similar to most functional words or to their grammaticalized lexical entries.

It must be stressed here that the distinction between auto-semantic (lexical) and synsemantic (functional) characteristics cannot be used in any trivial way as an argument for a categorial distinction, because all existing categories contain both lexical and

non-lexical members. Moreover, lexical vs. non-lexical characteristics, though usually explained as a kind of semantic distinction, can hardly be demonstrated using other than syntactic arguments, e.g., like (13) above, which utilize the contrasting distributions of *never/not*. I will look more closely at the syntactic characteristics of *not/never* in the next section.

4. SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS

Discussions of a syntactic classification of a specific expression deal with (i) its **selection** (combinatorial properties) and / or (ii) its **distribution** in general (above all, its positioning with respect to other categories). I will describe the former here in Section 4 and the latter in Section 5, assuming the above proposed classification of *never* and *not* as adverbs.

4.1 SYNTAGMATIC RELATIONS OF ADVERBS

According to Quirk et al. (1995) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002), adverbs are used mostly in the functions of adverbials, and adverbials can be divided into those which are and those which **are not incorporated** in the sentence structure. In the grammar manuals cited above, the terminology concerning the syntax of adverbials is huge and as rich as the corresponding terminology used for their semantic classification.

Considering the category of the superordinate element, the clause-incorporated adverbs are above all **verbal** (circumstantial) adverbials. These are optional (peripheral) elements related to the verbs (adverbials expressing manner, place, frequency, etc.).⁶ Adverbs can also appear, however, in the function of **modifiers** of constituents other than V(P). The list with examples in (14) is taken mostly from Quirk et al. (1995, 270–333).⁷

(14) adverbial ‘modifiers’ (non-verbal superordination)

a. AdjP pre- / post-modification:

*She got used to a well **balanced** diet.*

*The road was not **long** enough for the plane to land.*

6. Huddleston and Pullum (2006, 576) divide adverbs with respect to their position and meaning into VP-oriented adverbs and clause-oriented adverbs. Quirk (1995, 268) divides adverbs into three categories: (i) **Adjuncts** (sentence members that are incorporated into the structure of a clause and are related to the verb), (ii) **Disjuncts** (they express the attitude of the speaker and they apply to the whole proposition), and (iii) **Conjuncts**, which have a connective function. Biber (1999, 548) ranks among the clause non-incorporated adverbs above all the groups of **stance (modal) adverbials** providing information about the speaker’s / writer’s attitude toward the whole proposition (*unfortunately, curiously*) and **linking (connective) adverbials** (*however*).

7. Apart from modifiers, Quirk (1995, 438–39) distinguishes a special group of intensifiers that do not modify but intensify the meaning of clause constituents they precede, i.e., they have either a heightening or lowering effect. He further subdivides the intensifiers into: (i) **emphasizers** (e.g., *definitely*), (ii) **amplifiers and maximizers** (e.g., *completely*), and **boosters** (e.g., *very much*), and (iii) **downtoners**: **compromisers** (e.g., *kind of*), **diminishers** (e.g., *partly*), **minimizers** (e.g., *hardly*), and **approximators** (e.g., *almost*).

- b. AdvP pre-modification:
*She visited me almost **immediately** after you had left.*
- c. Pronoun pre-modification:
*Nearly **everybody** came to our party.*
- d. (Wh)Pronoun post-modification:
***What** else do you have? (BNC: HE6 91)*
- e. Numeric pre-modification:
*Roughly **four percent** of the population are homosexual.*
- f. Noun pre-modification:
*... the then **school minister** Fallon (BNC: K4N 132)*
- g. P(P) pre-modification:
*Their footsteps could be heard directly **above** my head.*

Even a brief excursion into the typology of adverbial functions shows clearly that adverbs / adverbials are really **multifunctional modifiers** appearing in a vast number of contexts. On the other hand, not each individual adverb can combine with a full list of categories mentioned above, e.g., *almost* is quite versatile and can modify anything apart from nouns; *very*, on the other hand, is less flexible and can modify only AdjP, AdvP, but not verbs, nouns or clauses. In the following sections I will demonstrate the variety of functions of *not/never* with respect to their superordinate and subordinate elements.

4.2 SYNTAGMATIC RELATIONS OF *NEVER/NOT*

Given that the grammar manual authors allow combinations of adverbs with literally anything, both *never* and *not* could certainly be classified in some of their many groups. This is true especially for *never*, which standardly does get into the list of at least one kind of adverbial.

According to Huddleston and Pullum's (2002) criteria, the adverb *never* belongs to modifiers that primarily modify verbs. Biber et al. (1999, 548) locate *never* among **circumstance adverbials**. The primarily adverbial function of the adverbs is also confirmed with a brief corpora check: Spurná (2011) demonstrates that out of fifty clauses containing the adverb *never*, forty-six contain *never* as a modifier of a verb as in (15), where the verbs can be finite or non-finite.

- (15) a. *Comacina never recovered from the beating.* (BNC: ANB 90)
- b. *Indeed when the time came to leave Germany I made a mental decision never to return.* (BNC: EA8 49)
- c. *Dinah had always disliked and resented her, never forgetting the pain caused by her birth.* (BNC: CD2 2037)

Apart from being related to verbs/predicates, *never* can appear in some other 'adverbial' functions, but rarely. Out of the fifty tokens in her corpus, Spurná (2011)

finds a *never* that serves as an intensifier of an AdvP (16a) and another in an unusual appositive (16b). She further considers that *never* in the two clauses in (16c) is not modifying verbs, but these instances clearly do modify the preceding main verb copulas of their clauses.

- (16) a. [. . .] *Kate, under his spell as never before, could feel* [. . .]. (BNC: HGM 2324)
 b. *Never mine she always remained in my memory.*
 c. [. . .] *I was never quite sure where it was all going* [. . .]. (BNC: CH8 136)
There's never a minute when he's in the house that [. . .]. (BNC: HWE 677)

Quirk et al. (1995) state that *never* belongs among **adjuncts**, which means elements incorporated into the structure of the clause, and (17) show that it fulfils all their conditions for adjuncts: (i) *never* is standardly non-initial, (ii) it is related to the verb (not separated by a comma or intonation), and (iii) it can be contrastive.

- (17) a. *He had never shown impatience or eagerness again.* (BNC: G1M 1980)
 b. *Does he usually or never get up so early?*
 c. *It was now or never.* (BNC: CR6 650)

Turning now to **not**, with respect to the same criteria for adverbs, i.e., (i) incorporation into the structure and (ii) function, (18a) illustrates how *not* can be **incorporated** into clause structure and also be an element related to the verb. Another criterion of Quirk et al. (1995, 269) takes adjuncts as elements that can be contrasted (with another adverbial either in an interrogative clause or a negative clause). *Not* can serve this function when an elliptical negative clause is contrasted with a positive clause as in (18b).

- (18) a. *He had not shown impatience or eagerness again.*
To be or not to be is a question.
 b. *Is he coming or not?*
A student can stay here but not with his girlfriend.

As for its *function*, most manuals do not discuss the function of *not* in the same way as they do for the adverbs (including *never*), i.e., they do not classify *not* according to the constituents it can 'modify.' However, the same aspects are usually implicitly discussed in other sections, most of all in sections dealing with negation. Considering the data, *not* is (like other adverbs) a very versatile modifier. It can certainly be related to verbs / predicates. When related to a verb / predicate, *not* takes scope over the relevant proposition and forms a clausal (grammatical) negation. Compare the examples of *not* in (19) with *never* in (15).

- (19) a. *Comacina did not recover from the beating.* (BNC: ANB 90)
 b. . . . *when the time came to leave Germany I made a mental decision not to return.*
 c. *Dinah had always disliked and resented her, not forgetting the pain caused by her birth.*

On the other hand, *not* is also a standard means for forming a partial negation in English.⁸ The particle *not* can be related to only phrasal constituents. In (20) are examples with NP, AdjP, AdvP and PP respectively; (20e) shows again that a VP can also be negated separately.⁹

- (20) a. *Mary but [not little John] can kind of help you, too.*
This was [not my enemy], [not the saint's enemy], [not the thief]
 (BNC: G0M 2094)
This contains 4 pints of very corrosive organic acid which only attacks living or organic items such as wood or leather, but [not metal or stone]. (BNC: CLK 338)
The pattern is er [not the white rose of York] but the rose of the incarnation or the rose of the Virgin Mary, Rosa Mundi. (BNC: JTE 560)
 b. *Either the skirt is bluish and [not green], or I am blind.*
 c. *It is here [not there].*
Tomorrow we're going to soft play [not today]. (BNC: KB8 11856)
 d. *I certainly can run down the hill but [not up the hill].*
 e. *He told me [not to ask questions like that].* (BNC: EE5 78)
[Not wishing to risk increasing instability], Franco adopted . . . (BNC: HPV 656)

The variety of possible phrasal negation structures with *not* is the same as the variety provided by other adverbial modifiers. Moreover, the standard terminology used in the context of partial negation states that *not* in (20) 'modifies' the constituents (is probably an adjunct). In other words, the terminology states that *not* negates (i.e., takes scope over) these constituents, which is a typical property of all other adjuncts, including *never*.

8. Partial negation does not mean lexical negation, however. English lexical negators are usually bound morphemes and do not have a form based on *not*, see, e.g., (7a).

9. Some apparent examples of phrasal / partial negation can plausibly be analyzed as ellipsis, and in this case *not* is used as a kind of proform (see, e.g., Quirk 1995,698); cf. also (18b).

i. *He is an abominable scoundrel. Yes, but not John.*

(= *Yes, but John is not an abominable scoundrel.*)

ii. *He bought Charlie, but not me, drinks.* (BNC: C8E 1818)

(= *He bought Charlie, but he didn't buy me, drinks.*)

Moreover, Sinclair (1990, 208) adds that there are also a few introductory verbs (e.g., *seem*, *wish*, *want*, . . .) that can be followed by an infinitive, such that whether one negates the introductory verb or the infinitive, the meaning remains the same.

iii. *He did not want to do it in front of the crowd.* (BNC: HTX 1235)

iv. *He wanted not to do it in front of the crowd.*

These examples are interesting but are not analyzed here.

Concluding then that they have similar functions, the syntagmatic properties of *never* and *not* can be set aside for the moment. But, I will return to address the internal hierarchical structures of the examples in (20) again in Section 6.1.

4.3 ELEMENTS SUBORDINATED TO *NEVER* / *NOT*

This section will show some indications that the elements *not* and *never* potentially head more complex projections. Assuming that their lexical entries are possible heads, one expects to find some kind of standard pre- and post-modification structures related to these entries.

The adverb *never*, though non-scalar and non-grading, can be *intensified* with a small number of adverbs. The BNC contains sixty examples of *never* intensified by *almost*, three with *hardly* and two examples with *nearly*. The examples from BNC are again mostly from Spurná (2011).

- (21) a. *I was *more / *less / *very never happy that Mary was driving a Opel.*
 b. *He almost never discussed his work with her.* (BNC: ASS 1719)
 c. *Why don't she hardly never look after David any more?* (BNC: KP4 884)
 d. *His work in the Sahara was recently included in a Sports Council exhibition that nearly never happened due to a last-minute decision.* (BNC: FBR 483)

In a search of corpora for post-modifications, the most frequent collocation of *never* was *never more*, which was found in the BNC in 156 cases. *Never* as a modifier of an AdvP appears most frequently as a part of the collocations *never ever* (204 examples in the BNC) and *never enough* (59 cases).

- (22) a. *His prolific imagination was never more happily displayed.* (BNC: GTH 110)
 b. *I can never ever touch another drink.* (BNC: CEN 2217)

As demonstrated above, the adverb *never* can co-occur with few modifiers, but all are typical for the category of adverbs / adjectives. Contrary to *never*, the negator *not* does not relate to any elements that would be analyzable as clearly subordinated only to *not*. Therefore, it is impossible to make any conclusion about its categorial characteristics based on the modifiers in its projection.

This poverty of modification, especially of the left side pre-modification, makes *not* and *never* similar to most functional words and grammaticalized lexical entries, but the same characteristic is also typical for, e.g., the whole category of prepositions. The lack of projectional properties of *not* and *never* will be returned to again in Section 6.1.

5. DISTRIBUTION OF ADVERBS

In a language like English, distribution is always a vital diagnostic for a categorial definition of an element. As for the category of adverbs considered here, Huddleston

and Pullum (2002) and Quirk et al. (1995) differentiate three main positions of adverbs. First of all there is the *initial/front position* 'I' of the adverb left of the subject. Then there is the *end/final position* 'E' after the verb and its dependents if there are any. The last position is the *central/medial one* 'M' between the subject and the verb. All of the standard adverb positions are illustrated in (23).

(23) **Adverb positions (linear)**

- a. I-position *Happily, it usually becomes over-cosy rather than frozen solid.* (BNC: AAF 97)
- b. M-position *Some women will happily abandon themselves to complete involvement in the role of 'mother,' for several years.*
(BNC: CCN 1336)
- c. E-position *Old ladies dabbed their eyes happily.* (BNC: BMD 419)

The authors cited above claim and demonstrate that (and to which extent) the position of an adverb is connected with its semantics, e.g., manner and location adverbs as well as most adjuncts (the VP-oriented adverbs) are related to the verb, and they favor the post-verbal or end E-position (inside the VP), as illustrated in (24).

- (24) a. *He took smoke into his lungs and exhaled slowly.* (BNC: BN1 1022)
- b. *You can see it right here.*

Disjuncts / Clause-oriented adverbs are connected to the VP more loosely and therefore are generally quite free with respect to their positions. See for example the position of the adverb *however* below, where its semantics is not much different in initial, middle or final position.

- (25) a. *However, this cover version . . . is really very good indeed.* (BNC: CK5 2736)
- b. *It is not, however, generally known . . .* (BNC: BM9 287)
- c. *It was still only relatively light damage, however.* (BNC: A67 591)

Apart from the three basic positions mentioned in (23), Quirk et al. (1995, 490) subdivide the medial (M) position into four sub-types given in (26) and exemplified in (27).¹⁰

- (26) a. M: between the operator (including the covert *do*) and the rest of the VP
- b. iM: initial medial position: immediately following the subject
- c. mM: medial medial position: after the Mod+Aux
- d. eM: end medial position: after the last Mod / Aux, preceding the lexical V

10. Quirk et al. (1995, 499) also subdivide the end E-position with more specific examples like:

- i. *She placed the book offhandedly on the table.*
- ii. *He said suddenly that he had earlier lost his temper.*

- (27) a. M-position: *I must really see her on Friday.*
 We (do) really know him quite well.
 b. iM-position: *He really didn't know anything about your situation.*
 She really is a bright student.
 c. mM-position: *The book must have really been placed in the wrong bookcase.*
 d. eM-position: *The book must have been really placed in the wrong bookcase.*

Their terminology betrays a kind of recognition that the immediate post-operator position is somehow the most basic M position. (In most generative treatments, in fact, this position is the 'left edge' of the English VP.)

Recall that Quirk et al. classify *never* as an indefinite frequency adverb (Section 3). Concerning this class, Quirk et al. (1985, 495) write that they can co-occur with each other in more complex hierarchical relationships.¹¹

- (28) a. *Normally, committee meetings are held infrequently.*
 b. *I have rarely knocked on his door a few times.*

To conclude this section, it appears that there is hardly any position in an English sentence where (some) adverbs would be excluded entirely, or where all adverbs would be permitted. The variety of distributions of adverbs can therefore hardly be used as an argument for a claim excluding either *never* or *not* from this category.

5.1 THE POSITIONS OF *NEVER*

The English negative adverb *never* stands most frequently between the first Mod / Aux and the rest of the VP, i.e., in the M-position. In a search of corpora for data, out of forty-six analyzed examples, *never* occurred in the M-position in forty-four cases, some of which are demonstrated in (29). The example in (29c) suggests that *never* can also precede the covert auxiliary *do*, i.e., it plausibly can also appear in the iM position as defined in (27) above.

- (29) M-positions of *never*
 a. *I have never been so scared in my life.* (BNC: CAH 273)
 b. *I never thought I had a chance.* (BNC: EFG 2236)
 c. *I never did go out without my insect repellent and waterproof sunblock.*
 (BNC: ASV 2652)

11. The adverbs in example (28) belong to the group of adverbs of indefinite frequency, along with *never* (Section 3). According to the hierarchy given in (10), the first one, *normally*, belongs to the subdivision (a), i.e., to adverbs of usual occurrence. The second adverb, *infrequently*, belongs to group (d), adverbs of low or zero frequency, which means that the first mentioned adverb lies higher in the potential hierarchy than the second one.

Looking at the total numbers, *never* occurs in 53,182 entries in the BNC. Out of this amount *never* occurs in eM position in only thirteen instances, eleven of which were in the collocation *would+have+never*. Some of the few overt examples with *never* in the iM position are reproduced below in (30a). For contrast, some of its mM and eM positions are given in (30b / c).

(30) xM-positions of *never*

a. iM-position:

Saving the world will not be cheap, but, security never has been cheap.

(BNC: AB6 1298)

b. mM-position:

Such stories would have never been published in the United Kingdom, for instance, where public officials can hide behind punitive laws of libel and press freedom is less assiduously protected. (BNC: EAY 359)

c. eM-position:

And without that, I would have never gotten to live the adventure of the past twelve months. (BNC: ECU 174)

Never and other negative adverbs (*nowhere, hardly*) can also be placed into initial I-position, and in this position they are among the few adverbs that cause verbs to invert.¹²

(31) I-position of *never*¹³

a. *Never has the burden of choice been so heavy.* (BNC: BNF 758)

b. *Never was I totally shocked in my voice.* (BNC: KBE 2518)

In some rare examples *never* was placed also in final / end E position, though most often this is a part of some fixed collocation.

(32) E-position of *never*

a. *Better late than never.* (BNC: B7G 2272)

b. *His eyes rested on her, and Folly knew that it was now or never.* (BNC: H8S 3168)

The distribution of *never* demonstrated in this sub-section seems to confirm an analysis taking *never* for a relatively standard clause-oriented, one-word temporal adverb expressing indefinite frequency.

12. The presence / absence of inversion in the above examples is related to the scope of the fronted negative element. While the fronted phrase [*pp in not many years*] in example (i) below (adapted from Klima 1964) introduces a clausal negation, the lack of inversion in (ii) allows interpretation of *never* only as a partial negation. (The scope of negation is signaled by a tag question.)

i. *In not many years will Christmas fall on Sunday, (will it?)* (=it rarely does; clausal negation)

ii. *In not many years Christmas will fall on Sunday, (won't it?)* (=soon it will; partial negation)

13. Sinclair (1990, 211) points out that *never* can also be found at the beginning of a clause in imperative structures which have no overt subject: *Never make the same mistake twice.*

5.2 THE POSITION OF *NOT*

With respect to its position in a clause, *not* can also be ranked among VP-oriented elements that often occur in central / middle position. Again consulting corpus data, Spurná (2011) states that she found 456,080 entries of *not* in the BNC. Looking at examples with the clausal scope of *not*, only eight examples were found in the eM position – mostly in the formal *would* + *have* + *not* as below. No examples were found in the mM or iM positions and none were found in the initial I-position either.

(33) *Violet would have not believed.* (BNC: BNC 1688)

The initial I-position demonstrated in (31) for *never* is excluded for *not* and for *-n't*, unless it is contracted and fused with Mod / Aux in a negative question as in (34c) or when *not* is a pre-determiner forming a negative subject NP (e.g., *not all*, *not every* . . . , *not everybody*, *not much*, *not many*, etc.) as in (34d).

- (34) a. *Has she not helped you?*
 b. *?? Has not she helped you?*
 c. *Hasn't she helped you?*
 d. *Not everythane had been left behind to act as a watchdog.* (BNC: HRC 1516)

To distinguish partial from clausal negation, the bound morpheme *-n't* can be used instead of *not*. The contrasting examples (35a) and (35b) demonstrate that the bound morpheme *-n't* cannot be used for phrasal negation; it serves exclusively as the signal of clausal scope.

- (35) a. *I (*not) **have** (not) been (?not) speaking (*not) English (*not).*
 b. *I (*n't) **have** (n't) been (*n't) speaking (*n't) English (*n't).*

The examples in this section demonstrate that to get a clausal scope, *not/n't* must be placed in the M-position. This distribution makes it fully comparable with the distribution of the adverb *never* discussed in Section 5.1.

5.3 A NOTE ABOUT PARTICLES

In all standard grammar manuals *never* is with no hesitation ranked among adverbs, either with indefinite (zero) frequency time adverbs, or alternatively among downtoners and minimizers. As for *not*, it cannot so easily be ranked among prototypical adverbs, given its non-lexical meaning. The authors avoid classification of *not* when discussing standard parts of speech and do not commit themselves to any choice, using various terms like *negator* or *particle*. These terms signal that the authors are indicating the specificity of *not*, which (compared with *never*) cannot stand in separation and is only 'functional,' i.e., lacks 'full meaning.' However, as mentioned already, other parts of speech / categories often

contain both lexical and non-lexical expressions, and therefore synsemantic characteristics should not prevent placement of *never* and *not* in the same category.

As for the classification as ‘particle’ – this category is used in some languages as one of the individual separate word categories. For example in Czech traditional linguistics, the category of Particles has been introduced into a standard list of parts of speech even in basic school education, and at a more scientific level it is described in detail in, e.g., Nekula (1996) or Grepl (1989). A close look at the lexical entries listed as particles, shows that such authors include all non-inflecting words with the exception of those which can be classified as adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions or interjections. In the category of Czech particles, moreover, there are specific labels for as many as ten sub-groups of particles (some including even more detailed divisions). The authors admit that the category of particles is highly varied, and the sub-groups simply list elements that lack bound morphology and therefore are not easy to classify in some more standard way.

In the English tradition, David Crystal in his encyclopedia defines particles as “Words [that] sit uneasily at the boundary between morphology and syntax,” and in another definition he explicitly gives *not* as a candidate for a particle status: “Particle (gram.): an invariable word with a grammatical function” (Crystal 1987, 427).

I therefore conclude that the category of ‘particles’ is a mere label with little if any content. It does not provide much information about the properties of its members, apart from the information that they are ‘problematic / non-matching’ members of other classes. In this sense, the English negator *not* is undoubtedly a good member of the ‘particle’ category as well.¹⁴

6. THE SIGMA PROJECTION

In a generative framework the categorial label is theoretically very important, but the variety of labels is much larger than in traditional linguistics. Various authors seem to introduce new labels related to many traditional categorial features, e.g., gender, number, etc., as well as labels not used before, e.g., CP, Specifier, DP, I and IP, AGR, FocP, etc. The list of generative categorial labels is still open at the moment, awaiting some more radical reformulation. The most recent general system of categories appears in Abney (1987), who adds to Chomsky’s lexical features $[\pm V]$ and $[\pm N]$ a ‘functional feature’ $[\pm F]$ which expresses the distinction between closely related functional and lexical expressions. This system would integrate most adverbs together with adjectives into a class ‘A’ (of modifiers).

Given the properties of *never* and *not* already discussed, it can be concluded that *never* and *not* belong to the same class (most likely A) with respect to their $[\pm V]$ and

14. The discussion in Section 5.3 may sound as if the author prefers the label ‘adverb’ to the label ‘particle.’ This is incorrect. The author believes that a traditional category of adverbs shares all the faults and weaknesses of the category of particles, i.e., they both lack clear defining criteria. The elements ranked among adverbs can better be re-distributed into other categories. Further discussion, however, would lead beyond the scope of this paper, which concentrates on constituents’ distributional characteristics, not their labels.

[±N] features. Moreover, *never* can be characterized by a [-F] feature, which gives it non-functional (lexical) properties, while *not* is [+F], i.e., a functional (non-lexical) category otherwise of the same nature as *never*. Using the [±F] feature seems to be not much different from the traditional labels, lexical vs. non-lexical. In the generative framework, however, the functional characteristics are typical of so called ‘functional heads’, which since the 1990s have been at the center of linguistic research. These include generally accepted categories like INFL / I / T (= Tense and Agreement) related to verbal finiteness, and D, used for the referential head Determiner of extended nominal projections.

Apart from a categorial label, a generative description would require a more precise analysis of the *position* of an element in a tree (i.e., its function in a hierarchical structure), which is important for both its distributional properties and its interpretation. In English, structural hierarchy can to a great extent be derived from the linear order, and as for clausal Negation (e.g., both *never* and *not*), its standard position is (as demonstrated in the preceding section) between the first Aux and the Verb. This position, paired with V (Verb), has been a central aspect of generative clause structure since Chomsky (1957), and has been relabeled as INFL, I and T as time has passed.

The position of clausal negation, crucially separating I(NFL) / T from the lexical V and VP, dates from Emonds (1978), and since then the more detailed analysis of Pollock (1989), has been widely accepted. It is used as a diagnostic for the position of verbal elements across languages.

In her 1990 PhD dissertation Itziar Laka introduced a special verbal functional head related to clausal polarity. She labeled this head Sigma: (Σ) and located it precisely between the functional head I(INFL) / T and V projection(s), i.e., *exactly in the M position of Quirk et al.* (26a). Laka claims that the Σ head has both positive and negative instantiations. The positive entry in English is represented by a zero morpheme following a stressed *do*, or *so / too* in, e.g., (36a), and the negative entry is represented in English by *not* in the example (36b).

- (36) a. Positive ΣP: *John did* [_{ΣP} Ø / *so / too* + [_{VP} *read the book*]].
 b. Negative ΣP: *John did* [_{ΣP} *not* + [_{VP} *read the book*]].

6.1 THE RELATION OF ΣP TO NEGATIVE ADVERBS

Since Laka’s work, quite a bit of literature has discussed the cross-language position of the Σ head in more or less analytic clausal projections. (Here I will use Laka’s label Sigma: Σ to stand for the Neg / negation / value of the polarity head.) These studies have confirmed that the head of the Σ projection in English is *not* (in, e.g., Italian it is *non*, in French *ne*, etc.¹⁵). The negative (temporal) adverbs, on the other hand, like the English

15. For example, Belletti (1994) discusses examples like those below to argue that the French negative adverb *pas* and Italian *più* signal the presence of a polarity phrase NegP above VP. Her examples in i-iii

never, have been argued to occupy the phrasal position on the left side of ΣP that is related to the Σ head, i.e., $SPEC(\Sigma P)$. Thus, both the English *never* and *not* belong to the same projection ΣP , and they can both take scope over the same clausal domain, since ΣP is structurally related to it in the same way.

A schematic tree is given below in (37) using the label T for the clausal head $I(NFL)/T$. The proposed structure correctly predicts that *never* located in the $SPEC(\Sigma P)$ – i.e., a phrasal position) – has some phrasal properties as demonstrated in (21) (*almost never*, *hardly never*, *nearly never*) while *not* (located in Σ^0 – i.e., a head position) will have no phrasal properties – i.e., it will show ‘bare constituent’ characteristics. The tree in (37) also predicts that *never* and *not* will have distinct domains for dislocations / transformational *movements*.

A transformational head movement is restricted to moving a bare head, and is attested in (37c), with a bound morpheme *-n’t*. In (37e) the bound morpheme *-n’t* moves together with the Aux / Mod *won’t* from a head position in T into a higher head position in C, respecting Travis’s (1984) Head Movement Constraint in the same way as the head *will* does in (37d).¹⁶

A plausible example of phrasal XP Movement is demonstrated by the fronting of *never* as in (31) into Quirk’s Initial (I) Position. In (37g) this movement is interpreted as a movement from $SPEC(\Sigma P)$ to $SPEC(CP)$; notice that it is the same kind of transformation as, e.g., phrasal Wh-Movement in (37f).

The tree in (37) also explains the distinct behavior of *never* and *not* with respect to verbal morphology. Recall that (1) demonstrated the Intervention Effect: with respect to agreement (and tense) inflection, the adverb *never* does not block the English *-s* inflection on a following Verb. On the other hand the negator *not* is a barrier for morphology (it blocks ‘affix hopping’). This distinction between *not* and *never* can be explained using the structure in (37) and assuming the rather traditional and non-controversial claim that agreement inflection is restricted to domains defined by movement between *adjacent overt heads*.¹⁷

The distinction between *not* and *never* with respect to morphology can also be explained by assuming agreement inflection (and tense) to be operators akin to polarity. The different interactions between inflection and *never/not* can then be predicted by

show Neg with respect to the Romance Verb raised to AUX, and in iv-v Neg with respect to the AUX.

i. Fr: *Jean n’aime pas* (**(ne) pas aime*) Marie.

iv. *Jean n’a pas parlé* (**pas*).

ii. It: *Gianni non* (**più*) *parla più*.

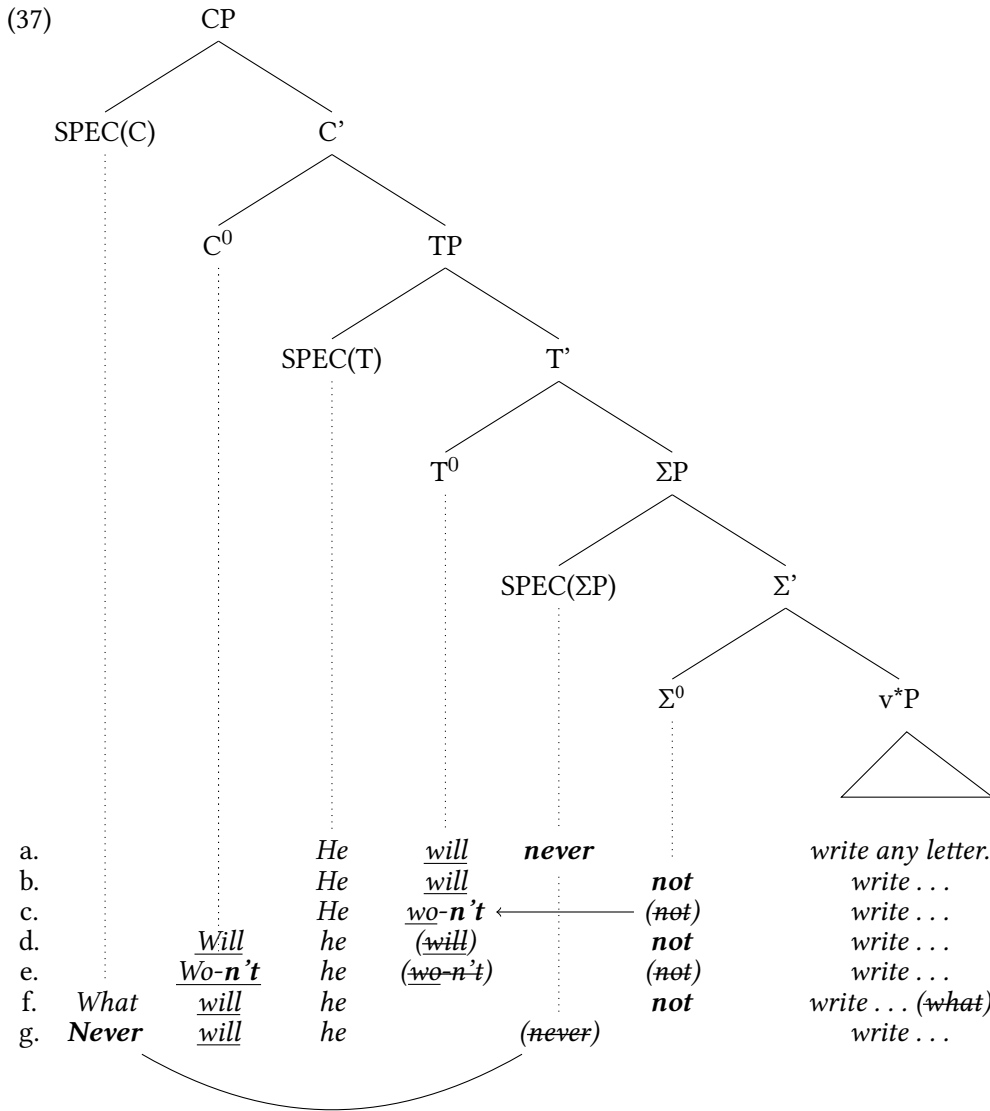
v. *Gianni non ha più parlato* (*più*).

iii. *John likes* (**not*) *Mary*.

vi. *John* (**not*) *has not spoken* (**not*).

16. Standard English does not allow the $SPEC$ and Head of ΣP to both be pronounced, unlike French and Italian. Non-standard English, on the other hand, allows stigmatized “double negatives”: *John won’t never write a letter*.

17. In his early minimalist papers Chomsky (1991; 1993) argues that the English AUXs (*have*, *be*, and *modals*) are Vs that can and do raise into $INFL=T$, because they lack semantic ‘theta grids.’ The finite morphology on other verbs is then a result of I-to-V “lowering” in Phonological Form. Subsequently, $[V+INFL]$ -to-I movement was proposed as needed at Logical Form, but requiring a less economical two-step derivation (lowering and then raising) for English main verbs. When the presence of an intervening negative element (a head!) excludes these movements, *do*-insertion is introduced as an English specific rescue mechanism (the most costly “last resort”).



Rizzi's (1991) Relativised Minimality, schematically represented in (38).¹⁸ The examples (38a / b) show how a potential governor of the "same nature" (here a Negative operator [_Σ *not*]) blocks the movement (the "Agree relation") of the person / number feature between *John* and *come-s*.¹⁹

18. Revised Minimality is a 'revised' version of the Head Movement Constraint introduced in Travis (1984) – the HMC restricted head movement to only an immediately c-commanding head. Rizzi added the notion that movement is blocked only by the intervention of a *specific (relevant) type of constituent*. The position of *not* in the tree qualifies as both kinds of intervention, and is thus able to block a relation between T and v* in (37). But *never*, being in the SPEC position, apparently does not intervene.

19. An alternative view can be found in, e.g., Ouhalla (1991), which claims that English modals and / or AUXs form a separate category which is base-generated above NEG.

- (38) [... X [... (Z) ... [... Y ...], where Y and Z are operators of the same type.
-

- a. **John* [_{ΣP} - - [_Σ *not* / *so*][*come-s* *late*]].
 b. *John* [_{ΣP} *never* / *always* [_Σ Ø][*come-s* *late*]].

A final confirmation of the head characteristics of *not* (contrary to *never*) can be seen in the fact that *not* cannot stand in separation from a clause, as demonstrated already in (11)–(13) and repeated below for convenience.

- (39) A: *Will you help him?*
 B: – *Yes* / *No*! /
 – **Not*. / *Never*!²⁰

6.2 IF A HEAD, WHEN AND WHY DOESN'T *NOT* PROJECT?

The quite standard tree in (37), however, does not capture one important property of both *never* and *not*, namely the subordinate characteristics of both *never* and *not* with respect to most elements they modify in constituent negation. This property was mentioned in Section 1 regarding (3) and Section 4.2 regarding (20). The examples in (40) illustrate the same property for conjoined nominal complexes (DPs). They demonstrate that the negated phrase can be conjoined with a non-negated one in the same way as two non-negated DPs can be conjoined.

- (40) a. *I love* [_{DP} *the red rose*] (and) [_{DP?} [_Σ **not**] *the white rose*].
 b. [_{DP} *Our dear Emma*] and [_{DP?} [_Σ **not**] *Mary's little brother*] *will get a present*.
 c. *You will see* [_{DP} *our little Emma*] and [_{DP?} [_Σ **not**] *their little Eva*].

If *not* were a standard head Σ, the constituents starting with *not* in (40) would have to be its projections, i.e., *not*-phrases (ΣPs) as in the schematic (42a) below. In general, however, conjoined constituents must bear the same label, and the examples in (40) therefore contradict the claim that *not* is a head.

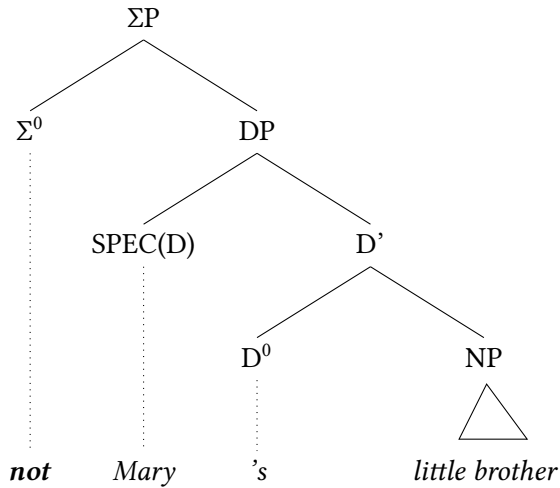
Moreover, consider the selectional properties of the verbs *love* / *see* in (40a / c). They both plausibly select DP, and yet a negated constituent is able to satisfy this subcategorization. The same phenomenon is demonstrated in (41a), where the verb *drive* subcategorizes for PP, and in (41b), where [_{VP} *not stop* . . .] is fine as a VP in the “Exceptional Case Marking” structure following *saw her* + Infinitive.

20. This is the main criterion which makes *not* distinct from *never* in Leonard Bloomfield's tests of word identification: minimal free form, potential pause, indivisibility, phonetic boundary and semantic unit. According to these tests, *never* unambiguously and *not* only partially can be taken for words (“the smallest units of speech that can meaningfully stand on their own”). For more on these tests, see Crystal (1987, 94).

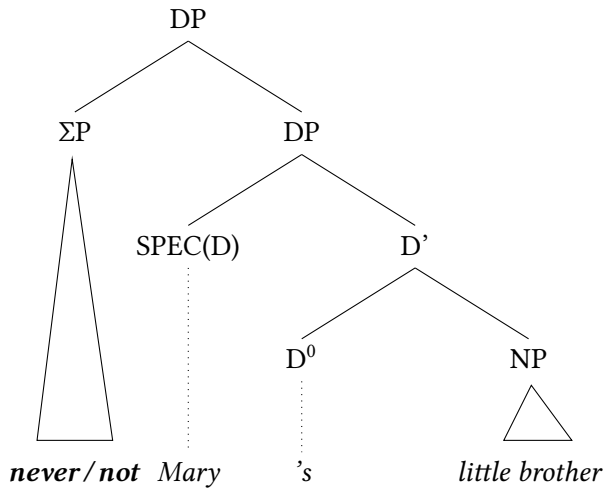
- (41) a. *He drove* + [_{PP} [_Σ **not**] *up many hills*].
 b. *He saw her* + [_{INF} [_Σ **not**] *stop in front of the house*].

If *not* were in every way a head Σ , the constituents starting with *not* in (41) would have to be its projections, i.e., *not*-phrases (Σ P) as in (42a). The data instead suggest that here as well, the item *not* does not change the constituent label of the phrases it precedes. Instead of heading the structure, it somehow ‘modifies’ the phrases it adjoins to. The structure for (40b) is therefore not as in (42a) but as in (42b).

- (42) a.



- b.



I conclude that the (negative) polarity head Σ (like any other operator) is canonically *merged as a head only in a clausal domain* as in (37). As a head, it then projects, and the ΣP is therefore in a standard clausal projection.

In constituent negation as in (40), however, Σ is adjoined (i.e., as ΣP by definition) and then has a relevant scope in its c-commanded domain. The ΣP in (42b) can contain either *never* in its specifier or *not* in its head position – what is important is that neither of them can change the label (here DP) of the constituent to which they adjoin.

6.3 LATE INSERTED HEADS CANNOT PROJECT

In comparing *never* and *not* in the above sections, I did not state any distinct properties for *never* and *not* that depend on whether they are used in clausal or partial negation. In fact, however, with respect to complexity, the phrasal vs. head-like distinction between *never* and *not* can be found in *both* partial and clausal negation structures. This is not an expected result, given that the adjoined ΣP in (42b) should be able to project to a more complex phrase. As for the absence of any complements of $\Sigma = \textit{not}$ in (42b), one may refer to a more generally attested, though not fully understood, ‘Left Branch Constraint’ (Ross 1967) that excludes post-modifying complements of modifiers / adjunct APs on the left branch of non-clausal projections. However, the absence of a possible $\text{SPEC}(\Sigma)$ in (42b) seems unrelated to any previously investigated more general principle.

I propose that the head-like characteristics of *not* in clausal negation structures can be explained by the level that this lexical item is inserted into the tree structure. In the framework of Emonds’s (2000, ch. 3-4) Distributed Morphology, a full-fledged lexical ‘adverb’ *never* is expected to be a part of the structure from the beginning of a derivational cycle. Its early insertion directly from the primary numeration is shown by its ability both to be used in isolation and to express focus / contrastive stress.

But, contrary to *never*, the ‘functional negator’ *not* lacks purely semantic features and hence enters its projection late in a derivational cycle. Nonetheless, the insertion of *not* still precedes the insertion in phonology of inflectional morphemes like agreement or tens. This ordering, insertion of *not* and then agreement, is what causes the intervention effect observed in (1) and described in Section 1.

I thus propose that a head such as *not*, which is absent at the beginning of the derivation, cannot project into its own phrasal constituent ΣP – i.e., it cannot take its own specifiers / complements. It may well share these properties, for the same reason, with focus particles such as *even* and *only* mentioned at the end of Section 1. In this way, inserted at the end of a syntactic derivational cycle, the $\Sigma \textit{not}$ acts at the same time like both a minimal and a maximal projection.

According to Emonds (2000, ch. 4), a late level of insertion is typical for all non-lexical functional elements, thus distinguishing between derivational (usually lexical) and inflectional morphemes in a rather systematic way. This theory predicts most of the specific syntactic behavior of the functional elements as well as their characteristic impoverished semantics.

The claim introduced here, i.e., the claim that the late inserted heads cannot project and therefore will show properties of both minimal and maximal projections, seems to follow from Emonds’s framework with no special stipulations. It could, in fact, explain several still open though seemingly unrelated problems—the similar specificity of clitic

elements, restricted forms of possessive pronoun projections (Veselovská 1998), and so on.²¹ I will leave further investigation of this idea for subsequent research.

In this paper I have tried to show that most of the specific characteristics of the two English lexical entries, *never* and *not*, can be related (i) to independent and very general properties of generative projection rules, as instantiated in the tree structure in (37), and (ii) to no less general morpho-syntactic principles of lexical insertion. Such an analysis supports a view of language-specific linguistic data as systematically revealing underlying universal structures realized through language-specific lexical entries.

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21. Emonds (2000) investigates instances of insertion late in a syntactic derivation of both free and bound morphemes of the lexical categories N and V, but not the consequences of functional heads also undergoing this type of insertion. Nothing in his framework is incompatible with it, however.

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ON THE PRINCIPLED CONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE SEMANTIC STRUCTURE OF VERBS OF LOCOMOTION IN ENGLISH AND THEIR SYNTACTIC BEHAVIOUR

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ABSTRACT: This paper deals with certain aspects of syntax-sensitivity in manner of locomotion verbs in English. Verbs of manner of locomotion do not behave uniformly, in spite of their allegedly identical conceptual status. The paper demonstrates that differences between manner of locomotion verbs are not merely a matter of perceptual domain but manifest themselves at a conceptual level. Related to this is the fact that semantic distinctions among manner of locomotion verbs result in differences in their syntactic behaviour (distinctions induced by diathesis alternations thus help to provide insights into verbal meaning). What also plays a role in determining the types of verbs admitted into certain types of syntactic constructions are the types of event structuration encoded in the constructions themselves. An account of the syntactic behaviour of manner of locomotion verbs must also appeal to encyclopaedic knowledge (the knowledge of the situational background in which the movement is set).

KEYWORDS: verbal semantics; syntactic structures; conceptual structure; spatial structure; causal structuration of a motion situation

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper is offered as a contribution to the long-standing discussion of the relation between syntax and semantics. Its aim is to look more closely into the principled connections between the semantic structures of manner of locomotion verbs (such as *walk*, *run*, *stagger*, *limp*, *jog*, or *totter*) and their syntactic behaviour.

In spite of the existence of various theoretical approaches to the syntax-semantics interface, it is generally acknowledged that verbs' semantics and the types of syntactic frames (diathesis alternations) into which different verbs may enter are essentially rule-governed. Sentence structures are thus taken, to a large extent at least, as predictable from verbal semantic structures.

2. SYNTAX INSENSITIVITY IN IDIOSYNCRATIC COMPONENTS OF MEANING IN LEVIN AND RAPPAPORT HOVAV'S THEORY

Levin (1985) examined some crucial properties of argument structure alternations and came to the conclusion that (a) verbs that enter into a given construction fall into semantically cohesive subclasses and that (b) these subclasses can be defined by a common set of elements. Levin's (1993) treatment of syntactic alternations is also founded on the basic assumption that verbs can be grouped into semantic classes on the

basis of their compatibility with certain syntactic frames. In the same vein, Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) and Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998) claim that distinctions induced by diathesis alternations help to provide insights into verbal meaning.¹

In spite of this general agreement, the approach advocated by Levin and Rappaport Hovav does not treat the relation between verbal semantic structures and a given verb's syntactic employability in a satisfactory manner. Rappaport Hovav and Levin hold that the idiosyncratic components of meaning (which specify the various manners of locomotion) are not syntax-sensitive, hence they do not decide on the types of syntactic structures into which a given verb may enter and merely serve to differentiate between individual members of a certain verbal class. Starting from this assumption, Levin and Rappaport Hovav claim that the class of manner of locomotion verbs displays a uniform syntactic behaviour.

Consider the following structures, which involve the allowable types of syntactic complements and their combinations as adduced in Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998, 98):

- (1) *Pat ran.*
- (2) *Pat ran to the beach.*
- (3) *Pat ran herself ragged.*
- (4) *Pat ran her shoes to shreds.*
- (5) *Pat ran clear of the falling rocks.*
- (6) *The coach ran the athletes around the track.*

Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998, 99) claim that the syntactic behaviour of *run* is characteristic of all verbs of manner of locomotion. As will be shown later, this claim is an oversimplification, evidently resulting from the fact that Rappaport Hovav and Levin only analyze the syntactic behaviour of the verb *run* and disregard syntactic structures employing other manner of locomotion verbs.²

3. MANNER OF MOTION AS A PART OF SPATIAL STRUCTURE IN JACKENDOFF'S THEORY

Jackendoff (e.g., 1983, 1990, 1996, 2002) holds that the structure of meaning is divided into "conceptual structure" and "spatial structure." His theory of conceptual semantics takes word meaning as composed of what "ordinary language calls *concepts*, *thoughts* or *ideas*" (1990, 1). Conceptual structure involves phenomena like predicate-argument structure, category membership, quantification, etc. It is "a hierarchical arrangement

1. In the same vein, Dixon (e.g., 2005) takes into consideration not only the general semantic types of verbs and the semantic roles associated with them, but also their mapping onto syntactic frames.

2. The fact that Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998) use *run* to illustrate the variable behaviour of verbs of manner of locomotion seems to be underlain by two reasons. First, *run* displays wide syntactic employability, which is a reflection of the verb's remarkable semantic elasticity. Second, *run* encodes relatively high speed, which predisposes the verb to be used in constructions implying a higher degree of "intensity of motion" (on this see Kudrnáčová 2010). Interestingly, the increase in speed lexicalized in *run* may, as shown by Adam (2010, 29), serve to indicate a gradation of the act in the transitional track of a sentence in terms of Firbasian dynamic semantics (cf., e.g., Firbas 1992).

built out of discrete features and functions” (2002, 346). Spatial structure concerns spatial configurations in the physical world, “the integration over time of the shape, motion, and layout of objects in space” (2002, 346). Although Jackendoff states explicitly that the two levels of meaning exhibit a partial overlap (2002, 347), spatial structure is, primarily, a matter of perceptual system, whereas conceptual structure belongs to the level of proposition.

In line with this approach, Jackendoff (1990, 45) treats motion situations in sentences like *John ran into the room* as cases of subordination of manner under an abstract verb GO:

Syntactic structure

[S_[NP John] [VP ran [PP into [NP the room]]]]

Conceptual structure

[Event GO ([Thing JOHN], [Path TO ([Place IN ([Thing ROOM])])])]³

In spite of being aware of the difficulties connected with an adequate specification of the semantic structures of manner of motion verbs, Jackendoff views the differences between the manner of locomotion verbs *walk*, *limp*, *jog*, *strut* and *shuffle* as pertaining to a strictly spatial domain. He treats these verbs, in conceptual structure, simply as verbs of locomotion and claims that the verbs “differ only in manner of motion, one of those things that is extremely awkward to characterize through algebraic features. However, we can distinguish these words by their appearance (and how they feel in the body)” (2002, 350). In other words, since the verbs in question are differentiated only by spatial structure, their differentiation does not play a role in conceptual structure, which is why the verbs display syntactic parallelism. This interpretation follows from Jackendoff’s contention that “any semantic distinction that makes a *syntactic* difference must be encoded in conceptual structure” (1990, 34). Put another way: grammatical phenomena belong to the level of conceptual structure – not to the level of spatial structure.

Jackendoff’s conception of “abstract motion,” disregarding semantic features that differentiate between, say, *walk* and *limp* and that have a bearing on their syntactic behaviour is evidently untenable. If the differences between *walk* and *limp* were a matter of perceptual (spatial) domain only, the two verbs would have to behave in the same way, which they do not. Consider:

- (7) a. *Harry walked.* (motion as an activity)
- b. *Harry limped.* (motion as an activity)
- (8) a. *Harry walked to the door.* (directed motion)
- b. *Harry limped to the door.* (directed motion)

3. The verb corresponds to the Event-function GO (this sentence expresses motion). The subject of the sentence corresponds to the first argument of GO, and the PP corresponds to the second argument (the Path traversed). The Path function TO takes a Place as its argument. The Place then decomposes into the Place function IN and a Thing argument expressed by the object of the preposition.

- (9) a. *Harry walked clear of the wreckage.* (directed motion)
 b. *Harry limped clear of the chaparral.* (directed motion)
- (10) a. *Harry walked the streets of London.*
 (motion along a path, spatial preposition dropped)
 b. ?**Harry limped the streets of London.*
 (motion along a path, spatial preposition dropped)
- (11) a. *Harry walked himself to exhaustion.*
 (causation of the mover's change of state)
 b. **Harry limped himself to exhaustion.*
 (causation of the mover's change of state)
 c. **Harry limped her to exhaustion.*
 (causation of the patientive mover's change of state)
- (12) a. *Harry walked his shoes to shreds.*
 (causation of the object's change of state through motion)
 b. ?**Harry limped his shoes to shreds.*
 (causation of the object's change of state through motion)
- (13) a. *Harry walked himself to the door.*
 (causation of the mover's change of location)
 b. **Harry limped himself to the door.*
 (causation of the mover's change of location)
- (14) a. *John walked Harry to the door.*
 (causation of the patientive mover's change of location)
 b. **John limped Harry to the door.*
 (causation of the patientive mover's change of location)⁴

As can be seen, *walk* and *limp* do not behave uniformly, in spite of their allegedly identical conceptual status (examples 10b and 12b are conceivable, but only under special circumstances). In actual fact, Jackendoff's treatment of conceptual structure and spatial (perceptual) structure inevitably results in the necessity to posit the differences between manner of locomotion verbs in terms of the differences in their conceptual structure.

4. A terminological remark is due here. The term "mover" designates an agent as the sole executor of the movement. The term "patientive mover" designates a secondary agent (more precisely, a causee induced to move by the causer, who acts as a co-mover) in the direct object position. This participant thus represents a second energy source (on this see, e.g., Davidse and Geyskens 1998).

Deane (1996) and Taylor (1996) also observe that the role of visual phenomena cannot be restricted in the way proposed by Jackendoff. Taylor shows convincingly that Jackendoff's position cannot be maintained because an account of the syntactic behaviour of *run* and *jog* (used in the sense "to run slowly for exercise") must appeal to encyclopaedic knowledge that "cannot be accommodated by the algebra of conceptual structure, nor is this knowledge exclusively perceptual in nature" (1996, 3).⁵ In other words, what also plays a role in determining the syntactic behavior of the verb is the knowledge of the situational background in which the movement is set. *Jog* carries information about the circumstances of the motion situation in that it encodes information about the purpose of the motion that transcends the motion *per se*. The restricted syntactic usability of *jog* can be illustrated by way of the following examples:⁶

- (15) *Harry jogged.* (motion as an activity)
- (16) *Harry jogged around the park.* (directed motion)
- (17) *Harry jogged clear of a man rushing in the opposite direction.* (directed motion)
- (18) *Harry jogged the streets of London for a couple of hours.*
(motion along a path, spatial preposition dropped)
- (19) a. **Harry jogged himself to exhaustion.*
(causation of the mover's change of state)
b. **Harry jogged her to exhaustion.*
(causation of the patientive mover's change of state)
- (20) **Harry jogged his shoes to shreds.*
(causation of the object's change of state through motion)
- (21) a. **Harry jogged himself around the park.*
(causation of the mover's change of location)
b. **Harry jogged her around the park.*
(causation of the patientive mover's change of location)

5. Pinker (1989, 103) rightly points out that "subtle semantic distinctions among subclasses of verbs can result in differences in their syntactic behaviour, often giving the appearance of their being arbitrary lexical exceptions to alternations."

6. The sentences in (15)–(18) are ambiguous in that *jog* as used in them may be interpreted as "running slowly, but not necessarily for exercise." On ambiguity as a natural phenomenon see, e.g., Kozubíková Šandová (2010, 97).

4. PERCEPTUAL PARAMETERS IN FABER AND MAIRAL USÓN'S THEORY

Faber and Mairal Usón (1999) also discuss the role of perceptual information encoded in the semantics of manner of motion verbs. They rightly point out that semantic and perceptual parameters may combine to characterize both the movement *per se* and the mover. They add, too, that the evaluation is generally negative because the movement is presented as deviating from the norm (1999, 113). For example, they characterize the verb *limp* discussed above as "to walk with difficulty in an uneven way, usually because one leg / foot is hurt" (1999, 111).

Although the authors strongly emphasize the role of perceptual information, i.e., "the way we process the sensory data received from the outside world" (1999, 109), they, rather surprisingly, take the parameters of, e.g., the verbs *swagger*, *strut*, *prance* or *parade* as "only semantic because they do not significantly affect syntax," which is the reason why "it is difficult to differentiate such verbs at a conceptual level" (1999, 114).

In view of the fact that Faber and Mairal Usón do not provide examples of types of syntactic structure into which the various manner of motion verbs may enter, their claim that manner of motion does not affect syntax does not rest on solid ground. Quite symptomatically, when such a description is offered (e.g., in the class of verbs of possession or verbs of cognition), the authors offer the proposal that "information about a predicate's paradigmatic location in the lexicon be integrated into its predicate frame in order to represent the interface between syntax and semantics" (1999, 142).

5. THE CORRELATION BETWEEN THE VERB'S DESCRIPTIVITY AND THE VERB'S SYNTACTIC USABILITY IN BOAS'S THEORY

Boas (2006) rightly argues that it is necessary to reconsider the ways in which verb classes have been defined. Drawing on Snell-Hornby's (1983) theory of verb descriptivity (which can be roughly glossed over as the complexity of the verb's meaning, involving the nucleus plus one or more modificants) Boas suggests that there is a correlation between the degree of the verb's descriptivity and the range of syntactic constructions into which a verb may enter. For example, *walk*, as opposed to *stagger* or *totter*, displays the lowest degree of descriptivity, which explains its wide syntactic employability. According to Boas, *totter* displays a higher degree of descriptivity than *stagger*.

Although Boas's observation concerning the relationship between the verb's descriptivity and its syntactic usability is essentially correct, a question still remains as to how to account for the fact that both *stagger* and *totter* display the same syntactic behaviour in spite of the fact that they are claimed to encode different degrees of verb descriptivity.⁷ Consider the following examples adduced by Boas (2006, 143):

7. In this connection it is perhaps not without interest to mention that in Faber and Mairal Usón (1999, 113) the verbs *stagger* and *totter* are described as involving the same parameters, namely, "weakness / drunkenness" and "lack of uprightness."

- (22) *Gerry walked (/ staggered / tottered).*
- (23) *Gerry walked (/ staggered / tottered) down the street.*
- (24) a. *Julia walked the town.*
 b. **Julia staggered the town.*
 c. **Julia tottered the town.*
- (25) a. *Cathy walked herself to exhaustion.*
 b. **Cathy staggered herself to exhaustion.*
 c. **Cathy tottered herself to exhaustion.*
- (26) a. *Claire walked the dog down the street.*
 b. **Claire staggered the dog down the street.*
 c. **Claire tottered the dog down the street.*

6. CONCLUSIONS: VERBAL SEMANTICS IN RELATION TO TYPES OF CAUSAL PATTERNING OF MOTION SITUATIONS

The facts adduced thus far show, hopefully convincingly, that syntactic constructions that explicitly encode a causative patterning of the motion situation are generally barred for verbs that bear reference to additional, modifying features (be it physical features and / or features that refer to the self of the mover or to the self of the patientive mover) or features that bear reference to the circumstances accompanying the movement (this issue is dealt with in, e.g., Boas 2003, Boas 2006, Filipović 2007, and Kudrnáčová 2008).

This is the case of constructions in which (a) both the subject position and the direct object position is taken up by an executor of the movement (by the mover), or in which (b) the subject position is taken up by an executor of the movement (by the mover) and the direct object position is taken up by a patientive mover (a second mover), or in which (c) the subject position is taken up by an executor of the movement (by the mover) and the direct object position is taken up by an object that changes its state.

These structures designate:

- a) the causation of the mover's change of state through motion (examples 11b, 19a, 25b, 25c)
- b) the causation of the patientive mover's change of state through motion (examples 11c, 19b)
- c) the causation of the object's change of state through motion (examples 12b, 20)
- d) the causation of the mover's change of location (examples 13b, 21a)
- e) the causation of the patientive mover's change of location (examples 14b, 21b, 26b, 26c).

An explanation of the verb-sensitivity of these constructions should most probably be sought in total object inclusion (see Anderson 1971). In concrete terms, total object inclusion requires that the direct object position be reserved for participants that are included in the event “in their entirety.” This fact has important ramifications for verbal semantics: all aspects of the movement must fall under the scope of the operation of the participant in the direct object position (which is not the case in verbs like *stagger*, *totter* or *limp*).

There are, however, other aspects of meaning that decide on the verb’s employability in the constructions in question (e.g., the verb *jog* lexicalizes the position of the movement in the overall situational frame).

There is yet another type of construction which is verb-sensitive, namely, the construction in which the path traversed is expressed by means of the prepositionless noun phrase (i.e., the noun phrase in the direct object position). This is the case in examples (10b), (24b) and (24c). At this stage of my research I am not yet in a position to provide an explanation for this phenomenon.⁸

By way of conclusion, it can be stated that it is necessary to have a closer look not only at verbal semantics in relation to types of syntactic constructions but also at the type of event structuration encoded in the constructions themselves.

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DEFAULT CASE IN COORDINATE CONSTRUCTIONS

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ABSTRACT: This article attempts to provide a theoretical explanation that could account for case variability and asymmetries in the case assignment of pronouns in coordinate constructions. The analysis also deals with the case assigning properties of the coordinator *and*. A cross-linguistic perspective (Czech-English) is provided to show differences between coordinators having case assigning properties and those lacking them. This comparative analysis leads to the conclusion that the English coordinator *and* cannot be the case assigner. Therefore, coordinated pronominal subjects have no case assigner available from the inside. As a result, they are case-marked by default case.

KEYWORDS: coordinate constructions; default case; subjective pronoun forms; objective pronoun forms; agreement; government; coordinators; case assignment; the coordinate structure constraint

1. INTRODUCTION

Coordinate constructions represent one of the environments in which the usage of pronominal forms in English displays a wide range of case variation. This variability involves a mixture of standard and nonstandard patterns, as outlined in the following examples, taken from the Corpus of Contemporary American English (Davies 2008–). Example (1) demonstrates the standard use of coordinated pronoun subjects. Example (2) illustrates a non-standard pattern consisting of two objective forms functioning as subjects. Finally, examples (3) and (4) show a combination of standard (subjective) and non-standard (objective) forms fulfilling the function of coordinated subjects.

- (1) *[h]e and she remain friendly because he knows there's a possibility.*
(COCA, SPOK, ABC_GMA, 1998)
- (2) *It basically talked about when her and him would talk online.*
(COCA, SPOK, Ind_Oprah, 2006)
- (3) *The rich can always hire us to kill each other, which they and us have done plenty and with brutal, dumb glee.* (COCA, SPOK, NPR_ATC, 1999)
- (4) *I was actually with Kevin on that trip. Him and I planned a trip to go to Sudan.*
(COCA, SPOK, NPR_Talk Nation, 2000)

The central questions that arise are why objective pronominal forms occur in coordinate phrases functioning as subjects and which mechanism marks them as objective. This

article will attempt to provide a theoretical explanation that could account for this linguistic phenomenon. At the same time, it will deal with the case assigning properties of the coordinator *and*, refuting the idea that this conjunction can be the source of case marking. Finally, it will conclude that coordinated pronoun subjects are best described as case-marked by the default case.

2. THE OVERVIEW OF CASE ASSIGNING MECHANISMS

Before attempting to determine which case assigning mechanisms are applied to produce the highly variable case patterns, demonstrated in (1)–(4), it is necessary to mention that the two case marking processes that result in nominative and accusative forms are *agreement* and *government* respectively.¹ The first mechanism involves assignment of the nominative to an external argument (i.e., subject) by a functional head such as finiteness (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2009, 50). This is demonstrated in the following example (5) where the pronominal form *he* receives the nominative form by agreeing with a finite verb (or with its component of finiteness, i.e., -s, as differentiated in formal approaches).

- (5) *He talk-s* *too much.*
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The second aforementioned mechanism, i.e., government, is a process in which the case assigner is a lexical head such as a lexical verb or a preposition, assigning case to an adjacent (following) argument (Bobaljik and Wurmbrand 2009, 50). This case assigning strategy, generally applied to objects and objects of prepositions, is demonstrated in example (6) where the pronoun form *him* is marked as objective by the lexical verb *told*.

- (6) . . . *I told him that, if you have many women, you're going to have problem*
 (COCA, SPOK, NBC_Dateline, 2010)

The application of the first mechanism to the environment of coordinate phrases sufficiently explains the standard usage of pronouns in (1). The finite verb agrees with the entire coordinated phrase functioning as subject and marks it as subjective. In other words, the case marking process of coordinated subject pronouns occurs identically as with any other subjective pronoun forms in any other environment.

However, complications arise in non-standard usages of coordinated pronominal subjects, shown in (2)–(4), where both conjuncts are marked as objective, as in (2), or where only one of them gets case by agreement and the other is marked as objective (examples 3–4). Obviously, in such situations, objective forms cannot be the outcomes

1. The list of case marking processes that result in nominative and accusative forms is not limited to agreement and government. However, for the purpose of this article, it is satisfactory not to take into account the other mechanisms.

of government because the conditions for its application are not fulfilled. Pronouns do not occur in a structural position appropriate for receiving case from the lexical verb because they do not follow it. Therefore, the objective case must come from a different source. The following section attempts to outline which candidates for potential case assigners are (or are not) available.

3. FORMAL MARKERS OF COORDINATION

3.1 COORDINATORS AND QUASICOORDINATORS

There have been several suggestions that the best candidate for the case assigner in coordinates such as (2)–(3) is the coordinator *and*. One of them comes from Fillmore (1968, 81–83) who states that there are parallels between the conjunctive *and* and the comitative preposition *with*. Fillmore goes on to demonstrate that there are languages, like Japanese, that have one postposition having a comitative function, as well as functioning as a coordinator. These two functions are differentiated by the placement of the postposition within the noun phrase. While the coordinator *to* follows all conjuncts but the last one, the comitative *to* is attached to the final conjunct, expressing the case role of the whole coordinate phrase (Fillmore 1968, 81), as shown in example (7) below.

- (7) *Tanaka-san to Hashimoto-san ga kimashita.* (coordinate)
 Mr. Tanaka and Mr. Hashimoto came.
- Hashimoto-san ga Tanaka-san to hanashimashita* (comitative)
 Mr. Hashimoto spoke with Mr. Tanaka.
- (Fillmore 1968, 81)

Subsequently, Fillmore uses this cross-linguistic evidence to make generalizations about case marking in coordinate constructions. He states that languages not having a generalized coordinator compensate for this lack by using a case marker, as in Japanese in (7). On the other hand, in those languages “which have a generalized conjunctive, this word replaces the case marker, in the way that *and* replaces *with* under certain conditions” (Fillmore 1968, 82). Then, he puts it directly and establishes the relationship between coordinate uses and comitative uses of noun phrases (NPs), assuming that the first evolved from the latter (Fillmore 1968, 83).

Also, Haspelmath (2004) suggests there is a fuzzy line between coordinators and comitative prepositions. Coordinators commonly evolve from prepositions and they retain their case-assigning properties. This may be clearly illustrated by the Czech preposition-derived coordinator *s* (*with*) and the English quasicordinator *with*. They both function as case assigners and mark the following conjunct as instrumental (in Czech) or as objective (in English). As a result, conjuncts in such coordinations are assigned case from two different sources – from the coordinator and from the finite verb, which is located outside the coordinate phrases and marks the first conjunct as subjective.

This is demonstrated in examples (8)–(9). In (8), the noun *matka* (*mother*) is assigned case by agreement with the finite verb *šla*. The second conjunct, the noun *otcem*, gets the instrumental case through government by the preposition-derived coordinator *s*. Therefore, two case assignment mechanisms are employed, resulting in two different case forms.

- (8) *Matka s otcem šla / šli do kina.* (Czech)
Mother-NOM-SG with father-INSTR-SG went-SG / PL to cinema
“Mother and father went to cinema.”

A similar case assignment situation occurs in English coordinations involving the quasicordinator *with*. Again, two case assigning strategies are at play, the first one marking one conjunct as subjective, the other as objective, as in example (9).

- (9) *The President, together with his advisors, is / ?are preparing a statement on the crisis.*
*He / *him them / *they*² (adopted from Quirk et al. 1985, 761)³

Similarities also occur in agreement. In both examples (8)–(9), the finite verb shows fluctuation of the singular and plural forms. This alternation may be linked with the gradient status of *s* and *with*. When the finite verb is singular, it agrees only with the first conjunct in which case *s* and *with* behave more like prepositions than coordinators. However, if the finite verb is plural, it agrees with the whole coordinate phrase and the syntactic behavior of *s* and *with* is reminiscent of the coordinators *a* or *and* (see examples 10–11).

The other set of coordinators subject to a minor analysis includes *and* and the Czech equivalent *a*. Similarities are exhibited in agreement with the verb. Coordinations involving them occur with verbs marked for plural, as shown in examples (10)–(11).

- (10) *Tom and his friends are / *is going on a trip to Italy.*

- (11) *Matka a otec šli / *šla do kina.*

However, differences are reflected in their case-assigning properties. As demonstrated in (2)–(4), case differences are neutralized in this particular environment (Wales 1996, 107). In Czech, on the other hand, no case fluctuation is allowed and the only available case form is represented by the nominative (12).

2. No instances of *with* followed by the subjective form were found in COCA.

3. Quirk et al. (1985, 761) state that “grammatical concord requires a singular verb if the first noun phrase is in singular”; however, “occasionally the principle of notional concord (sometimes combined with the proximity principle) prompts the plural, especially in loosely expressed speech.”

- (12) *Matka* / *G, *D, *Ac, *Loc, *I a *otec* / *G, *D, *Ac, *Loc, *I *šli do kina*

The following table briefly summarizes characteristic properties of the above-discussed coordinators.

TABLE 1: AN OVERVIEW OF SELECTED FORMAL MARKERS OF COORDINATION

COORDINATORS	CASE-ASSIGNING PROPERTIES	AGREEMENT WITH THE VERB
A	No	Plural
AND	?	Plural
S	Yes	Singular / Plural
WITH	Yes	Singular / Plural

Table 1 illustrates a range of formal markers of coordination. On one end, there are quasicoordinators, like the English *with* and Czech *s*, fulfilling coordinate uses but sharing some properties with prepositions (such as case assignment). Their gradient status is reflected in fluctuation in number-marking on the finite verb. Then, there are full-fledged coordinators, like the Czech *a*, marking the syntactic-semantic symmetries between both conjuncts of coordinations. This symmetric relation is reflected in agreement, and the verb obligatorily agrees with the whole coordinated phrase.

At this point, it needs to be determined which position within this range of formal markers of coordination is occupied by the English *and*. More specifically, the question is whether *and* shares case assigning properties with preposition-derived coordinators or not. This will be dealt with in greater detail in the following section.

3.2 AND AS A CASE ASSIGNER

Assuming there is a fuzzy line between coordinators and comitative prepositions (Fillmore 1968; Haspelmath 2004), it may seem legitimate to attribute case assigning properties to *and*. This hypothesis would gently resolve the usage of objective forms in the pattern *XP + and + objective* (as in 3, repeated below in 13). In other words, the final conjunct *us* could be assigned the case by the coordinator *and*, which would act in the same way as the comitative preposition *with* (see example 9).

- (13) *The rich can always hire us to kill each other, which they and us have done plenty and with brutal, dumb glee.* (COCA, SPOK, NPR_ATC, 1999)

Unfortunately, there are several inconsistencies in parallels between the coordinator *and* and the preposition-derived coordinators *with* or *s*. One of the major differences is in the direction of case assignment. While it is always the argument that follows the case assigner that is marked in (8)–(9), in coordinations involving *and* both conjuncts (or one of them) may be marked for case (see in 1–4). In other words, case asymmetry in CoPs with preposition-derived coordinators is fairly fixed, as shown in (14)–(15).

(14) *Matka* (NOM) / (*G), (*D), (*Ac), (*Loc), (*I) *s otcem*(I) / (*NOM), (*G), (*D), (*Ac), (*Loc) *šli do kina*.

(15) *He* / *Him, *with them* / *they, *is preparing a statement on the crisis*.

Other issues arise when the case assigning properties of *and* are analyzed outside the environment of coordinate constructions on a sub-clausal level (as in all examples of coordinations discussed so far). This type of coordination is not the only one in which the coordinator *and* occurs. Its appearance is also included in coordinations on a clausal level, as in (16). The latter type of coordination does not exhibit any degree of case variation in any of the conjunct positions, as shown in (16).

(16) *She* / *Her *was playing the guitar and he* / *him *was watching TV*.⁴

One way of dealing with the lack of case variation in (16) and considering the coordinator *and* to be a case assigner is to presuppose that the coordinator has a potential case assigning scope over the entire conjunct, which is realized by the whole clause. Under this assumption, case variation cannot affect pronouns in (16), but it may affect the whole clausal conjunct. However, clauses are (at least overtly) caseless (for *that* clauses, see Johannessen 1998, 123), and therefore, no fluctuation is carried out.

Nevertheless, this argumentation is challenged in examples where the finite verb of the clausal conjunct is anaphorically deleted, as in (17). Obviously, in the following example the conjunction *and* operates as a coordinator on a clausal level, yet the objective form is yielded.

(17) 1st SOUTH AFRICAN CHILD: *I'm feeling so happy*.

KLADSTRUP: *Why?*

1st SOUTH AFRICAN CHILD: *Because Mandela's coming back*.

2nd SOUTH AFRICAN CHILD: *And me, too*.

KLADSTRUP: *Yeah?*

2nd SOUTH AFRICAN CHILD: *I feel happy*.

(COCA, SPOK, ABC_Nightline, 1990)

Similarly, sentences in which the finite verb is gapped (Schütze 2001, 212) also show the usage of objective forms, as seen in (18)–(19).

(18) *He's one way and me another way. So it's a big change in our life*.

(COCA, SPOK, CBS SunMorn, 1998)

4. The unacceptability of objective forms occurring after the coordinator *and* connecting clausal conjuncts is confirmed by the corpus data. In none of the cases did objective forms occur in this environment.

Therefore, it is assumed here that the absence of the finite verb is the factor relevant to case marking in the coordinations, such as ones in (17)–(18). This statement also finds support in sentences where *and* connects a semi-clause involving a non-finite verbal form, as in (19).

- (19) *And being 20, 21 years old and him being 40, I believed him.*
(COCA, SPOK, CNN_King, 1997)⁵

Yet, the process of case assignment is ambiguous in (17)–(18), as these examples do not entirely refute the possibility of *and* as a case assigner. Therefore, it is necessary to find an environment in which finite verbs are ellipped and objective pronoun forms are indisputably outside the scope of the potential case assigning properties of *and*. Such evidence may be found outside coordinate constructions. In the following examples, objective forms are used in environments with ellipped finite verbs, and at the same time, they do not co-occur with *and*.

- (20) *I mean, I don't remember the last time I used a paper form to do my taxes.*
ASHLEY-MORRISON: Me either. BETTY (COCA, SPOK, CBS Morning News, 2010)
- (21) *Because if we did we'd all have far more automobile accidents, far more accidental shootings and so on. We don't see that. PHILLIPS: (Voiceover) So what did change? Not us, Banzhaf says, just everything around us.* (COCA, SPOK, NBC_Dateline, 2006)
- (22) *It's not the fault of Wayans or . . . NICE: Jesse Jackson does not speak for all blacks and neither does Damon Wayans. I'll tell you who does. Me. I speak for all black people.* (COCA, SPOK, Fox_HC, 2007)

Therefore, examples (20)–(22) suggest that the objective case marking in (17)–(19) comes from the lack of an overt case assigner, i.e., a tensed verb, rather than from the coordinator *and*. If the finite verb is ellipped, then pronouns within the subject conjuncts are assigned the objective case. In other words, it seems to be the structural deficiency of constructions in (17)–(19) that conditions objective marking on pronouns and not the coordinator *and*. However, it still remains to determine why pronominal objective forms do occur in sub-clausal coordinate phrases, demonstrated in (2)–(4). The following section will attempt to show whether or not the criterion of structural deficiency is applicable to the environments in (2)–(4). The analysis will begin with the description of formal and semantic properties characteristic of coordinate phrases.

5. Schütze (2001, 210) notes that the potential case assigner may be the non-finite verb itself. To accept this idea, it would be necessary to deal with examples such as *It was impossible for him to leave the country*, where a prototypical case assigner (a preposition) has to be used to form a grammatically correct sentence. Thanks to Ludmila Veselovská and Joseph Emonds (personal communication) for bringing to my attention this type of construction.

4. SEMANTIC AND SYNTACTIC CONSTRAINTS IMPOSED IN COORDINATE PHRASES

Coordinate phrases have been defined as constructions exhibiting specific semantic and syntactic features. Haspelmath (2004, 34) gives a semantic definition of coordinate constructions as follows:

- (23) “The term *coordination* refers to syntactic constructions in which two or more units of the same type are combined into a larger unit and still have the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements.”

Furthermore, Haspelmath defines what exactly is meant by “the same semantic relations with other surrounding elements” and how these semantic relations are manifested. First of all, he shows that the semantics of *A and B* presupposes that both members, when serving in the subject role, “are equally in control of the action” or the state / relationship (Haspelmath 2004, 15). This semantic feature is demonstrated in example (24), which illustrates that the dislike for living together is mutual and symmetric.

- (24) *Tom and Mary didn’t want to live together.*

Moreover, coordination does not imply that both members are involved in the action or state simultaneously or at the same place (Haspelmath 2004, 15). This semantic feature is visualized in example (25) showing that the coordinated phrase does not imply that Tom and Mary did not want to live together in the city.

- (25) *Tom and Mary didn’t want to live in the city.*

Coordinate phrases can be defined not only semantically but also syntactically. Structurally speaking, they consist of two conjuncts and the head *and* (also *or*), forming a constituent with the second conjunct, as shown in (26).⁶

- (26) $CoP \rightarrow [Co1] + [and\ Co2]$

The set of specific syntactic properties of coordinate phrases was formulated as “The Coordinate Structure Constraint” (Ross 1967, cited in Postal 1998). This concept refers to constraints that are imposed on the extraction of conjuncts from coordinating constructions, as postulated below:

- (27) “In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct.” (Ross 1967, 98–99, cited in Postal 1998, 51)

This operating restriction is visualized in examples (28)–(29) where either the first or the second conjunct was extracted and fronted as Schachter’s and Haspelmath’s examples show. Both extractions result in ungrammaticality.

6. For further details, see Johannessen (1998) and Haspelmath (2004, 6).

(28) **What records did you buy_ and books on civil engineering?*
(Schachter 1977, 94, cited in Haspelmath 2004, 28)

(29) **What sofa will he put the chair between some table and_?*
(Haspelmath 2004, 28)

These structural constraints affecting the coordinate phrase may be seen as responsible for inhibiting the application of prescriptive grammar rules related to the distribution of pronoun forms in English. This is suggested by Emonds (1985, 239–40) who states that “the coordinate structure constraint prevents [the English pronoun rule] from affecting a conjoined NP subject.” In other words, it can be assumed that it is the structural opacity of these constructions that renders them unsuitable for the application of case assigning mechanisms. They represent constructions of their own, having structural and semantic features differentiating them from any other environment.

Indisputably, such a statement needs further stipulations. First of all, the operation of the coordinate structure constraint is not limited to English coordinate constructions, but is also applicable to Czech coordinate phrases. Therefore, it is necessary to deal with the question why a high degree in variability of subjective and objective forms occurs in English and not in Czech. Since the differences are not to be found in the syntactic structure of coordinates, then they may be in manifesting the category of case in these two typologically diverse languages.

The latter hypothesis belongs to Emonds (1985, 240), who assumes that case variation of conjuncts in CoPs is determined by the morphological case inflection of languages. Moreover, Emonds attributes case variation to a loose correspondence between the abstract notion of case (underlying syntactic-semantic relationship in a sentence) and morphological case (inflections by which case is overtly expressed). Those languages that have a complex morphological case system, exhibiting a tight relation between abstract case and its overt morphological realization, do not show case variation. On the other hand, languages where case is infrequently surfaced by inflection are prone to variability of case forms.

Additionally, another issue is to be addressed. If it is assumed that coordinate constructions create an opaque environment for case marking of the elements involved in them, then it is somewhat questionable why this opacity does not affect the process of agreement with the verb. In other words, rules such as the coordinate structure constraint limit the interaction of CoPs with the outside syntactic world, yet they do not hinder the application of agreement.

This apparent discrepancy may be resolved in several ways. One way of dealing with agreement in CoPs is outlined in Johannessen (1998). She proposes that the requirement for the plural form of the finite verb, as demonstrated in (10), comes from the lexical properties of *and*. This coordinator involves the feature [+pl] inherently in its semantics (Johannessen 1998); therefore, the process of agreement results in the plural marking of the verb.

Similarly, te Velde (2005) suggests that the plural agreement in coordinate structures is not so much determined by the morphology of conjoined elements as by the coordinator *and*. However, he does not attribute the plurality to the lexical information attached to the coordinator *and* but views it as “a product of derivation, as determined by the features of the conjunct themselves” (te Velde 2005, 31). He supports his claim by providing examples, shown in (30)–(31) below, which illustrate clausal coordination together with singular verb forms.

- (30) *That her father is buying her a car and that her mother buys her clothes*
*pleases / *please Justine more than she wants to admit.* (te Velde 2005, 31)
- (31) *That Dana left and that Martin doesn't want to come irritates / *irritate me more*
than the fact you are still here. (te Velde 2005, 31)

These examples refute the idea that it is the inherent semantic information of *and* causing the plurality in sentences like (10). It is also suggested that certain structural criteria need to be satisfied for coordination to result in plural agreement. For example, two conjoined elements cannot be *that* clauses because they “are not assigned any number feature,” thus, “their conjunction does not produce [+PL]” (te Velde 2005, 31). In other words, it is the potential of being assigned number features, rather than the actual number marking of conjuncts that represents a factor relevant to the choice of the plural verbal form. Hence, agreement relations between the coordinate phrase and the finite verb are determined by a set of criteria, ranging from semantic to structural. It is possible to say that both the coordinator *and* and the “assignability” of number features of conjuncts influence the resulting form of the finite verb. Such a conclusion suggests that the whole coordinate phrase interacts with the surrounding context as a unit and has to be viewed as such.

Nevertheless, the question where the objective form of pronominal conjuncts in CoPs comes from still remains open. It has been stated that the objective case is not assigned either by the verb, or by the coordinator *and*. Following Schütze (2001), it will be proposed that objective forms used in CoPs represent the default (unmarked) form used under the neutralization of case oppositions (see also Battistella 1990). This hypothesis will be explored in the following section in greater detail.

5. DEFAULT CASE

Within formal conceptions, the notion of default has been defined as a last resort strategy operating when all other case assigning mechanisms fail to apply. A careful description of this term is given by Schütze (2001) who characterizes default case forms as those “that are not associated with any case feature assigned or otherwise determined by syntactic mechanisms” (Schütze 2001, 206). Default case does not require any case assigner (unlike for example *government*, see section 2), nor does it express relations between finiteness and external argument (unlike *agreement*, see section 2). In other words, when the conditions for case assignment are not fulfilled, then the noun (or a pronoun) will be marked by the default case.

Applying the notion of default to the pronoun usage in English, it may be stated that this case assigning mechanism affects those pronouns that are phonologically irreducible (Quinn 2005, 66), focalized, and having no case assigner available (Schütze 2001, 210). Therefore, coordinated pronouns represent an adequate candidate. Firstly, they cannot be phonologically reduced or distressed (Quinn 2005, 66), as shown in (32), and they occur under focus.

- (32) *It basically talked about when her and him (*'er and 'm) would talk online.*
(COCA, SPOK, Ind_Oprah, 2006)

Furthermore, coordinated pronouns appear in positions in which they are not directly dependent on their case assigners (Haegeman and Guerón 1999, 264). Being exposed to the coordinate structure constraint, they are encapsulated in CoPs and separated from the case assigner. This separation imposes barriers on the application of case assigning mechanisms and triggers the “last resort” strategy, namely the default case.

The objective pronoun forms in coordinate constructions being default also finds support in Battistella (1990) and Bresnan (2001). Within their approach to markedness, the default form is the form “used under neutralization of oppositions within a language” (Bresnan 2001, 13). In other words, the default form is the one capable of substituting the other member of the opposition. Therefore, the default pronoun has a wider syntactic distribution and appears in a wide variety of contexts (Battistella 1990, 26–27).

This is indeed the case for the usage of objective pronoun forms in coordinate constructions, demonstrated in (2)–(4). Objective forms are used in this environment irrespective of their syntactic functions. They can take on the functions of subjective forms; however, the opposite direction does not hold. The corpus data reveal only occasional occurrences of subjective forms in coordinate constructions functioning as objects or complements of prepositions, as in (33).⁷ Therefore, coordinated constructions create a setting in which case distinctions are neutralized, with the objective form representing the default member of the case opposition.

- (33) *... is peddling a sex tape of he and Paris Hilton. So from character standpoint, he's got some issues.* (COCA, SPOK, CBS_SatEarly, 2007)

This conclusion may be related only to non-standard usage where the occurrence of objective forms results from the application of the default case assignment mechanism.

7. Also, data from a survey distributed to 209 native speakers of American English show that subjective pronouns are rarely used in CoPs functioning as objects or complements of prepositions. For example, the 3SG pronoun *she* appeared as a direct object in CoPs only in 4.3 percent of cases, the 1PL pronoun *we* in none of the cases. An apparent exception is the 1 SG pronoun *I*. Battistella regards such usages as instances of a markedness assimilation. Speakers choose marked pronouns (i.e., subjective forms) to signal “prestige usage as distinct from the unmarked colloquial usage” (Battistella 1990, 74). In other words, one marked value attracts another marked value, resulting in the combination of marked case and marked style.

On the other hand, the use of subjective forms, as in (1), is the outcome of case marking by the finite verb, in accordance with the distribution of subjective forms in Standard English. Frequent case alternations of coordinated pronominal subjects only demonstrate that both case assigning mechanisms (by the finite verb and default) are applied highly variably and unsystematically.

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THE END-WEIGHT AND END-FOCUS PRINCIPLES IN RHEMATIC SUBJECTS

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ABSTRACT: Subjects in English typically occur in their canonical initial position and, since they are predominantly thematic, tend to be short, often formally realised by an anaphoric pronoun. Consequently, sentences with thematic initial subjects normally comply both with the principle of end-weight and that of end-focus, reserving the position at the end of the sentence for structurally and informationally heavier elements. On the other hand, rhematic subjects either remain initial, in which case they contradict the principle of end-focus, or, less commonly, in intransitive structures, occur in postposition. Postposed rhematic subjects are typically, though not necessarily, structurally complex, i.e., heavy. This paper looks at how the interplay of the principles of end-focus and end-weight affects the choice of the initial or final position of rhematic subjects in sentences implementing the presentation scale.

KEYWORDS: word order; end-weight principle; end-focus principle; rhematic subjects; choice of position

1. WORD ORDER PRINCIPLES IN GENERAL

English word order is often described as relatively predictable and simple, with limited variation. While such a simplified view may be pedagogically sound, in reality the linear arrangement of clause constituents is determined by a complex interplay of several principles. While the same principles apply across languages, e.g., in English and in Czech, their hierarchy may vary considerably owing to the typological characteristics of the respective languages. The following is a list of the most relevant word order principles described in linguistic literature, often under a variety of alternative names (the order of the principles does not necessarily reflect their relative importance):

- grammatical
- semantic
- functional sentence perspective (end-focus)
- emphatic
- rhythmical (end-weight)
- contact (continuity of phrases, proximity of related items)
- processibility
- cohesive

There is little doubt that the most important word order principle in English is the grammatical principle. In the absence of inflections, the word order is the primary indicator of the syntactic functions of clause constituents. According to this principle,

clause constituents in a declarative sentence are typically arranged in a default order, starting with the subject, followed by the verb and the object, with adverbials at the end of the sentence. Manipulation of word-order typically results in a change of the syntactic functions of the constituents, as long as their semantic content and formal realisation are compatible with their syntactic status, e.g., when the preverbal and the post-verbal NPs exchange their position, the subject becomes the object and vice versa.

On the other hand, in Czech, the syntactic function of a constituent is signalled by its inflections and remains constant, irrespective of its actual position in the linear chain. The word order is therefore much more flexible, and the distribution of clause constituents is primarily determined by the principle of functional sentence perspective (FSP) as a progression from low to high information value, with the information nucleus, the rheme, in the final position. In English, this linear progression is referred to as the end-focus principle (Quirk et al. 1985, 1357). Obviously, the application of the end-focus principle is limited in English, since it can only assert itself when it is not overridden by the grammatical principle.

Another word order principle operating in English states that there is a tendency for shorter (lighter) elements to precede longer (heavier) ones. This is known as the rhythmical principle or the principle of end-weight (Quirk et al. 1985, 1361–62; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1382–83).

2. THE END-WEIGHT AND END-FOCUS PRINCIPLES

The rest of this paper is primarily concerned with the interplay of the end-weight and the end-focus principles, in relation to the position of the subject; other principles will be referred to when necessary.

Discussing the principles of end-weight and end-focus in relation to the subject in English may seem like a contradiction. The canonical position of the subject in English is initial (according to the grammatical principle), and it tends to be short, i.e., structurally light, because it normally conveys context-dependent information. A substantial proportion of English subjects are formally realised by anaphoric pronouns. Indeed, the choice of a short and informationally light element for the subject allows the heavier elements to be encoded as subject complements, objects, and adverbials, which are placed post-verbally. In this way, most English sentences comply with all of the three word order principles referred to above: the grammatical principle, the end-focus and the end-weight principles.

The situation is different in rhematic subjects, i.e., those that convey the most important information in the sentence and carry the intonation nucleus. Here, distinction must be made between rhematic subjects in sentences containing a transitive verb and those containing an intransitive or copular verb. With the former category of the predicate verb, the subject cannot be moved from its preverbal position because such movement might result in a change of syntactic status and therefore a change of meaning, or it might render the sentence ungrammatical.

- (1) *A friend* told me this.

- (2) *This told me *a friend*.

To comply with the principle of end-focus, English tends to employ a strategy of assigning the semantic components different syntactic roles, which allows the rhematic element to be placed after the verb, in this particular case the use of the passive, as in example (3):

- (3) I was told by a friend.

While preserving their semantic and FSP functions (agent and addressee, rheme and theme, respectively), the rhematic subject of (1), *a friend*, has been turned into a rhematic adverbial *by a friend* in (3) in the final position in accordance with the grammatical principle. Conversely, the pronoun *me*, i.e., the thematic indirect object of (1), has acquired the status of the thematic subject *I* in (3), in the usual initial position.

Rhematic subjects in sentences containing intransitive or copular words may occupy the canonical initial position, occur within the existential *there is* construction or be moved into postposition, as demonstrated by the following examples.

- (4) *A rusted car* lies at the end of the road.
 (5) There is *a rusted car* at the end of the road.
 (6) At the end of the road lies *a rusted car*. (Bohatá 2004, 19)

Example (4) sticks to the default grammatical order of clause constituents and has initial focus, example (5) shifts the focal element into postverbal position, while (6) complies with the principle of end-focus, though not necessarily with that of end-weight. It is worth noting that the relative frequency of the three variants varies considerably across genres and registers. In addition, the *there is* construction employs a limited range of predicate verbs.

3. FORMAL REALISATION OF SUBJECTS

Another factor determining the position of the subject is its formal realisation. English subjects can normally occur in the form of noun phrases or clauses (infinitive, gerund or that-clauses), and each of these variants displays positional preferences. NP-subjects and ing-clause subjects favour the initial position, while infinitive-clauses and that-clauses strongly prefer the extraposition, i.e., final placement with the anticipatory IT subject in the initial position. The separate formal subtypes of subjects are demonstrated by the following examples:

- (7) On either side *meadows* stretched towards trees. (Armstrong 1991, 179)
 (8) *Bringing the Gulf Stream closer to the American east coast*, for example, would make our winters worse instead of better. (Carson 1961, 157)
 (9) It wasn't possible *to conduct twenty-nine investigations simultaneously*. (Armstrong 1991, 82)
 (10) It is interesting *that information from the right ear does not go to the right hemisphere, and that left ear input is not to the left hemisphere*. (Hatch 1983, 209)

The reason why infinitive-clause and that-clause subjects adhere to extraposition is most likely their considerable structural weight. Admittedly, structural weight (i.e., length and complexity) typically associates with information weight; however, extraposition remains the default position of these two subtypes of subject clauses even when they are thematic, i.e., when the information nucleus occurs in the matrix clause. The ing-subject (gerundial) clauses tend to be shorter and largely thematic but typically remain in the initial position even if they happen to be long and structurally complex. All of the formal subtypes of subjects can be moved out of their canonical position, but the frequency of such structures is considerably low. This is especially true about that-clause subjects and, to a slightly lesser extent, infinitive-clause subjects in the initial position. To occur in the initial position, they do not only have to be thematic but typically must operate as cohesive links to the previous text or must present new information as if it were old.

- (11) But in India, the very idea was dynamite. *That farmers should not be able to replant seeds* was inconceivable and offensive. (Vidal 1999)

The ing-subject clauses rarely occur in extraposition, and if they do, such examples are most commonly found in colloquial phrases like *it's no use*, *it's no good*, etc., as demonstrated by example (12).

- (12) 'It's no good *beating about the bush*,' said the man at the bar. (Bryers 1987, 192)

4. RHEMATIC NP SUBJECTS IN DIFFERENT REGISTERS

The rest of this paper will examine rhematic NP subjects. The vast majority of these remain in their canonical initial position, which indicates that the rhematic status alone is not a sufficient condition for their postposition. This is amply demonstrated by the following examples, the first containing several examples of rhematic subjects, all of them initial, within a short stretch of text.

- (13) The range Rover travelled slowly down a narrow lane. On either side *meadows* stretched towards trees. *An unpromising morning sun, now white and watery*, hung low on the landscape, destined to vanish behind cloud mass again. *A church tower* eclipsed the sun a moment, and headstones in a cemetery, damp still from the recent rain, gleamed gently. It was lovely and serene, a world of quiet, peaceful corners and birds that called softly. Even *the sound of the Range Rover* was absorbed by the landscape. (Armstrong 1991, 179)
- (14) Father Brown remained seated, gazing abstractedly at the carpet, where *a faint red glimmer* shone from the glass in the doorway. (Chesterton 1992, 281)

A somewhat higher frequency of final NP subjects is found within descriptive passages, more specifically in genres such as guidebooks, where description is the primary manner of presenting information. A possible explanation for this might be the conscious or subconscious avoidance by the writer of the *there is* construction, which is the primary structure used to present rhematic subjects in colloquial language. In

descriptive passages, the frequency of new items presented to the reader is very high, and employing the *there is* construction for the majority of them would render the text stylistically monotonous and clumsy. It is therefore no coincidence that the actual frequency of the *there is* construction is significantly lower in guidebooks and in similar text types than in the language of fiction.

- (15) All around stretch *the endless plains of southern Mesopotamia, dotted with poor tomato farmers who scratch a living from the drained marshes*. (Bohatá 2004, 19)

While final rhematic subjects tend to be long as in the above example, complying with the factor of end-weight, the impact of the style may be stronger than that of the end-weight principle. In descriptive passages, it is not unusual to find final NP subjects that are short, often in the form of a proper name.

- (16) Close to Ambleside on the road towards Coniston at Skelwith Bridge, lies *Skelwith Force*. (*Lake District*, 9)

On the other hand, in fiction and in other genres, the principle of end-weight is often the decisive factor determining the choice of either the initial or final position of the rhematic subject. Both of the sentences in example (17) contain rhematic subjects; the first of these is structurally light, consisting of an article and a single noun, while the other is long, containing multiple modifications. It would be hard to imagine the first of these in the final position, but it would be equally unlikely for the other to occur initially, as shown in (18).

- (17) About fifteen years ago, on a date late in August or early in September, *a train* drew up at Wilsthorpe, a country station in Eastern England. Out of it stepped (with other passengers) *a rather tall and reasonably good-looking young man, carrying a handbag and some papers tied up in a packet*. (James 1994, 184)
- (18) *About fifteen years ago, on a date late in August or early in September, at Wilsthorpe, a country station in Eastern England drew up *a train*. *A rather tall and reasonably good-looking young man, carrying a handbag and some papers tied up in a packet* stepped (with other passengers) out of it.

5. MORE STRATEGIES OF RECONCILING THE END-WEIGHT AND END-FOCUS PRINCIPLES

In addition to the passive transformation demonstrated by example (3) and to the final position of the rhematic subject, English employs a range of other strategies to satisfy, at least to some extent, the principle of end-weight and end-focus. One such strategy is the fronting of a thematic element, typically an adverbial, in which case the rhematic subject is removed from the initial position, although it remains preverbal. In this way, the focus of information is removed from the initial position and shifted further into the sentence. In the following example, the fronted adverbial *between them* also provides a cohesive link to the preceding sentence, which is given in brackets.

- (19) (Further south Little Orme Head looks back along the coast whilst Great Orme Head forms an impressive mass jutting out to sea and affording many vistas.) Between them *the prettily painted houses and hotels of Llandudno* arc around the beach where children build sandcastles and ride donkeys. (*Beautiful Wales*, 3)

A variant of (19) employing the final position of the subject in addition to the fronted adverbial would be equally possible, as manifested in (20); this would make the sentence conform fully to the principle of end-focus, whereas (19) may be seen as an intermediate step.

- (20) Between them, around the beach where children build sandcastles and ride donkeys, arc *the prettily painted houses and hotels of Llandudno*.

Yet another way to remove a weighty subject from the initial position in English is to use a discontinuous structure. In this case only the head of the subject NP is preserved in the initial position, while the heavy postmodification is moved further into the sentence or to the end of it, as demonstrated by the hypothetical examples (21) and (22).

- (21) *An idea that shattered his confidence* suddenly crossed his mind.

- (22) *An idea* suddenly crossed his mind *that shattered his confidence*.

6. CONCLUSION

The operation of the principles of end-focus and end-weight in relation to the position of the subject in English is by no means straightforward. It is affected by the formal realisation of the subject, with the separate structural subtypes of subjects favouring different default positions. Since the principles of end-focus and end-weight are not the leading word order principles in English, they tend to apply to a limited extent in sentences containing rhematic NP subjects. Typically, they can only assert themselves in situations where the predicate verb is intransitive or copular, and where the rhematic subject is a new phenomenon introduced into the scene. Even then, the vast majority of rhematic NP subjects are initial, i.e., the operation of the two above-mentioned principles is overridden by the grammatical principle of word-order. This is particularly so when the rhematic subjects are short (structurally light). There are also significant stylistic factors, e.g., in the context of description, the frequency of final rhematic NP subjects is significantly higher than in other genres or registers. In addition to the final position of the subject, English employs alternative strategies that make it possible to make the distribution of clause constituents comply at least partly with the principles of end-focus and/or end-weight, namely fronting and dislocation.

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ON THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH AND GERMAN MODAL VERBS

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ABSTRACT: The paper presents some of the morphosyntactic peculiarities of modal verbs in English and German and studies the origin of these properties by outlining their development from the Proto-Indo-European period to the present. It shows that the unique morphological features of English and German modal verbs, namely ablaut or the lack of agreement, have their origin in the earliest stages of the development of modals, whereas other defects of modals, such as the lack of non-finite forms, are typical only of the English language, and developed quite recently, namely in late Middle English period.

KEYWORDS: modal verbs; ablaut; verb agreement; bare infinitive; *to*-infinitive; *zu*-infinitive; English; German

1. INTRODUCTION

Similarly to other languages belonging to the Germanic family, both English and German possess a group of verbs called modal verbs, which have unique semantic and morphosyntactic qualities.¹ English and German modals are similar in some respects; however, there are several points where English and German do not overlap.

From the perspective of morphology, one of the most apparent properties of modal verbs in English and German is the lack of agreement suffix in 3rd person singular in the present tense, as shown in examples (1a)–(1d) comparing modal verbs with lexical verbs.

- (1) a. *He can*Ø/ **cans swim*.
b. *Er kann*Ø/ **kannt schwimmen*.
c. *He *swim*Ø/ *swims every day*.
d. *Er *schwimm*Ø/ *schwimmt jeden Tag*.

Besides the agreement, modals both in English and German subcategorize for a bare infinitive, and in contrast to the majority of verbs in the lexicon, they are not compatible with the *to*-infinitive (for English) and *zu*-infinitive (for German), as seen in the examples below.

1. The paper focuses on morpho-syntactic properties; semantic properties of modal verbs in English and German will not be discussed here.

- (6) a. **I can* _{NP} [*the song*] *by heart*.
 b. *Ich kann* _{NP} [*das Lied*] *auswendig*.
 c. **I must* _{PP} [*to the city centre*].
 d. *Ich muss* _{PP} [*ins Stadtzentrum*].

The following table summarizes the properties of English and German modal verbs and contrasts them with the properties of lexical verbs.

	LEXICAL VERBS	GERMAN MODALS	ENGLISH MODALS
AGREEMENT	yes	x	x
TO-INFINITIVE	yes	x	x
NON-FINITE FORM	yes	yes	x
TENSE SYSTEM	yes	yes	x
OBJECT / PP	yes	yes	x

Obviously, English modal verbs lack several properties of lexical verbs. German modals, on the other hand, seem to stand in between these two groups, i.e., they share some properties with English modal verbs but not others. This can be explained by the fact that it is generally believed that English modals became, in contrast to their German counterparts, more strongly grammaticalized during their historical development. As Roberts and Roussou (2003), among others, maintain, while at the earliest stages of their development English modals were verbal elements, they developed into a functional category different from verbs. As a result, English modals must have different properties from both German modal verbs as well as from English lexical verbs. This paper attempts to explain why English and German modals are identical in some properties but not in others and tries to show that many of these peculiarities can be explained by analyzing the historical development of modals in both languages.

2. EARLIEST HISTORY: PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN AND PROTO-GERMANIC PERIOD

To track down the roots of the above-mentioned properties, it is necessary to start the analysis in the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) and Proto-Germanic (PG) periods dating back to about 4,000 BC and 500 BC respectively,² when the two languages, English and German, were still to be separated from one another. In these periods, it is possible to identify the group of preterite-present verbs, which later gave rise to the modal verbs in both languages. The verbal system in PIE was based on aspect rather than on the tense distinction as in contemporary English and German. There were three aspects: *perfective* / *orist*, *imperfect* / *present* and *perfect*, which denoted states and the stems of which gave rise to the forms of preterite-presents:

2. Dates and examples in (7) taken from Ringe (2006).

(7)	<i>Perfect</i>	<i>Aorist</i>	<i>Present</i>
	<i>ste-stóh-e</i>	<i>stéh-t</i>	<i>stí-steh-ti</i>
	(is standing)	(stood up)	(is getting up)

As (7) shows, the verb root could exist in all three aspects, which were created by reduplication, suffixes or by ablaut (in case of *perfect*). In terms of the development of modals in both languages, the PG period was of extreme importance. Ringe (2006, 153ff) claims that the *perfect* form gave rise to two different classes of stems. First, these forms evolved into past stems of Germanic strong verbs. Second, the PIE perfect gave rise to present forms of preterite-presents. As a result, modals (descendants of preterite-presents) demonstrate in German similar ablaut changes as strong verbs in the past tense, which is clearly visible when comparing the paradigms of contemporary German modals (8a) with strong verbs in the present and the past (8b)–(8c).

<i>dürfen</i>	<i>brechen</i>	<i>brechen</i>
MODAL VERB	STRONG VERB	STRONG VERB
PRESENT singular paradigm	PRESENT singular paradigm	PAST singular paradigm
(8a) <i>ich darf</i> Ø	(8b) <i>ich breche</i>	(8c) <i>ich brach</i> Ø
<i>du darfst</i>	<i>du brichst</i>	<i>du brachst</i>
<i>er darf</i> Ø	<i>er bricht</i>	<i>er brach</i> Ø

As the examples demonstrate, the present paradigm of modals is identical with the past paradigm of strong verbs, both in terms of the lack of suffixes as well as the ablaut in all persons. The same holds for English, although the ablaut distinction is not relevant for English anymore and the lack of the suffix is visible in the third person singular only – examples (1a) and (1c).

Semantically, the group of preterite-presents contained approximately fifteen members. They were uniform in having a stative meaning, which was, however, not always necessarily related to the modality (e.g., obligation, necessity): *dugana* – to be useful, *ganugana* – to be sufficient, *kunnana* – to know how.

3. OLD ENGLISH PERIOD (450–1150)

As far as the development of the predecessors of modal verbs in this period is concerned, it should be pointed out that not all members of the PG preterite-present group, such as *ganugana*, were preserved. Concerning their morphosyntactic properties, linguists such as Warner (1993) or Roberts and Roussou (2003) claim that apart from several unique morphological features (see above), preterite-presents in OE had the same properties as lexical verbs, and in fact, they were lexical verbs in this period.³ And indeed, preterite-presents existed in non-finite forms, i.e., in infinitive (*cunnan* – to know, can; *willan* –

3. Contrary to this, Romero (2005) argues that a particular use of preterite-presents (when followed by a VP) was never fully lexical; in this case preterite-presents were semi-lexical, yet not fully grammaticalized.

to be willing, to desire) and in participles (*cunnen* – past participle, *willende* – present participle), although some verbs such as *motan* (must) or *sculan* (to be obliged to) are not attested for having infinitives.⁴

English preterite-presents lost the property of having non-finite forms in the ME period, but apparently, no such change happened in the course of history of the German modal since these do appear in non-finite forms in the contemporary language as shown in (3b) and also in (4c). Another property of contemporary English lexical verbs that the OE modals demonstrated was the subcategorization for an object. As the example (9) taken from Warner (1993) demonstrates, predecessors of English modals verbs could be followed (besides a VP) by a noun phrase, which is not the case of contemporary modals, which do not tolerate such complementation – compare with (6a).

- (9) *He symble wyle* _{NP}[god] *and næfre nan yfel.*
He always desires good and never no evil.

English preterite-presents started to be incompatible with an object in the ME period.⁵ Again, no such development would be traced in the German language, since, as shown in (6b), some contemporary German modals do combine with objects.

4. MIDDLE-ENGLISH PERIOD (1150–1500)

In the ME period, the group of pre-modals suffered some further losses. According to Warner (1993), these losses are related to the subcategorization and meaning, i.e., those preterite-presents that had a non-infinitival subcategorization and did not have what we would call a modal meaning disappeared.

According to many scholars, the development of pre-modals in the ME period had a crucial impact on forming the group of modal verbs as a separate class, i.e., with distinctive, non-verbal, properties. One of the most striking properties of contemporary modal verbs is a partial lack of present – past opposition, e.g., *can* – *could*. According to Lightfoot (1979) and Warner (1993), in the OE period, the preterite forms had a past reference, whereas later these pairs start to lose their temporal reference and become semantically independent. Warner (1993) also adds that the first examples of this development, which was most powerful in the ME period, can be found already in OE (he gives an example of the verb *should*), and stresses that the process is probably still in progress. Indeed, the remnants of this opposition can still be found in contemporary English – for example in reported speech.

Secondly, another change that is believed to have changed the morpho-syntactic status of contemporary English modals is the loss of the infinitive form, which, according to Roberts and Roussou (2003, 42), happened around the year 1500. They regard this to be a key property and state that New English “is the only Germanic

4. Forms taken from Romero (2005).

5. The frequently mentioned exception to this tendency is the verb *can* this lost its property later.

language with such a syntactically defined class, and it is the only Germanic language lacking an infinitival ending.” Roberts and Roussou (2003) go on to state that some preterite-presents (OE *motan*, *sculan*) started to function as auxiliary verbs already in OE, and support this by quoting Warner (1993, 147) who claims that “preterite-present verbs subcategorized for the plain infinitive which denote necessity, obligation and related notions of futurity are finite only.” As is obvious from the example in (3b) and from the lines above, no such change happened in German, as German modals keep appearing in infinitives.

Besides these changes, Lightfoot (1979) maintains that the rise of the *to*-infinitive also significantly contributed to the separation of modals from the group of lexical verbs. He explains that *to* was originally a preposition and since pre-modals denoted states (not movements), pre-modals never occurred in combination with *to*. Once *to* became grammaticalized, i.e., once its directional meaning faded out, English modals were already a separate class and, hence, never had a chance to subcategorize for the *to*-infinitive. However, if this were true and this development were universal, contemporary German modals would appear with the *zu*-infinitive. Since the property of subcategorization for the bare infinitive can be found both in English as well as in German, the appearance of the *to*-infinitive had no influence on the development of modals in English. The reason why English (and German) modals do not combine with the *to*-infinitive is instead related to the fact that they syntactically and semantically form sentence structures different from those of lexical verbs. The detailed analysis of this is provided by Romero (2005).

5. EARLY MODERN ENGLISH (1500–1700)

In the EME period, the group of modals lost further members, such as *durfen*, and some of the surviving members experienced some changes in terms of their meaning, such as *can*, according to Romero (2005). Besides this, the members of the modal verbs group started to unify their properties, for example those members that had non-finite forms started to drop them (Warner 1993).

In terms of their morpho-syntactic behaviour, the EME modal verbs do not differ much from the modal verbs in the contemporary English. In contrast with the earlier periods, modal verbs in EME were already fully grammaticalized, which can be demonstrated by the use of question tag structures that started to appear in this period. According to the examples below provided by Warner (1993), it is clear that the modal verbs and lexical verbs in the EME period already formed two separate syntactic categories. Whereas the full verb *come* in (10a) is represented in the question tag by auxiliary *do*, the modal verb *may* in (10b) is repeated in the question tag, which demonstrates that the verb *may* itself falls into the auxiliary category, which is a separate category from verbs.

- (10) a. *She comes of errands, does she?*
 b. *Why, and I trust I may go too, may I not?*

Furthermore, as Romero (2005) states, the fact that English modal verbs were grammaticalized in this period can be proven by the appearance of the contracted forms – example (11).

- (11) *Go waken Juliet, go and trim her up,
I'll go and chat with Paris.*

This property is shared by auxiliary verbs *do*, *be*, *have* and modal verbs, but lexical verbs can never appear in contracted forms, which further supports the statement that in contrast with the earlier periods of their development, English modal verbs in this period were not members of the category of verbs anymore, but became members of the closed-class grammatical category.

6. CONCLUSION

The introductory part of the paper presented unique properties of English and German modal verbs with respect to the properties of lexical verbs in both languages. Furthermore, it also contrasted the differences between the modals in both languages. It has been shown that some peculiarities, namely the lack of 3rd person agreement and the ablaut in the whole present singular paradigm (today visible only with German modals), have their origins in the PIE and PG periods, and are results of the paradigms of preterite-present verbs.

Another property that is shared by the modals in both languages is their incompatibility with *to*/*zu*-infinitive. Contrary to what is stated by some scholars (Lightfoot 1979), I claim that this property had no influence on the development of modals in both languages; neither did it contribute to the grammaticalization of English modals. More likely, this property is related to the inherent syntactic / semantic behavior of modals in both languages.

As far as other morpho-syntactic properties are concerned, English and German differ significantly. English modals are defective in lacking non-finite forms, not combining with an object and not appearing in the whole temporal system. As this paper showed, English modal verbs, or at least the majority of them, demonstrated these properties in the OE period; however, these were lost during the development of English modals – predominantly in the late ME period. As a result of this, English modals in contemporary language are highly grammaticalized and form a separate part of speech, whereas their German counterparts, which preserved all verb-like properties, are considered to be lexical verbs and do not form any such category.

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DIALECT MIXING AS A LANGUAGE CONTACT IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT: In recent years, language contacts have been considered one of the main causes for language change (Heine and Kuteva 2005, 2006), and this is also the case in English. However, English has gone through a range of contacts including a mutually intelligible language, e.g., Old Norse, and various dialects. In the context of English, French does not form a similar kind of contact, since it was spoken by a handful of people who had to learn it. Mutual intelligibility is one of the crucial factors that forced earlier English grammar into its current form. The grammar of Present-Day English is full of peculiarities typologically (Toyota, forthcoming), and its unique history of contacts may be responsible for this.

KEYWORDS: grammaticalisation; replication; dialect; grammatical peculiarities; Indo-European languages

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses possible causes for various grammatical peculiarities found in Present-Day English. English grammar is often taken as a base for various linguistic theories, but these often ignore the fact that English has many typologically odd features. Thus, basing a theory on a language such as English may invite problems in formulating a theoretical framework (cf. Toyota 2004). Historically, Old English was just like any other Germanic languages of that period, but it somehow took on the shape of Present-Day English. Grammatical peculiarities found in Present-Day English have their roots in a unique historical development in English, which cannot be found in many languages. In this respect, language contacts and contact-induced changes (e.g., Heine and Kuteva 2005, 2006) play an important role, but English has its own peculiar situation concerning contacts. Thus, this paper aims to clarify what has given English its current form.

This article is organised as follows: first some examples of grammatical peculiarities are demonstrated. These points form a basis for further discussion throughout the rest of the paper. Then, two cases of contact-induced changes are compared, focusing on Europe. The first type is continental Europe and the second, Great Britain. After identifying what is unique in the case of Great Britain, English grammar is explained in terms of the notion of speaker- and hearer-orientation, proposed by Durst-Andersen (2011). This orientation proves to be a useful tool in explaining how English has changed and in illustrating the importance of contacts found in Great Britain in the past.

2. PECULIARITIES OF THE ENGLISH GRAMMAR

English grammar is full of peculiarities from a typological perspective, as extensively discussed in Toyota (forthcoming). For instance, take verbal conjugation, which is simple in English, except for some irregular verbs. Even for the irregular ones, irregularities extend only to the past tense and the past participle. The present tense form does not alter except for the third person singular, where -s is added to the verb. This fact does not seem to draw much attention despite being very odd cross-linguistically. There are at least two features worth mentioning here. First, speakers tend to make clear who is speaking (first person) to whom (second person) (cf. Croft 2001, 315), so verbs normally have a special marking to identify the first and second person, and the third person is often left unmarked. The second point is number: humans tend to consider singularity as a basic unit, and plurality as some variation of singularity. So singularity is not marked, but plurality normally carries some grammatical sign, e.g., *book* (SG)/*book-s* (PL), except for some cases such as Latvian and Mande languages in West Africa that have both singular and plural markers added to a stem. Taking these two points into account, one would assume that the third person singular is supposed to be unmarked, i.e., it should not carry any special grammatical markings to identify the person and number, as demonstrated in Table 1.

TABLE 1. LIKELIHOOD OF MARKEDNESS FOR PERSON AND NUMBER

	SG	PL
1st person	*	#*
2nd person	*	#*
3rd person		#

Notes: * = marking for person; # = marking for number

Conjugation in English shows the total opposite pattern, and it is illogical to have marking only on the third person singular. In addition, the third person singular form is often close to the verb stem in different languages, due to its unmarkedness. It is less studied, but some dialects in the UK (West Yorkshire and Lancashire) use a simplified conjugation, and the third person singular form is applied to every person and number, e.g., *I reads, you reads, he reads*, etc. The same pattern is also found in some creoles, where the third person singular form is used as an only verbal form, e.g., Jamaican creole *me is, you is, he is*, etc. This can be considered as evidence that this form was possibly an unmarked form preserved through language contact.

The case of conjugation is a historical accident, i.e., it might have been possible to retain the second person singular marking, too, if the second person singular pronoun *thou* had not been lost. In other words, the first person and the plural forms were bound to be simplified, but the second person and the third person singular forms could have been retained (Blake 1996, 219–20).

Another peculiar grammatical feature is the use of the passive voice and perception verbs. English only allows the passivisation of divalent or trivalent verbs, i.e., as long as

the direct object is present, English readily allows passivisation regardless of the nature of the verb. This is what is termed here as syntactic transitivity. This creates a question concerning the perception verbs. Perception verbs are indeed divalent verbs in English, and the presence of the direct object makes them behave like a transitive verb. As a result, they can be passivised, e.g., (1). However, the use of the term transitive should be questioned here. As argued in Toyota (2009a, 2009b, forthcoming), transitivity, interpreted here as transfer of energy, can be used at least in two distinctive senses: semantic and syntactic. Semantic transitivity involves various parameters, as presented in Hopper and Thompson (1980, 251–99) and Taylor (2003, 222–46). Thus, transitivity can be measured in gradience, and it is often difficult to state whether a clause is transitive or not. Syntactic transitivity is only concerned with the presence or the absence of the direct object. When it is present, a clause is transitive; when absent, intransitive.

(1) *This film was seen by many people.* [English]

Cross-linguistically, transitive verbs are more readily passivised (Kittilä 2003, 23), but due to the difference in transitivity between semantic and syntactic, each language may appear to behave differently. English relies on the presence of the direct object, but other languages are more semantically oriented. Thus, passivisation of semantically transitive verbs such as the example (2) from German is possible, i.e., the verb *tanzen*, ‘dance,’ is syntactically intransitive but semantically transitive. Those languages with semantic transitivity often differentiate the grammatical subject in order to express slight differences in transitivity, e.g., the Serbian examples in (3). With the nominative subject, the whole clause denotes the action, while the dative subject in conjunction with the reflexive marker expresses the mental state. Syntactic transitivity does not allow expression of such a subtle difference. In this sense, English fully takes advantage of syntactic structure to deal with transitivity, but it sacrifices the ability to express subtle differences found in semantic transitivity. Except for English, this feature is missing from almost all languages in the Indo-European family.

[German]

- (2) *Es wird getanzt.*
 It became dance.PST.PRT
 ‘There was dancing.’

[Serbian]

- (3) a. *Ja spavam.*
 I.NOM sleep.1SG
 ‘I go to bed.’ (action)
 b. *Meni se spavam.*
 I.DAT REF sleep.1SG
 ‘I feel sleepy.’ (state)

3. ORIGIN OF PECULIARITIES: CONTACT-INDUCED GRAMMATICALISATION

It is argued here that the peculiarities mentioned so far mainly resulted from contact-induced grammaticalisation, known as replication (Heine and Kuteva 2005, 2006). However, there seem to be at least two different kinds of replication, depending on mutual intelligibility. What is extensively discussed in Heine and Kuteva is mainly concerned with contacts among languages that are not mutually intelligible. However, contacts that are exclusively made among mutually intelligible languages often result in a specific grammatical structure. In order to highlight this difference, both cases are shown in the following subsections, involving languages spoken in Europe.

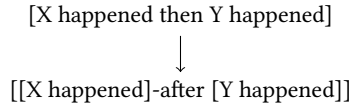
3.1 REPLICATION IN EUROPE

Contacts have been a crucial factor in language change, as extensively demonstrated in Heine and Kuteva (2006). In replication, it is argued that contacts can cause more than a simple borrowing or a forceful adaptation: the invention of new structures can be made by analysis of a contact language, and in creating a new structure, basic principles of grammaticalisation can be applied. Heine and Kuteva (2003, 533; 2005, 80–84) argue for four basic stages in the process of replication, as summarised in (4).

- (4) a. Speakers of language R notice that in language M there is a grammatical category Mx.
- b. They develop an equivalent category Rx, using material available in their own language (R).
- c. To this end, they draw on universal strategies of grammaticalisation, using construction Ry in order to develop Rx.
- d. They grammaticalise construction Ry to Rx.

Contact in East Anatolia serves as an example of how the processes shown in (4) work. This region, located in the eastern tip of Turkey and sharing borders with Georgia, Armenia and Iran, has a notable mixture of languages (Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Kartvelian and Turkic) along with cultures and religions (Georgian/Russian Orthodox, Armenian Church, Roman Catholic and Sunni Muslim, cf. Toyota 2010). Haig (2001) reports a case of a contact-induced change among Turkish (Turkic), Laz (Kartvelian) and Zazaki (Iranian), where a form meaning ‘after’ appears to have been grammaticalised to something like a consecutive clause marker added to the first clause, as schematically represented in Figure 1. Among these languages, notes Haig (2001, 203–4), the Turkish structure seems to be a model influencing Laz and Zazaki, as demonstrated in (5) to (7). This is not a simple lexical borrowing. Otherwise, a phonetically-modified form of the Turkish word *sonar* should be found in Laz and Zazaki, but both of them use their own word semantically corresponding to ‘after,’ e.g., *şuk’ule* and *tepeyā*, respectively (i.e., process represented in (4b)). This case demonstrates the grammaticalisation of ‘after’ turning from a preposition/participle to a consecutive conjunction in Laz and Zazaki (process represented in (4c)), i.e., a lexical word turning into a more grammatical marker.

FIGURE 1: A GRAMMATICALISATION PATH OF A CONSECUTIVE MARKER



[Turkish (Turkic)]

- (5) *giyin-dik-ten sonar gitti*
 get.dressed-NOM-ABL after go.PST.3SG
 ‘After he had got dressed he left.’

[Laz (Kartvelian)]

- (6) *ham çitaabi golobioni=şuk’ule omçiru-şa bidi*
 DEM book read.1SG.PFV=after swim.INF-LOC go.1SG.PFV
 ‘After I had read this book I went swimming.’

[Zazaki (Iranian)]

- (7) *ti merdī tepeyā, ez se kerā?*
 2SG die.PST.2SG after 1SG what do.MOD.1SG
 ‘After you have died, what should I do?’

Generally speaking, the grammar of some Indo-European languages saw dramatic changes around the sixteenth to eighteenth century (Toyota 2010), i.e., after the Renaissance and around the Age of Enlightenment. These changes often follow the pattern illustrated in (4). Various factors affect the outburst of grammatical changes, but what is significant is that social movements or changes allow more contacts. In addition, these factors come from different sources.

This period also saw some radical changes in the way people communicated and increased their knowledge. Although it may not be overtly stated, religion can be a crucial factor in affecting contacts and shaping grammar. The whole of Europe had been Christianised by the Renaissance (the last country to be Christianised was Lithuania in the fourteenth century), and Catholicism and Orthodoxy were the main branches of Christianity. However, churches in medieval Europe were full of corruption and people, especially scholars as well as lay people, started questioning the authority of the churches. In addition, churches failed to deal with the epidemic of the plague, i.e., they could not save people. All these events made people leave the church and lose faith in Christianity (see Sommerville 1992 for details of secularisation in England). As a result, people were allowed to question authorities and individual thinking was encouraged. Intellectuality increased at the social level, and people started seeking worldly knowledge. This resulted in the advancement of science, as often represented in statements by Copernicus or Galileo. Previous scientists already knew that the Earth

was not flat, for instance, but due to the power of churches, they could not state it publicly. In addition, due to the invention of mass printing, books became more readily available to a wider audience, and the Bible was translated into vernacular languages. All these events increased people's literacy and thus aided intellectuality. This is the period when people became increasingly familiar with different foreign cultures.

It is also obvious that the trading among different countries became increasingly common throughout Europe around this period. For instance, the Hanseatic League was formed around the Baltic Sea, which allowed more mobility and contacts with people with different linguistic backgrounds. Communications among the countries participating in the Hanseatic League influenced the development of each other's languages. In Scandinavia, as Dahl (2004) shows, the language change from Old Swedish to Modern Swedish started in the Southern part of Sweden, where much contact was made with German through trading during this period. Some historical residues can be still found, e.g., Swedish lost the case marking in the Southern part, but some Northern dialects still preserve the residues of earlier case marking to this day.

The influence of contacts can be made clearer by looking at places where contact was, by and large, absent. In spite of these general movements in Europe, some countries resisted the social movements typically associated with the Renaissance and Age of Enlightenment. For instance, Catherine the Great of Russia (reigning from 1762–1796) banned anything that might support the Renaissance and Enlightenment movement in fear of uprising or revolution. Russia had power over Slavic countries in Eastern Europe, especially in South Slavic countries (Serbia, Bulgaria, Macedonia, etc.), and therefore, the lingering influence from the Renaissance did not spread much into the Balkan region either. The lands now referred to as Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, however, had closer contact with the Hapsburg monarchy and despite being Slavic, were influenced by the Renaissance.

During the previous millenium, the majority of Western Europe has experienced changes that have led to remarkable evolutionary differences in languages. In contrast, Celtic, Baltic and Slavic, all spoken outside of the areas with active contacts, have not changed much. The changes observed in the contact-active areas in the Western Europe occurred between the fifteenth-century Renaissance and the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. This suggests that increased contacts instigated by social movements played an important role in Europe.

3.2 REPLICATION IN GREAT BRITAIN

Historical changes in the English language occurred mostly from around the fifteenth century onwards (cf. Toyota, forthcoming), and it can be suggested that Great Britain was a part of the general social changes in continental Europe and that English received a general effect of the social movements discussed in the previous section. However, this map can be misleading. In the case of Great Britain, the changes indeed took place around the same time as in continental and northern Europe, but the country did not go through effects of the same social movements observed on the continent. Instead,

Great Britain had its own series of social events that created similar effects to those of the Renaissance or the Age of Enlightenment, which may be misleadingly called the English Renaissance. In both cases, social movements accelerated contacts among different languages, but Great Britain created various contacts on the island related to the involvement of different dialects.

Present-day English has a wide range of dialects, but it was not so complex earlier in Old English. However, one should bear in mind that earlier Great Britain was multilingual and there were several languages spoken there. Prior to 600AD, there was a great mixture of linguistic communities, e.g., the Celts with Old Welsh and Old Irish, the Saxon with Old Saxon (and later with the Angles, who spoke Old English), Normans with Old Norse and in addition to these, Latin was used in monasteries. For various reasons, Old Saxon and Old English speakers did not have much contact with speakers of Old Welsh and Old Irish, but they had intense contact with Old Norse speakers in the northern part of England.

As speakers of these languages shifted towards Old English, dialectal variations were found. Initially, Old English emerged with three major dialects: West Saxon, Mercian and Northumbrian. Contacts among these dialects were not so common, to the extent that mutual intelligibility became less obvious, e.g.:

Al þe longage of þe Norþhumbres, and specialliche at þork, is so sharp, slitting, and frontynge and vnschape þat we wouþerne men may þat longage vnneþe vnderstonde. (1387 Trivisa *Polychronicon*)

‘All the language of the Northumbrians, and especially at York, is so sharp, harsh, and grating and formless that we southern men can hardly understand that language.’

This means that English as we know it has never had a single form, but rather existed as a variety of dialects each differentiated by dialectal differences. This difference became highly complex during the Middle English period onwards.

What is unique in the history of English is that contacts were made among different dialects, or with other Germanic languages. Chronologically, the first major onset of contact was made with Old Norse in Northumbria, where Old Norse speakers might have lived side by side with Old English speakers under Dane Law. As a result, early changes were more obvious in the northern part of Great Britain. These two languages were more or less mutually understandable and speakers did not learn each other’s languages. Instead, they modified their own language for a better comprehension by hearers. Details of such changes will be discussed in Section 4. This Old English dialect became highly influential and transformed the more conservative southern dialects after the Middle English period (see Townend 2006 and Corrie 2006 for a comprehensive review). In this transformation, contacts among different dialects were crucial.

Among various social events that stirred the distribution of dialects after the Old English period, there were at least two major events. The first one was shifts in political

power, in particular, enthronements of kings that had strongholds in the northern parts of Great Britain. The onset of the dialect mixing was probably instigated by Richard III and James I. These kings allowed migration from Scotland or the northern part of England to London and its surroundings (change of the Royal Courts from Scotland and Yorkshire, respectively). Without these events, there would have been no opportunity for common people from different parts of Great Britain to experience different dialects. The second factor is the Industrial Revolution. There were indeed migrations of people southwards from the north in search of work during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but after the Industrial Revolution, movement turned northwards, since many factories and mines were built in the northern parts of England and more jobs were created there. An underlying factor here is that people migrated in search of work, and it is fair to claim that the Industrial Revolution reversed the tide of migration. This shift spread a mixed dialectal form from the south to the north.

After the Middle English period, the centralised government in London made efforts to standardise the language, particularly after the reign of Henry V. These efforts took several centuries, culminating in improvements in the education system, and were not as significant as the two events already mentioned. This is in part similar to koineisation, and some previous works have dealt with Middle English or Early Modern English as a type of koiné, dialect levelling or a standardised language (e.g., Wright 2000, 2005). However, dialectal levelling may not suffice to explain the whole developmental pattern found in the history of English. Instead, factors that forced the dialectal mixing (but not levelling) due to migrations of people may be more important.

What has been rather neglected in studies concerning language contacts is the intelligibility of the languages involved. It seems natural that fully-fledged creolisation emerges when two languages in contact are totally unintelligible. Contact-induced change seems to suggest that any kind of contacts produce creolisation, but when languages involved in contacts are mutually intelligible, creolisation may not occur in the commonly accepted sense of this phenomenon. In each case, there are some changes in grammar (loosely speaking, simplification), but the extent of changes can vary significantly.

3.3 DIALECT MIXING

The formation of Middle English can be considered a result of creolisation, but what happened to Old English and Old Norse differs in many ways from the conventional sense of creolisation: speakers basically preserved their own language while they indeed modified some parts of grammar, such as inflections. Speakers in the contact area simply dropped many case markers and kept nominal arguments (along with adjectival phrases) with bare minimum forms, i.e., a stem. A similar change happened with verbs. These changes happened in both Old English and Old Norse. This was possible because these speakers were mutually intelligible, since basic differences between Old English and Old Norse were not as wide as the gap between their daughter languages now. In this sense, dialect here refers to much more than a conventional sense of variations

within a language, say English, and instead, languages within a single language family can be considered as dialects if they share much mutual intelligibility. Contacts among such languages are termed here as dialect mixing.

This type of simplification does not add up to a fully-fledged creolisation. Similar changes have been witnessed in different parts of the world: Scandinavia (for instance, Swedish changed into its modern shape due to contacts with Danish, and some northern dialects without much contacts with others still maintain case inflection to this day); Quechua in the northern Andes region (especially Ecuadorian Quechua. Quechua has a wide range of dialects and some do not show this type of case inflection at all. See Muysken 2009); Malay in Indonesia (formulated from different dialects spoken there); and possibly Swahili.

These languages are formulated in a slightly different way from creole languages, although language contacts are also important for the formation of Creoles. These languages, including Standard English, are used as a *lingua franca*, but the original languages involved in formulating such a special grammatical form are mutually intelligible. Such languages are clearly different from common Creole languages (contacts among unintelligible languages). Interestingly, languages that have gone through dialect mixing seem to develop in the same direction (i.e., into similar grammatical structures) regardless of their language family. This is not surprising, since the environment where these languages are formed is more or less identical, only differing in the language family.

4. LANGUAGE ORIENTATION AND DIALECTAL MIXING

Mutual intelligibility is only possible in dialect mixing. What is noticeable is the simplification of grammar, which can be easily seen in comparing the grammar of Old English with that of Present-Day English. For instance, by losing the case marking, the use of a nominal phrase became much easier. As a consequence of the loss of case, word order became fixed. In this way, it is difficult to express subtle discourse factors such as topic or focus, but sentence formation has become much easier. Also, the active-passive voice dichotomy gives a rich tool to give variation in the predicate, i.e., the same predicate can be seen from the perspective of either actor or undergoer, but keeps the grammar simple enough at the same time (cf. Toyota 2009a).

On the other hand, there is the addition of new grammatical items such as articles. In a way, the presence of articles makes the grammar more complex, and English has a wide range of use concerning articles, e.g., definite, indefinite and null articles. This line of development seems to go against the general trend of simplification. However, all these changes discussed so far have been created for the purpose of making the statement clearer for the hearer, i.e., speakers adjusted the grammar so that it becomes easier for hearers to dissect messages encoded in the predicate. The addition of articles does not make much difference in a speaker's expression, but interpretation on the part of hearers can be improved dramatically. As argued in Toyota and Hallonsten (2011), the presence of articles is cross-linguistically concentrated around the area where a high

density of different linguistic communities are found, e.g., Sub-Saharan Africa, Papua New Guinea, the west coast of North America and Europe (cf. Dryer 2008).

This line of thinking goes along with what Durst-Andersen (2011) terms hearer-orientation. Basing his analysis on earlier works on semiotics, namely de Saussure (1916), Bühler (1934) and Peirce (1932), he claims that the arbitrariness of language argued by de Saussure makes words omnipotent and capable of referring practically to anything, in opposition to non-verbal communication systems that are always restricted in use due to the indexical and iconic relationship between content and expression. He argued that because of this arbitrariness, language can give a semiotic direction to an otherwise completely static sign. By improving ternary semiotic models proposed by Peirce (1932) and Bühler (1934), he proposes the following indexes: model (firstness), symptom (secondness) and signal (thirdness). This allows for the conclusion that the grammar of a language turns its embedded symbols, i.e., verbs and their subordinated nouns, into three types shown in (8). They also function as three possible targets of semiotic direction. The speaker's model consists of an obligatory choice between three types of code: situations in a real or an imagined world (situation orientation), the speaker's experience or non-experience of them (speaker-orientation) or the hearer's experience or non-experience of them (hearer-orientation). Speakers have to make a choice among these three types, but hearers necessarily involve all three. In each case, the hearer compensates for those pieces of content that were left out by the speaker's choice of semiotic orientation.

- (8) a. Models of situations in reality.
- b. Symptoms of the speaker's experiences.
- c. Signals to the hearer to find the situations behind the messages.

These differences are clearly represented by certain grammatical structures. For instance, possession is normally expressed as an extension of static spatial sense in reality orientation (e.g., location schema (A is at Y) or companion schema (A is with Y) (Cf. Heine 1997, 47).¹ Typical examples are shown in (9) and (10). Speaker orientation explains subtle differences in expression, often using complex modality system. Evidential is a good example. In each language, it is possible to explain the source of evidence for one's statement, but some have grammaticalised it. This structure can be extremely rich in some language families but not in others. Take for example a rather complex case. The Cherokee examples in (11) and (12) illustrate how evidential actually works. The suffix *-šī* in (11) indicates that a speaker has a first-hand (or direct) experience in an event, while *-ešī* in (12) shows that a speaker has to rely on information inferable from outside. In some languages, the distinction becomes much finer. See Aikhenvald (2004) for further examples.

1. See Heine (1997) for further typological variations of possession.

[Irish]

- (9) *Tá leabhar agaim*
 is book at.me
 ‘I have a book.’

[Swahili (Heine et al. 1991, 117)]

- (10) *ni-li-kuwa na redio n-zuri*
 1SG-PST-be with radio CL9-nice
 ‘I had a nice radio’

[Cherokee (Iroquoian, Aikhenvald 2004, 26)]

- (11) a. *wesa u-tlis-iši*
 cat it-run-FIRST.PST
 ‘A cat ran’ (I saw it running)
 b. *un-atiyohl-iši*
 they-argue-FIRST.PST
 ‘They argued.’ (I heard them arguing)

[Cherokee (Iroquoian, Aikhenvald 2004, 27)]

- (12) a. *u-wonis-eši*
 he-speak-NON.FIRST.PST
 ‘He spoke.’ (someone told me)
 b. *u-gahnnan-eši*
 it-rain-NON.FIRST.PST
 ‘It rained.’ (I woke up, looked out and saw puddles of water)

Hearer-orientation has its own special pattern, and it relies heavily on syntactic structure to code different meanings. Subtle differences are often not overtly expressed. For example, consider the examples in (13) from Old English. (13a) and (13b) have the same verb *folgian* ‘follow,’ but the former takes the accusative case and the latter, the dative case. The difference expressed in the different case markings is the degree of causation: the accusative case implies that the action has been completed and the emphasis found in the clause is on the resulting state. The dative case, on the other hand, refers to the ongoing action, i.e., the causation is in progress. More causation is found with the accusative case, since the action is complete. In addition to this, the genitive case used for the direct object as in (13c) refers to the partitive reading, i.e., the object is only partially affected, and the level of causation is considerably less than the direct object with the accusative case (cf. Toyota 2008, 2009a). This type of difference was possible in Old English. This is a typical feature in speaker-orientation, i.e., all these subtle differences are perceived by each speaker and this is not possible when the grammar is organised for hearer-orientation, as in the case of Present-day English.

[Old English]

- (13) a. *and ða folgode feorhgeniðlan*
 and then follow.PST deadly.foes.ACC
 ‘and then he pursued his deadly foes.’ (*Beo* 2928)
- b. *Him folgiað fugöas scyne*
 he.DAT follow.PRS bird.NOM.PL fair
 ‘Fair birds shall follow him.’ (*WHom* 11.197)
- c. *þa ðu wilnodest to us þæs godes ðe ðu*
 when you desired fromus the.GEN good.GEN that you
to him sceoldes
 to him should
 ‘When you desired from us that you should from him.’ (*Bo* 19.15)

Another similar example is the expression of perception and emotion. (14) is a rather typical case of expressing perception or emotion cross-linguistically, where the experiencer is expressed as an end point in the transfer of stimulus (in this case, used with the dative case, but it could be in the allative case or in the prepositional phrase headed by ‘to’ or ‘towards’). This structure, based on a spatial sense of energy transfer, was originally used, but these structures often change into different forms, e.g., (13) and its Present-day English counterparts. Thus, in the case of English, Present-day English uses the nominative form for all kinds of subjects, whether the semantic role is agent or experiencer. The range of meanings in verbs also varies according to each language. For instance, (15) from Hittite is related to perception, in the sense of ‘someone went out of one’s sight,’ but (16) from Lithuanian could be rather difficult to understand in terms of perception. It is possible to argue that this example can be interpreted as ‘Jonas did not feel sleepy.’ Some languages such as Serbian or Bulgarian make this distinction in terms of the active voice, e.g., ‘did not go to bed,’ and the middle voice, e.g., ‘did not feel sleepy,’ as demonstrated earlier in (3). As in case marking, speaker-oriented languages often use the dative experience structure, but hearer-oriented languages often shift the subject case marking to unmarked structure, normally nominative in accusative language and absolutive in ergative languages.

[Old English (restricted to perception)]

- (14) *Mæg þæs þonne ofþyncan ðeodne Heaðobeardna*
 may that.GEN then displease.INF lord.DAT Heathobards.GEN
 ‘It may displease the lord of the Heathobards.’ (*Beo* 2032)

[Hittite (related to perception)]

- (15) [*kued*]*aniiki meerzi*
 someone.DAT disappear
 ‘Someone disappears.’

- [Lithuanian (beyond perception)]
 (16) *nesi-miegojo ir Jonas*
 NEG-sleep.PST too Jonas.DAT
 ‘Jonas too did not sleep.’ (lit. ‘to Jonas did not sleep too’)

All these features found in three different orientation types can be summarised in Table 2. Durst-Andersen (2011) argues that these three types shift historically in a direction from reality-orientation to hearer-orientation via a stage in speaker-orientation. This idea is also supported in Toyota (forthcoming), which argues that a majority of the world languages are speaker-oriented. Native languages in North America (Algonquian and Na-Dene languages, for instance) and East Slavic languages (Russian and Ukrainian) are reality-oriented, and hearer-orientation is restricted to some languages, such as English, Swedish, Danish, etc. It is also difficult to draw a sharp boundary, because languages continue evolving and comparison is made involving various features. Thus, the distinction is perhaps best viewed in gradience. However, what is significant here is that in forming the hearer-oriented languages from speaker-oriented ones, intense contacts may be needed, perhaps among dialects or mutually intelligible languages.

TABLE 2: DISTINCTIVE FEATURES IN LANGUAGE ORIENTATION

	Reality-oriented	Speaker-oriented	Hearer-oriented
Representatives	Russian, Chinese	Bulgarian, Turkish	English, Danish
Basic Unit	Situation	Experience	Information
Speaker Orientation	Third person	First person	Second person
Speaker Function	Reporter	Commentator	Informer
Identification Mark	Aspect Prominence	Mood Prominence	Tense Prominence

Various changes that shaped Present-Day English are a result of a shift to hearer orientation. Thus, the grammar is formed so that speakers leave various clues for hearers to decode messages more easily. This is aided largely by simplifying earlier speaker-oriented grammar, but also adding new items such as articles. Articles do not carry much significance from a speaker’s perspective, since the speaker knows the exact referent being referring to. However, by developing articles, it becomes much easier for hearers to comprehend the reference made in a statement.

5. SUMMARY

This paper has argued that the grammatical peculiarities of English grammar stem from its formation through a specific kind of contact, i.e., among mutually intelligible languages. Such a contact was first made with Old Norse, then among different dialects through some social events such as the enthronement of James I and Richard III and the Industrial Revolution. The onset of such changes can be roughly identified around the fifteenth century. This is also the period when various social changes happened in continental Europe through increased contacts after the Renaissance and

the Enlightenment. Changes observed in Great Britain can be considered the result of influence from continental Europe, but this island did not receive much influence from the continent and it is more likely that various influences were created internally. Thus, social changes that happened within Great Britain created an environment where mutually intelligible languages or dialects became mixed and speakers altered their grammar for better and smoother communication.

In considering the grammatical changes in English, it is quite beneficial to incorporate linguistic supertype, especially speaker- and hearer-orientations. Old English was based on speaker-orientation, but Present-Day English has become hearer-oriented. This is because of the contacts among mutually intelligible languages, and this type of contact induced a specific kind of change, e.g., grammar is altered so that hearers can decode messages more easily. This is often represented by simplification, but also some additions can be found, such as articles.

All in all, the grammar of Present-Day English is full of peculiarities, and the way contacts were made in the past in Great Britain somehow contributed to this fact. Thus, the history of English can be given a new look by considering how contacts were made and how much impact mutual intelligibility in contacts can cause historical changes.

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SLOVAK TONGUE, CANADIAN MIND: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF CANADIAN-ENGLISH INTERFERENCE AMONG SLOVAK IMMIGRANTS IN CANADA

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ABSTRACT: The paper introduces the results of an analysis of a linguistic corpus consisting of ten transcriptions of interviews with Slovak immigrants who represent various waves of immigration to Canada as well as various ages, educational backgrounds, occupations and genders. The immigrants' discourse was analyzed using linguistic and sociolinguistic methods. Special attention was paid to alternation of Slovak and English, switching of codes and languages, collapse of communication and inability to express an idea, especially in cases when respondents attempted to describe a cultural phenomenon alien to their original culture. The paper defends the argument that the often criticized imperfection of permanent immigrants' use of their mother tongue is a both logical and inevitable outcome of immigration, because bi-cultural and / or poly-cultural persons often lack the linguistic tools to express different cultural situations.

KEYWORDS: immigration; Canada; code-switching; immigrant discourse; interference

1. INTRODUCTION

Immigration is one of the essential factors that has an impact on the form and content of one's mother-tongue usage on many levels: linguistic, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic as well as intercultural. Predominance of a new language, e.g., English, and one's functioning in a new dominant culture often results in malformations of one's mother tongue, such as interference, lexical borrowings, archaisms, etc. On the basis of ten oral interviews with Slovak immigrants in Canada, I will demonstrate how immigration alters one's discourse. I will also try to defend the argument that there is a correlation between the state of one's native language and extralinguistic, i.e., cultural, phenomena that inevitably interferes with one's mother tongue during life abroad, insofar as one's mother tongue lacks the linguistic tools to denominate these phenomena, and the speakers often switch between two languages to express phenomena alien to their native culture.

2. CORPUS DESCRIPTION

The research is based on ten autobiographic oral interviews conducted in two formats: directive (based on an interview questionnaire and structured questions) and non-directive interviews (informal discussions leading to open-ended or semi-structured questions). Interviewees were asked forty-three questions related to their immigration and relationship to Canada, their attitude towards Canadians and towards the English language. The interviews started with ice-breaking, formal and structured questions and

then moved on to more open-ended questions. Some questions purposely overlapped to facilitate the verification of responses. In order to provide the most reliable corpus, I selected a diverse immigrant body representing age, educational, occupational and gender groups as well as various waves of immigration (Javorčíková 2011).

As further specified in the research, Slovak immigration to Canada can be divided into six waves: (1) Slovak immigration to Canada prior to 1900; (2) Pre-WWII immigration; (3) Post-WWII immigration and immigration after 1948; (4) Immigration after the Russian Invasion in 1968; (5) Immigration and brain drain after the Velvet Revolution in 1989 and (6) Economic migrants during the post-2008 “Visa-free period” (Javorčíková 2010, 294).

The interviewees are representatives of the third, fourth and fifth waves of immigration. I did not manage to find anybody representing the first, second or last waves of immigration, nor representatives of the Slovak Roma minority in Canada. Also, no residents of the Francophone part of Canada were interviewed.

Linguistically, interviewees were all bilingual in English and Slovak. Gender wise, they were a mixed group consisting of six men and four women. The interviewees also comprise a mixed-age group. The average age range of newcomers to Canada who wanted to start a new life there was thirty to forty years of age. Education is another factor that can influence one’s discourse. All interviewees were at least secondary-school educated and were experts in certain fields, such as engineering, teaching, computers and business. I assume the Canadian point system for admittance of immigrants had determined these minimum qualifications. As of immigrating, the interviewees in our body had attained: secondary-school education (4); vocational training (1); university education (3) and post-doctoral studies (2). Some interviewees, however, were not able to proceed in their original professions once they came to Canada. They had to attend various re-training courses in order to extend their qualifications or switch to a completely different profession. One of the interviewees said that the inability to find work in his field was the reason why he had actually decided to return to Slovakia. However, two of the interviewees were not only able to find work in their fields but gained high and prestigious academic standing and are currently teaching at Canadian universities. All the aforementioned phenomena affecting the discourse of Slovak immigrants to Canada have been taken into consideration in this study. Nevertheless, primary attention in the discourse analysis has been paid to those alternations of discourse in the interviewees’ mother tongue (Slovak) that obviously resulted from the experience of immigrating to and living in an English-speaking environment (Canada).

3. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Immigration has a tremendous impact on all linguistic levels (e.g., grammatical, lexical, morphological, and syntactical) of one’s discourse. In the analysis of the gathered interviews, I focused on the three most prominent areas of linguistic alternations influenced by immigration: 1. Grammatical aspects – word malformations and excessive passive voice; 2. Morphological aspects – neologisms, hybrid words and calques; and 3. Semantic aspects – code / language switching.

3.1 GRAMMATICAL ASPECTS – WORD MALFORMATIONS AND EXCESSIVE PASSIVE VOICE

Very few people speak correctly all the time. Even those who have been living in their homeland all their lives display a wide range of digressions from the language standard. These digressions include, for example, incorrect declensions, plural forms, and syntactic variations—to name but a few. The interviewees, however, displayed several grammatical malformations that, compared with the Slovak National Corpus (SNC), do not commonly occur among those who permanently live in a Slovak-speaking environment. All interviewees made grammatical mistakes of varying frequency. These included mostly grammatical errors, incorrect word formation and excessive passive voice. Grammatical mistakes, especially incorrect declension, were the most frequent language slips. As English features minimal declension, the interviewees, out of practice in their mother tongue, often forgot to decline a noun or did so incorrectly, for example **majiteľ vizumu* (Instead of: *majiteľ víz*; English: *visa holder*). *Víza* is a Latin-rooted word that has entered the everyday Slovak lexicon. As it happens, among the Slovaks, the plural form *víza* is used much more often than the singular *vízum* (SNC; 2,091 occurrences of *visa* used in singular compared to 1,262 occurrences of *vízum*) even when referring to a single document permitting entry into a foreign state. The interviewee who has been living in an English-speaking environment, however, prefers to use the word as a singular form and combines it with an incorrect suffix (**vízum-u*). Such spontaneous combination produces an unexpected neologism that is completely unknown in standard Slovak (SNC; 0 occurrences).

The adverb *more* also interfered with the interviewees' Slovak. One of the interviewees for example said: **My sme viac striktní* (Instead of: *My sme striktnější*; English: *we are more strict*). Such a variant is a word-for-word translation of the English adverb *more* (*viac* in Slovak) to form a comparative, which is incorrect in standard Slovak (SNC; 20 occurrences of *striktnější* compared to 0 occurrences of *viac striktní*).

Even though experts vary on the issue of passive voice in Slovak, many linguists consider numerous passive structures when used in spoken Slovak obsolete or inefficient (Melicherčíková and Jambrichová 2009, 177), with the active voice preferred. One of the interviewees used the structure: . . . *tak, aby *bol viac využívaným prostriedkom dialógu* (Instead of: . . . *tak, aby ho viac využívali ako prostriedok dialógu*; English: . . . *so that it is more used as a means of dialogue* . . .). In present-day Slovak, the passive voice would be replaced by an active-voice form (SNC; 6 occurrences of *aby (ho) využívali* compared to 4 occurrences of *aby bol využívaný*), however, the difference in frequency of usage is not dramatic. The explanation of this phenomenon is twofold. First, the impact of English has influenced present-day Slovak and many language taboos, including the usage of the passive voice in spoken style, have been loosened. The second explanation lies perhaps in the diachronic view of the Slovak language, as it is a young language (created in 1844), and there have been historical tendencies to protect and purify it from alien phenomena (Dolník 2010, 65–75). However, as Dolník points out, these tendencies have recently been increasingly criticised and questioned by liberal scholars (Dolník 2010, 78; Kačala 1998, 62) who see language not as a fixed system but as an open system

absorbing new functional trends (Dolník 2010, 75). In analysing the immigrant discourse, I cannot support the position that the use of the passive voice stems from the lack of everyday contact with their mother tongue and the resultant stagnation of language or inability to use all parts of the language correctly and promptly.

3.2 MORPHOLOGICAL ASPECTS – NEOLOGISMS, HYBRID WORDS AND CALQUES

English and Slovak represent two different types of languages; English is analytic, while Slovak is synthetic. In Slovak, inflections can create new forms of a word, such as declined nouns or diminutives. With the massive influx of English words into the Slovak lexicon, the Slovak language displays a recent trend of phonetically-spelled versions of English words combined with Slovak inflections. For example, to express the verb *to chat* in Slovak, one can use both forms (the English stem and Slovak inflection) and be perfectly understood:

English: to chat, i.e., Slovak: *četovať* = *čet* (foreign stem) + *ovať* (verb suffix)

Other examples of this phenomenon include:

English: to mail, i.e., Slovak: *meilovať* = *meil* + *ovať*

English: to skype, i.e., Slovak: *skajpovať* = *skajp* + *ovať*

The advantages of the resulting form lie in the possibility of conjugating an originally foreign (often computer-related) word that for cultural or technical reasons does not occur in the standard Slovak lexicon. The ensuing brevity and applicability seems too tempting not to use, even though some new forms have not been officially accepted into the formal style and, sometimes, the meaning of the final form is altered (for example, in English *to mail* means to send a letter or a parcel by post, while *meilovať* in Slovak means to send an e-mail). These hybrid forms, however, were frequently used by almost all the interviewees. I suspect such hybridization of Slovak and English words reflects the general tendency toward brevity of expression as well as toward the use of globalized, universally understood expressions.

On the other hand, the interviewees also used hybrid forms that replaced common Slovak expressions and thus sounded very alien for the users of living Slovak language. Some of these examples include:

ENGLISH	IMMIGRANT-SLOVAK HYBRID	COMMENTARY	STANDARD SLOVAK
to cross (e.g., a street)	*kros-(n)út'	verb+út' (Slovak suffix for infinitive)	prejsť
to check (e.g., e-mail)	*ček-(n)út'	verb+út' (Slovak suffix for infinitive)	skontrolovať / kontrolovať
	*ček-ovať	verb+ovať (Slovak suffix for infinitive)	
to take (a bus)	*tejk-(n)út'	verb+út' (Slovak suffix for infinitive)	ísť (autobusom)

Even when used in a dialogue with another bilingual person, some scholars (Dolník 2010, 77–80; Kačala 1998, 63) consider this type of hybridization detrimental to one's mother tongue as it replaces functional standard expressions in the language. Hybrid forms and neologisms also tend to take over standard Slovak expressions (for example *kontrolovať*, *skontrolovať*, *pozrieť*, *dohliadať*, *revidovať*, *monitorovať*, *preverovať*, *dozerať* standing for the English verb *to check* are reduced to a single expression *čeknúť/čekať*). When used by a resident in Slovakia, they are results of one's own choice and reveal personal idiosyncrasies; however, when used by a person who permanently lives in an English-speaking environment, hybrid words reveal the impact of one's adopted language (English) on one's mother tongue.

Calques (literal translations of a phrase to the target language) are a special area of interference that combines grammatical and morphological areas. These expressions sound alien in Slovak as they often deviate from usual collocations and are not recognized by the SNC. Examples of calques used in interviews include:

SLOVAK CALQUE	ENGLISH	STANDARD SLOVAK
* <i>nedodržiavam religiózne veci</i>	religious matters	<i>náboženské záležitosti</i>
* <i>nie som hudobný človek</i>	I am not a musical person	<i>nemám vzťah k hudbe</i>
* <i>verejná doprava nie je taká rozpracovaná ako u nás</i>	public transportation is not as developed as ours	<i>... taká rozvinutá ...</i>
* <i>blahoželacie pozdravy</i>	greeting cards	<i>blahoželania</i>

Entire sentences were also subject to semantic-morphological alternations. For example: **Musím ísť na inú robotu* (Instead of: *Musím zmeniť prácu*; English: I have to go for another job). I assume the expression **ísť na inú robotu* has been altered by several factors; the universal nature of verb “to go” in English that tends to be combined with a multiplicity of words and also by the phrase “go for it.” Both might have influenced the resulting Slovak hybrid phrase meaning *to go for another job*.

Similarly, one of the interviewees, combined several incongruent Slovak phrases. When asked how well she speaks French, she responded, **Veľmi základy* (Instead of *veľmi málo* or *iba základy*; English: *very basic*).

The gathered calques and hybrid words do not follow standard Slovak (none of them is recognized by SNC) and were formed as a result of the necessity to express oneself quickly and efficiently. Thus, they represent immediate associations or psychological reflections of the notional meaning the speaker wanted to transfer. They help to successfully overcome any collapse of communication; however, their occurrence is random (the speaker may later remember the correct word and phrase and use it accordingly) and individual.

3.3 SEMANTIC ASPECTS – CODE / LANGUAGE SWITCHING

Language switching, also known as code switching, dramatically varies from calques and hybrid word formation. David Crystal suggests that code switching in bilingual

speech denotes the transfer of linguistic elements from one language to another (1995, 449). This type of alteration between languages occurs commonly among bilinguals and may take a number of different forms, including alteration of sentences and phrases from both languages succeeding each other and switching back and forth in a long narrative. Vivian Cook estimates the amount of code switching in normal conversations amongst bilinguals and claims that code switching consists of 84% single word switches, 10% phrase switches and 6% clause switches (1991, 65–66). There are a number of possible reasons for switching from one language to another, which range from social exclusion of unwanted listeners to compensation for deficiency in the newly-gained language. As Richard Skiba notes, this type of code switching tends to occur when the speaker is upset, tired or distracted in some manner (1997, 1–3).

The interviewees displayed all three types of code switching but word switches were the most frequent. The following chart lists selected examples of single word switches that occurred among the interviewees:

SLOVAK-ENGLISH WORD SWITCH	CORRECT ENGLISH	CORRECT SLOVAK
(1) Pracovala som ako <i>nanny</i>	I worked as a nanny	Pracovala som ako pestúnka / opatrovatelka
(2) Mám <i>appointment</i>	I have an appointment	Idem (k lekárovi)
(3) Človek stráca pocit <i>unity</i>	One loses the feeling of unity	Človek stráca pocit jednoty
(4) Hľadali sme či slobodu, či <i>opportunity</i>	We were searching for either freedom or opportunity	Hľadali sme či slobodu, či príležitosť
(5) V roku 2002 som dostala <i>citizenship</i>	In 2002 I obtained citizenship	V roku 2002 som dostala občianstvo
(6) Oni majú úplne iný <i>accent</i>	They have a completely different accent	Majú úplne iný prízvuk

Phrase and clause switches also occurred in interviews. For example, one of the interviewees starts her sentence in Slovak but finishes it in English: (7) “Myslím, že človek stráca pocit takej . . . *unity* . . . Proste, že tvoja . . . *persona* . . . osobnosť sa rozdvojí, proste že funguješ *slightly different in Canada*, a *slightly differently in Slovakia* . . .”

When compared with interference (e.g., calques), these word, phrase and clause switches are very different and, as Skiba notes, should actually be viewed as an extension of language for bilingual speakers as it compensates for some difficulty, expresses solidarity, conveys an attitude or shows social respect (Skiba 1997, 1–3). The word *nanny* as used in the structure (1) illustrates the difference. *Nanny* is a surprisingly alien word in the lexicon of living Slovak (SNC; 0 occurrences) and culture, as it is not common to hire a nanny or a babysitter in Slovakia. The Slovak words *opatrovatelka* / *pestúnka* usually denote an older person working part-time. Thus there is no adequate equivalent of the word *nanny*, and therefore the speaker used the English equivalent to supplement her Slovak.

Appointment as used in (2) was another of the most frequent English words to sneak into the immigrants' Slovak. Even the oldest interviewee used an interesting switch when he said: *Mám *appointment* (s nájomcom). Indeed, this may reveal the cultural importance of this word in Canada and the USA, where distances play a

greater role and one should better plan meetings ahead to avoid disappointment. On the other hand, planning meetings ahead has long been alien to Slovak culture – one can simply walk into the doctor's waiting room and wait to be treated. It thus follows logically that the English word *appointment* does not have a stylistically adequate Slovak equivalent: *schôdzka* sounds too informal; *stretnutie* is too businesslike and does not fit all situations. For example, one would not say that he or she has a *stretnutie* with the doctor in Slovak – **Mám stretnutie u lekára/s lekárom*. Of course, there does exist the Slovak phrase *Som objednaný k . . .* but it is not transferable to all contexts. For example, one would not use it in connection with their landlord (**Som objednaný k nájomcovi/ domácemu*). Thus, the use of the English term reflects the need to fill the blank space left by the lack of a word-for-word translation. The English word *appointment* is also generic enough to fit many contexts and styles.

An example of politically motivated code switching is represented in (3). It is supposed that as immigration is not an issue in Slovakia, the Slovak language also lacks vocabulary to denote phenomena connected with immigration, living and experiencing life in a new country, etc. Thus, the word *unity* lacks an adequate translation that would fit in this context (SNC only recognizes the English word *unity* used in an entirely Slovak text in reference to computers and engineering but not as a psychological category involving the psychological complexity of an individual), and the speaker, when discussing the matter with another bilingual interlocutor, used the English word. The same argument may explain the use of the English words *citizenship* in (5) “dostala som *citizenship*” and *opportunity* in (4) “hľadali sme či slobodu, či *opportunity*.” These expressions were connected with the Canadian part of the immigrant lives, and they carry great emotional weight for them. Thus, their English equivalent occurred to them first when they tried to describe their Canadian experience.

The major motivation for code switching in (6) “oni majú úplne iný *accent* . . .” as well as in phrase / sentence switch (7) “. . . proste že funguješ *slightly different in Canada*, a *slightly differently in Slovakia* . . .” is the desire to express the difference between one's cultural experience in their native country and in Canada. To intensify the difference, the speaker automatically switched to English when referring to the Canadian accent and the way of living.

For all the aforementioned reasons, code switching can be understood as an enrichment of one's language when used between two or more bilingual speakers as it has a strong intercultural motivation, and except for the linguistic message, it also reveals the social and even political context of the user. Skiba (1997, 1–3) concludes that code switching should be viewed as a provider of linguistic advantage rather than an obstruction to communication.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The specific personality of a bilingual person has not been fully explored worldwide (Titone 1999, 18) as well as in relation to the Slovak language (Djovčoš 2010, 148). Thus, there is a need for a systematic investigation of individual linguistic choices

and preferences conducted by professional linguists, psycholinguists and neurologists. Selection of words and expressions, whether or not expressing oneself in one's mother tongue, is not only a matter of one's linguistic abilities but also of one's psychological state and thus can be subject to psycholinguistic analysis. Some alternations in one's mother tongue may be caused by lack of contact with the living language and its recent developments (these include mostly grammatical malformations as analysed in 3.1). Other alternations stem from over-exposure to the newly-acquired language (English). These include calques and various morphological malformations motivated by effective well-known English words, such as *to check* (*čeknúť*; *čekovať*). This group of words analysed in 3.2, reflects the recent tendency toward globalization and merging of cultures that has affected linguistics as well. Other motivations for the selection of words, however, may be felt to lie deeper in one's perception of the world as the superego. The use of one's mother language, after one has been exposed to life in an English-speaking environment, is affected by a double cultural experience. It therefore requires more effort on the part of the individual to achieve effective communication, as one has to make choices between expressions according to their personal and emotional load. "Bilinguality implies a degree of communicative competence sufficient for effective communication in more than one language; effectiveness requires the ability to correctly understand the meaning of messages and / or the parallel ability to produce intelligible messages in more than one code" (Titone 1999, 18). The ability to produce messages in several codes includes also the ability to supply the most satisfactory replacement word if one's native tongue lacks the exact semantic, stylistic or cultural equivalent of the desired expression. Such examples were explored in 3.3.

From the point of view of a bilingual person, a distinction should be made between immigrants' often-criticized morphological and grammatical imperfections in their mother tongue and code switching, which helps to fill blank spaces in the Slovak lexicon in a bilingual situation. Such linguistic alternation is thus both the logical and inevitable outcome of immigration, because bi-cultural and poly-cultural persons often lack the linguistic tools to transfer a different cultural milieu correctly back to their mother tongue.

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LANGUAGE CHANGE AND VARIATION IN PRESENT-DAY MALAYSIA

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ABSTRACT: Malaysia has one of the densest concentrations of languages in the world, with more than one hundred languages spoken in the country. The present paper aims to provide a modest introduction into the linguistic complexity of the area, outlining not only the status of the dominant languages, including English, but also focusing on the status of minority language communities, especially those facing the threat of extinction. In doing so, account is taken of Malaysia's language regulations, while stressing the importance of language diversity. The paper attempts to contribute to the discussion regarding the future of languages and the role of the English language as a *lingua franca*. Thus, it could be viewed both as a contribution to general linguistics and to Anglophone studies.

KEYWORDS: language change and variation; language policy; Malaysia; Southeast Asia; English language; *lingua franca*; general linguistics; Anglophone studies

1. INTRODUCTION¹

For a sociolinguistically-oriented scholar, Southeast Asia is interesting for many reasons. It has one of the densest concentrations of languages in the world, with some of the languages (e.g., Javanese or Vietnamese²) ranking among the top twenty in terms of their number of native speakers. The history of the region, namely its colonization by the European powers and migration from other Asian countries, resulted in the introduction of languages such as English, Dutch, Portuguese, Chinese or Tamil, some of which are still influential: they either function as mother tongues of some language communities or play an important role as contact languages. Additionally, Southeast Asia shelters a large number of languages that are seriously endangered and face the threat of extinction, which makes the territory important for those sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists who are concerned with language revitalization.

In this paper, I will provide an insight into the linguistic diversity of the region, putting the emphasis on the situation in Malaysia. My plan is to take account of Malaysia's national language policy and to show how it affects the status of both the dominant and minority languages. In doing so, I would like to illustrate the country's present-day language variety as well as the prospects for the future, particularly discussing the role of the English language as a *lingua franca* of the Malaysian monarchy.

1. The paper is based on my research stay in Malaysia in December 2010. Besides my personal field work and related literature, the details presented here come from relevant chapters in Omar (2004).

2. According to Comrie's calculation (2007, 19), the number of native speakers of Javanese is 65,000,000, while the number of native speakers of Vietnamese is 50,000,000.

2. LANGUAGES OF SOUTHEAST ASIA

Geographically speaking, Southeast Asia is a part of Asia that comprises territories located east of India, south of China, north of Australia, and west of Papua New Guinea. The twelve countries belonging to the region are usually divided into two categories: (1) mainland and (2) maritime. The former category includes Cambodia, Laos, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam and Peninsular Malaysia. The latter group includes Singapore, East Malaysia, Brunei, Indonesia, the Philippines and East Timor. Other classifications also include Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau, the Andaman and Nicobar Islands.³

According to the Ethnologue catalogue (see Lewis 2009), there are 1,480 living languages spoken actively in the region. From the genealogical point of view, i.e., from the standpoint of the classification of languages according to their genetic relationships, they can be divided into seven language families: (1) Austro-Asiatic (e.g., Khmer in Cambodia), (2) Austronesian (e.g., Malay), (3) Tai-Kadai (e.g., Thai, the national language of Thailand), (4) Sino-Tibetan (e.g., Chinese), (5) Dravidian (e.g., Tamil), (6) Indo-European (e.g., English), (7) Afro-Asiatic (e.g., Arabic). Only the first three families are referred to as indigenous to Southeast Asia; the remaining languages originated beyond its borders and have diffused in the modern age as a result of religious, business or colonial administration.

As could be expected, the typological point of view, based on the classification of languages according to their structural features, proves to be multifarious as well. There can be found instances of agglutinative (e.g., Malay) and tonal languages (e.g., Chinese), or languages that are largely inflectional (e.g., some languages of India). Word order varies from SVO (Chinese) to SOV (e.g., Tamil) or VSO (Arabic).⁴ Due to interaction between speakers of various languages, the language situation in Southeast Asia is in a permanent state of change. This is especially true in Malaysia, where the encounter of many different languages has created a linguistic synergy between them.

3. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN MALAYSIA

The most recent estimates state that there are currently 137 languages spoken in Malaysia. To save space, let me mention only those that are used in the peninsular part of Malaysia; the situation in the insular part is much more complicated. In alphabetical order, the languages are as follows: Batek, Cheq Wong, Chinese (Hakka, Mandarin, Min Dong, Min Nan, Pu-Xian, Yue), Duano, English, Jah Hut, Jakun, Jahai, Kensiu, Kintaq, Lanoh, Mah Meri, Malay, Minriq, Mintil, Orang Kanaq, Orang Seletar, Sabüm, Semai, Semaq Beri, Semelai, Semnam, Tamil, Temiar, Temoq, Temuan, Tonga.⁵ The list includes neither Arabic (which is used only in religious ceremonies) nor numerous pidgins and creoles based on some of the languages just listed.

3. Cf. notably Bateman and Egan (1993).

4. For details on the typological character of the languages spoken in Malaysia, see, for example, Čermák (2001); Klégr and Zima (1989); Krupa, Genzor and Drozdík (1983).

5. The list is based on the Ethnologue directory of the world's languages (Lewis 2009).

Four dominant languages can be distinguished: (1) Malay – the only official language in the country – with some ten million native (L1) speakers; (2) Chinese and (3) Tamil – used in immigrant communities from the respective countries – with approximately five million native speakers for the former and one million for the latter; (4) English – established due to British colonial rule during the nineteenth and twentieth century – with over 300,000 L1 speakers. Considering the written language, Malaysians mostly use either the Arabic-based Jawi script or the Latin alphabet; nevertheless, Chinese forms and numerous Indian scripts are also used. Several minority languages so far have no written tradition.

As a multilingual country, a large portion of Malaysia's population is multilingual. The inhabitants – whether ethnic Malays, English, Chinese, or Tamils – commonly use more than one language in everyday communication, switching from one to another according to communicative situations and in order to achieve diverse communicative goals. The long-established contacts among different language communities have resulted in the development of the so-called contact languages or speech forms. Since more and more Malaysians are proficient in Malay, colloquial Malay (*bahasa basahan*) has acquired the status of the most widely spoken contact language (Omar 2004, 14). Among other codes of wider communication belong, for example, a Malaysian variety of English, *bazaar Malay* – a Malay pidgin, or Mandarin Chinese, used as a communicative resource for speakers of different Chinese dialects.

The picture of the language situation in Malaysia would not be complete without noting the hybrid language forms usually labeled as 'creoles.' There are two main instances of these originally pidgin varieties that later evolved into the first languages of particular ethnic groups: (1) Malaccan Creole Malay and (2) Malaccan Creole Portuguese.

4. MALAYSIA'S NATIONAL LANGUAGE POLICY

Hopefully, even an outline as brief as the one presented above is illustrative enough to show why the Malaysian government considers it important to pay attention to language issues. "National-level language planning is necessary in a multilingual society such as Malaysia for various reasons: to enhance efficiency in communication between government and the people, to ensure a common language for education, and to maximize economic opportunity" (Omar 2004, 127). In this respect, relevant institutions, especially the Ministry of Education and the Institute of Language and Literature, implement explicit language policies, affecting school instruction, media, business, industry, and in this way also the status and prosperity of individual languages.

Malaysia is one of the few ex-British territories where English is not an official language. Following independence in 1957, the Malaysian authorities adopted Malay as the only national language, and ten years later it became the only officially recognized language in the Malaysian monarchy, while English lost its official status. Both the written and spoken language used in parliament proceedings switched from English

to Malay by 1980 (Ostler 2010, 11). The Education Act, passed in 1970, required that all national primary and secondary schools conduct lessons exclusively in the Malay language. At the turn of the millennium, concerns began to appear that the knowledge of standard English among Malaysians had declined, which might hamper access to international scientific communities in the future. For this reason, in 2003 the Federal Cabinet allowed the English language “to be used as the medium of instruction in the fields of engineering, medicine, science and other technical subjects in institutions of higher education” (Morais 2001, 34).

The fact that the governmental authorities have always promoted Malay has a significant impact not only on the status of the English language but also on the other languages – both dominant and peripheral. Although the Federal Constitution enshrines the right of every Malaysian ethnic group to use and preserve its own mother tongue, the everyday reality gives evidence that the linguistic situation is undergoing numerous shifts. If students at Chinese and / or Tamil national-type schools want to be awarded final certificates, they must pass classes in Malay. While Chinese and Tamils have at least their own press and broadcast media, the speakers of minority indigenous groups (Orang Asli), scattered in rainforests and highlands, are experiencing a demographic crisis as their traditional way of life – as nomadic hunters, gatherers or farmers – is being jeopardized by a series of environmental changes and modernization in general. The Aslian languages are under serious threat. They are being used by ever fewer speakers, in fewer social domains, and they are suffering structural simplification and / or shifting to Malay. Some of the languages (e.g., Wila or Ple-Temer) have already disappeared.

Language death is a topical, and at the same time controversial, issue that divides scholars (and the general public as well) into two main groups. One group advocates a pro-survival approach, while the other group could be described as anti-survival. Most generally, the pro-survivalists argue that language death should be viewed as a terrible loss, similar to the death of animal species, and that language renewal is thus beneficial. By contrast, anti-survivalists stress the fact that languages have always died out, and they campaign for language homogenization.

Being a representative of the pro-survival movement, I am glad to see that some work is being done in order to support the language revival of the Aslian languages. Some schools have introduced classes in the minority languages. There are several organizations that focus on the documentation and promotion of languages (e.g., the Center for Orang Asli Concerns). Intensive research has been carried out by several field linguists.⁶

6. For example, in 2004 Nicole Kruspe published *A Grammar of Semelai*, and in 2005 Nicholas Burenhult published *A Grammar of Jahai*.

5. THE STATUS OF MALAYSIAN ENGLISH

Unlike the Asian languages, English does not have to worry about its existence. However, as regards the language environment in Malaysia, English is slowly losing ground and becoming less important. In view of the fact that English dominates the world as a current global lingua franca, this may come as a surprise. On the other hand, the Malaysian experience supports the opinion shared by Nicholas Ostler, one of the most respected experts in the field, that no language can be sure about its future, especially its future as a universal language. “It is only to be borne if necessary for some greater good. If not, then at the first opportunity it will be laid down. One day English too, the last lingua-franca to be of service to a multilingual world will be laid down” (2010, 286).

The history of English in Southeast Asia dates back to the final years of the eighteenth century, when an English settlement was established on Penang, a small island off the shore of Peninsular Malaysia, in 1786. Penang Free School, the very first English language school, opened in 1816. (Omar 2004, 60), and other schools in the Malaysia area (e.g., Singapore 1823, Malacca 1826, Kuala Lumpur 1894) – usually founded by Christian missionaries – quickly followed. These first schools were open solely to the families of British administrators. Only the need to sustain the economic system that was rapidly evolving in the second half of the nineteenth century drove the British colonial officials to offer English language education to the Malay population. They founded the Malay College at Kuala Kangsar in 1905 and a chain of English-medium schools in the following decades.

Except for a short period during World War II when the region was occupied by Japanese troops, the British crown controlled Malaysia was controlled by the British crown for more than a century (British colony of the Straits Settlements 1826 – independence 1957). During this time, the English language spread and flourished. It was endorsed as the medium of law, administration, and education, and at the same time it was used in other contexts as well.⁷ After independence, English was suppressed as the language of the former colonial overlords, and lost its dominant role. Today it is appreciated for its international rather than intranational potential. The main contact language of the multilingual Malaysians is Malay, which had actually been a lingua franca of the region long before the arrival of the British colonists. For religious purposes, Malaysia – as an Islamic country – uses Arabic. English is used mostly as a second or third language. A large proportion of Malaysians are not aware of its standard form and use a pidginized variety. As Crystal summarizes: “The traditional prestige attached to English still exists, but the general sociolinguistic situation is not one which motivates the continuing emergence of a permanent variety of ‘Malaysian English’” (Crystal 2002, 104).

7. Crystal (2002) gives an example of the *Straits Times*, the English-language daily newspaper which was launched in 1845.

The characteristic features of present-day Malaysian English, summarized by Baugh and Cable (2002, 327–28) and Kirkpatrick (2007, 119–36), are as follows: (1) In grammar, the lack of an ending to mark the third person present tense of the verb (e.g., *He go to work.*); the omission of *be* both as a copula (e.g., *The restaurant – very cheap.*) and also as an auxiliary (e.g., *He – working.*); incorrect word order in indirect questions (e.g., *Could you tell me where is the shop?*). (2) In phonology, syllable-timed rhythm (unlike the stress-timed rhythm in British and American standards). (3) In lexicon, the addition of words from local languages, including some grammatical particles (e.g., *la* or *a*). Most of these (socio)linguistic features are due to the influence of Malay, Chinese and Tamil.

6. THE FUTURE OF LANGUAGES

Although no one can calculate the future, let me try to conclude the paper with a possible language scenario to which Malaysia might be exposed in the coming years. The country will keep its multilingual character, with Malay as the only national and official language. A large number of contact and hybrid languages will be used, depending on the situational context and communicative purpose. Knowledge of standard English will be valued as a means of communication with the outer world, while the English language used in daily interaction within Malaysia will have the form of a non-standard, even pidginized variety, influenced in character by Malay, Chinese and Tamil grammatical rules, intonation and lexicon. It is very likely that some of the endangered languages will lose their active speakers; however, at least a part of the vanishing language resources will be recorded in the form of grammars, dictionaries and collections of mythologies.

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INFORMATION AND INTERPRETATION IN MEDIA DISCOURSE

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ABSTRACT: The article shows how persuasive discourse strategies have recently changed the shape of the message in printed newspaper articles, both in tabloids and broadsheets. Media discourse at present tends to blur the private and the public domains and provide infortainment as a combination of information and entertainment. This merger can be rather biased and highly subjective. Another important feature connected with the existing trend is the increasing level of informality denoted by the terms public colloquial language or informalisation. In printed newspapers a general shift can be observed stimulating the atmosphere of closeness and emotiveness.

KEYWORDS: media discourse; emotiveness; facticity; written language; modality; dialogism; conversationalism; expressive function; conative function

1. LANGUAGE AS MULTIFUNCTIONAL SYSTEM

Language as a highly flexible phenomenon invites possibilities of altering the systemic functional hierarchies by creating new and intricate connections between the components of the system. Crystal (2011, 201) discusses the prevailing use of language by stating that “certainly the primary purpose of language is for communication.” In his view, communication is a multifaceted notion comprising not only language for information, i.e., expressing ideas and opinions, but also other uses such as playing with language, i.e., using puns, irony, talking nonsense, expressing identity, expressing emotions, filling the silence, changing the world and language for thinking.

2. CHANGES IN LANGUAGE PRACTICES

Changes in language practices are the reason for the existence of a high degree of emotiveness in media discourse. The striking shift in the dichotomy intellectual vs. emotive towards the strong emotive character of the discourse content can be observed not only in tabloids but also in serious papers. As Fairclough (1993, 204) stated, “a central manifestation of increasing informality” can be observed, which results in a high degree of convergence between newspaper categories. What Vachek (1976) labels intellectual content as a manifestation of restricted emotions is giving way to a manifestation of strong emotions. It can be generally stated that in contemporary usage a conspicuous change has occurred, largely based on a lack of balance between facticity and emotiveness.

Fairclough (1993, 6) makes the following observation: “. . . I believe that there has been a significant shift in the functioning of language, a shift reflected in the salience

of language in the major social changes which have been taking place over the last few decades. Many of these social changes do not just involve language, but are constituted to a significant extent by changes in language practices.” My hypothesis is based on the observation that in media language the share of information tends to be diminished in comparison with the amount of attitudes and emotions expressed.

Several decades ago, emotions and attitudes used to be understood as a typical feature of spoken language, mainly face-to-face conversation. In his treatise “Two Chapters on Written English” (1976, 414), Vachek makes the following distinction between spoken and written language: “. . . written utterances are especially fitted to serve in those situations in which . . . concentration upon the ‘intellectual content’ (and, therefore, greatest possible restriction of emotional component parts) appears particularly desirable. . . . On the other hand, everyday-life topics, simple narratives and the like, which are always more or less tinged with emotional elements, will be most efficiently conveyed by means of spoken utterances.”

Language use also reflects considerable changes in processing messages which are constituted by and spread through new channels of communication, subsequently influencing the transfer of the message from its producer to its recipient and its final interpretation.

3. MODALITY IN MEDIA DISCOURSE

In the majority of discourse strategies used in newspaper reporting at present, a distinctive shift has occurred towards a straightforward intensification of the attitudinal functions of language. Fairclough (1993, 160) claims that “modality is a major dimension of discourse, and more central and pervasive than it has been traditionally taken to be.” In his view, language users bear witness to the transformation of modality in the media: “The media generally purport to deal in fact, truth and matters of knowledge. They systematically transform into ‘facts’ what can often be no more than interpretations of complex and confusing sets of events.”

It is a well-known practice in media language nowadays that the expressive and the conative functions are generally foregrounded, whereas the referential, i.e., ideational function, tends to be backgrounded. Since facts do not play the crucial role in rendering the message, interpretations prevail. Moreover, interpretations are made into “facts.” Fairclough (1993, 161) explains this phenomenon in the following way: “In terms of modality, this involves a predilection for categorial modalities and positive and negative assertions . . .”

My aim is to analyse the relationship between the language for information and language for feelings. My tentative analysis focuses on contemporary newspaper reporting. The material is taken from the daily British press, namely issues of *The Sun* and *The Guardian*. *The Sun* is represented by the article “England Is Sick: Pole Monika Tells of Riot Blaze Hell,” published on August 13, 2011, while *The Guardian* is represented by “How Sad to Live in a Society that Won’t Invest in Its Youth,” published on August 20, 2011. Similarities and differences which can be observed between the two

selected articles are presented below. The topic, the riots in London in August 2011, is the common denominator. The target group is the major difference. Concerning the mode, some similarity exists since both articles under investigation represent printed newspaper reports. The non-verbal devices of reporting, however, are significantly different. Several visuals are used in the tabloid, none in the broadsheet.

4. DIALOGISM AND CONVERSATIONALISM IN NEWSPAPER REPORTING

Discourse strategies in newspaper reporting tend to eliminate clear-cut boundaries between spoken and written discourse. The tendency towards mixing lexical strata and grammatical structures of different levels of formality and social distance contributes to a high degree of authenticity, credibility and spontaneity of the message. At the same time, discourse strategies promoting conversational behaviour in media discourse facilitate equality and mutuality and eliminate asymmetry between the participants of discourse.

Creating new stereotypes in the use of language means that genres and styles become merged and new speech habits emerge due to hybridization. This notion has also been labelled by various scholars by terms such as *intertextuality*, *heteroglossia* or *interdiscursivity* (for an overview of the concepts, see Urbanová 2007).

Arguably, the process of perception is enhanced by a diversity of language means employed. The introduction of dialogic discourse stimulates the readers' personal involvement and stresses feelings of mutuality and empathy. The implementation of an I – you strategy creates a bridge between the producer and the recipient of the news. At the same time, this strategy complies with the communicative intention of the newspaper: manipulating the process of perception and persuading the target reader.

5. EMOTIVENESS IN NEWSPAPER DISCOURSE

In the article "England Is Sick: Pole Monika Tells of Riot Blaze Hell," a number of typical features of spoken language can be identified that reflect the negative feelings of a foreigner trapped in a fire during the London riots. The Polish immigrant, who is considered brave by the journalist, expresses the contrast between her expectations and the situation she had to face when she jumped out of a window to save her life. Strong personal attitudes are rendered through quotations, contrastive vocabulary and a comparatively loose sentence structure.

5.1 QUOTATIONS

Dialogism and conversationalism in newspaper reporting are primarily achieved through a frequent implementation of quotations carrying an emotive interpretation of the event. The article from *The Sun* is presented as a sequence of direct quotations bringing personal evidence of the victim stressing her negative experience. The key feature is the personal involvement of the speaker in which negative, highly emotive personal evidence represents a powerful way of giving an argument by means of *storytelling*.

The number of direct quotations in *The Sun* is very high; the aim of the journalist is to reinforce the negative meaning of the story by means of enumeration. Quotes of the victim, Monika Konczyk, are found in paragraphs 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12 and 13 of the first section of the article: “I came to England because I thought it is a great country full of kind and gentle people” (paragraph 6); “I thought London was a civilised society full of gentlemen and ladies – but it is not like that. England has become a sick society” (paragraph 7); “I found myself jumping for my life after being attacked by thugs and thieves. They set fire to my building without any thought for anyone’s safety. They were happy for me to die. They were like animals – greedy, selfish animals who thought only of themselves” (paragraph 8); “I am shocked to find people behaving like this in England” (paragraph 12); “It is not what I expected of the English. I have never seen anything like this in Poland” (paragraph 13).

5.2 CONTRASTIVE VOCABULARY

A frequent occurrence of contrast contributes to the degree of subjectivity in expressing attitudinal, interactive meanings reflecting the confrontation of the expectations with the reality. The choice of devices shows that the natural, spontaneous flow of speech is preserved to make the confession sound authentic and trustworthy. Examples illustrating this can be found throughout the article: “a great country,” “a civilised society” (paragraphs 6, 7) vs. “a sick society” (paragraph 7); “kind and gentle people” (paragraph 6) vs. “thugs and thieves” (paragraph 8); “gentlemen and ladies” (paragraph 7) vs. “greedy, selfish animals” (paragraph 9).

5.3 LOOSE DISCOURSE STRUCTURE

Discourse structure in which coherence is at stake resembles spoken language and adds to the process of creating extra meanings. The division of the text into several distinct parts helps create non-stereotypical discourse functioning both in separate parts as well as in mutually interrelated patches. The interrelation between the verbal and non-verbal means of communication including pictures, diverse graphetic devices and the layout of the parts of the verbal message function as highlighting or backgrounding elements.

In the article “How Sad to Live in a Society which Won’t Invest in Its Young” published in *The Guardian*, the means of expression are much more sophisticated than in the tabloid version, yet the way of expression remains emotive, strongly negative and critical.

5.4 SUBJECTIVITY OF THE MESSAGE

In the discourse structure of the article the personal stance of the journalist is openly revealed. On the other hand, the degree of impersonality is suppressed considerably. An example of subjectivising the message is found, among others, in paragraph 2: “Historians will, *I hope*, be shocked that we let austerity bear down hardest on the young” (my emphasis).

5.5 EXCLAMATIONS

The headline “How Sad to Live in a Society that Won’t Invest in Its Young” formulated as an exclamation utilizes an utterance type commonly used in spoken language, above all in everyday conversation and in drama dialogues. This way of expression is emotive and emphatic, reflecting dissatisfaction with the state of affairs and functioning as a warning. The illocutionary force of an exclamation renders a strong judgement, which is perceived as a strong appeal. Another exclamation, “How well the riots crystallized that generation hate” can be found in paragraph 3 of the article. Again, the illocutionary force of the exclamation is much stronger here than a mere statement. The reader is attacked by a thought-provoking and pressing tone of the message.

5.6 COMPLEX SENTENCE STRUCTURE IN THE HEADLINE

The use of a complex sentence structure in the headline of the article published in *The Guardian* “How Sad to Live in a Society that Won’t Invest in Its Young” is unusual. In my view, the complex structure creates an extra meaning: it refers to the complexity of the problem to cover.

5.7 IRONY

Irony is a typical feature of sophisticated discourse based on contrast, contradiction and paradox as powerful devices of arguing. Irony as interpersonal rhetoric establishes common ground and renders intimacy. An example illustrating this phenomenon can be found in paragraph 2: “No more mouthing of political platitudes that ‘the children are our future’ in a country that is inflicting extraordinary damage on their chances, while protecting the privileges of the older and better off. In good societies it is the natural instinct to invest most in the young. Only a profoundly sick society would be doing the opposite.”

Contradiction is also present in other parts of the text, e.g., the claim that “every generation always thinks the next is going to perdition” is contrasted with “But each generation grows up into respectable parents ready to be terrified to death of the next one” (both from paragraph 3).

5.8 NEGATION

Grammatical negation and lexical negation are means of expressing strong judgements, i.e., strong subjective feelings and opinions. The discourse under discussion is full of structures carrying negative meanings. Even the very first sentence of the article is negative: “This is no time to be young.” Other examples: “an ageing population fears and despises young people with even greater intensity than usual” (paragraph 2); “most never regain their footing” (paragraph 4).

6. CONCLUSION

It can be argued that newspaper reporting in Britain, both in tabloids and in broadsheets, uses discourse strategies that support the subjective, emotive interpretation of events

rather than rendering unbiased information for the reader to consider. Devices used in different newspapers vary in the degree of sophistication and abstraction, formality vs. informality and in the expression of closeness vs. social distance.

All these devices, however, have features in common. In using strategies of dialogic discourse and interpersonal rhetoric making the communication similar to face-to-face conversation, media are successful in establishing closeness and common ground. They support interaction at the same time, however, by influencing and manipulating the reader. Talbot (2007, 22) argues that “in terms of social engagement in the modern world, the domains of public and private have in a significant sense become permeable and ‘blurred.’”

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DIRECT FORMS OF PRESENTATION: EMBEDDED REPORTED DISCOURSE IN BRITISH NEWSPAPER REPORTS

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ABSTRACT: This paper is concerned with reported language in British broadsheet newspaper reports and places special focus on various types of direct forms of presentation. Moreover, it pays attention to embedded discourse, a result of the recursively applied reflexive use of language. Reported language and embedding are interpreted from the point of view of the objectives and social function of newspaper reports: to describe recent events, the significance of which may be open to negotiation. The presence of external sources ensures heteroglossic background and impersonal treatment since the event portrayed is construed from a perspective other than the reporter's.

KEYWORDS: direct forms of presentation; non-direct forms of presentation; embedded discourse; heteroglossia; newspaper reports

1. INTRODUCTION

Newspapers contain a variety of writings ranging from reports, opinion and analysis, letters to the editor, obituaries, advertisements, etc. Newspaper reports deal with material acts, or happenings, describing socially, politically or otherwise significant events. Or, they describe verbal acts, for example accusations, demands, criticisms or announcements. The former are referred to as “event stories,” whereas the latter are “issues reports” (White 1997, 102). The reports dealing primarily with negative events that may threaten to destabilize the established norms and expectations are known as hard news (Bell 1991, Iedema, Feez, and White 1994; White 1997; White 1998). On the contrary, soft news reports deal with positive, stabilizing events, human achievements or points of interest directly reinforcing social values (Iedema, Feez, and White 1994, 139–40). In both cases, and in issues reports in particular, newspaper reporters incorporate into the text the language or thoughts of others. The most frequently cited reasons are objectivity, impersonal treatment, persuasiveness, reliability, solidarity with different viewpoints, individualization or vividness (van Dijk 1988; Waugh 1995; White 1998). Reported language also enhances the newsworthiness of newspaper reports since it imbues them with the prestige of the quoted source (Bell 1991, 158).

In all cases of reporting, language (or thought) is taken out of its original context and placed into a new context. Recontextualization is thus the essence of reporting, i.e., “communicat[ing] about the activity of using language” – one of the reflexive uses of language (Lucy 1993, 9). Moreover, reported forms themselves may be a source of reflexivity in that they may refer to (or recontextualize) a different language or

thought event, creating a complex, recursive reporting pattern similar to *He said that she said that they said* etc. In such cases, one form of reported language is contained within or “embedded” in another; more specifically, a reported (and simultaneously reporting) speaker “is presented as reporting words or thoughts produced by others (or by themselves) in a separate speech, thought or writing event” (Semino and Short 2004, 34). The aim of the present paper is to examine reported language and the phenomenon of embedding and interpret them in terms of their functions in the context of newspaper reports, namely objectivity, impersonality, solidarity, individualization and vividness. Focus will be placed primarily on forms of reporting that involve direct presentation of language and thought and their role in embedding structures.

Example (1) is an excerpt from a hard news report describing a fatal parasailing accident in which a father and daughter were involved; it describes a conversation between them immediately before the accident occurred. It is an instance of direct speech report (DS), with a typical structure consisting of a reporting clause (*She said*) and a reported clause enclosed in quotation marks, marked in bold (“*I asked . . . , Dad! . . .*”). Since it is not contained within any other form of reported language, it is non-embedded. The absence of embedding is indicated by a zero level of embedding, abbreviated to e0. However, the direct reported clause contains, i.e., embeds, three other forms of reported language: indirect speech (e1IS, *I asked what . . . height.*) and two instances of direct speech (e1DS, *he said, ‘You wouldn’t survive it anyway’* and *I said ‘Thanks for reassuring me, Dad!’*). The embedded forms are marked in bold italics; their level of embedding is one, abbreviated to e1.

- (1) <e0DS>She said: “<e1IS>***I asked what would happen if you hit the water from that height and <e1DS>he said, ‘You wouldn’t survive it, anyway.’ <e1DS>I said “Thanks for reassuring me, Dad! . . .*”** (Turner 2010)

By being direct in form, the embedded reports replay the conversation, and their presence makes an impression of authenticity and vividness. They allow the reader to witness or experience events more directly, thereby rendering the report more real and vivid. The embedded direct forms of discourse form a short dialogue reminiscent of speech reports in fiction. Such forms of reported language can appear in newspaper reports only as a result of recontextualization and embedding.

Since direct forms of presentation are pivotal to the topic of this paper, the treatment of embedding will be confined to three aspects. First, attention will be paid to embedded direct forms of presentation; second, their role as host categories will be discussed; and third, different types of non-direct forms¹ of presentation embedded in direct forms will be briefly touched upon. These issues will be related to an important factor in newspaper reporting, namely the need for impersonal treatment of reported events.

1. The term ‘non-direct’ forms of reporting is used to cover all forms of reporting language and thought to the exclusion of pure direct and free direct language and thought reports. Consequently, indirect reports are considered only a kind of non-direct reporting. Other forms of non-direct reports will be introduced later.

As will become clear from the presented data, embedded direct forms as opposed to non-direct forms are infrequent, which is attributable to their formal properties as well as their function in newspaper discourse. They are nevertheless worthy of attention because they reveal how various forms of reported language interact in order to achieve a particular communicative goal. In all examples, the description of forms will be included in pointed brackets, preceding the form under discussion; the occurrence of embedding is abbreviated to the first letter with the accompanying number indicating the level of embedding: e1 abbreviates an embedded form at level one, e2 at level two and e0 indicates an absence of embedding. Embedded forms are italicised, while the stretches of directly reported discourse are in bold. If direct reported discourse contains any direct or non-direct embedded forms, they will be marked in bold as well since they are part of the embedding direct form. This system of coding is kept throughout the paper. All forms of reported language and thought and their abbreviations will be introduced gradually at relevant sections of the paper.

2. CORPUS DESCRIPTION AND METHODOLOGY

The corpus comprises 105,905 words and consists of 221 newspaper reports excerpted from British broadsheets, namely *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Independent* issued in July and October 2010. The analysis was limited only to national and international news and excludes news reports from specialized sections, such as sports and business, and other kinds of texts, e.g., commentary, opinion, letters to the editor, obituaries, reviews, etc.

The analysis relies on a classification developed by Semino and Short (2004), a revised model of one presented earlier in Leech and Short (1981). They recognize forms representing speech, writing and thought events, and view reported language and thought as a scale reflecting different degrees of directness (Semino and Short 2004, 10–16, 42–53). Thus, at the most direct pole, reflecting the point of view of the reported speaker, there is free direct and direct reported discourse (FDD and DD respectively), including (free) direct speech (F)DS, (free) direct writing (F)DW and (free) direct thought (F)DT. At the opposite pole, lying in fact off the scale, there is narration, reflecting entirely the point of view of the reporting speaker. Between these absolutes there are forms accommodating to a different extent the perspective of either reported or reporting speaker, such as free indirect and indirect reported discourse (FID and ID respectively), including (free) indirect speech (F)IS, (free) indirect writing (F)IW and (free) indirect thought (F)IT. Other kinds of non-direct forms of presentation will be described and exemplified later together with non-direct forms combined with a stretch of directly reported discourse (Semino and Short 2004, 54–56).

As noted by Sternberg, the most distinctive feature of the reported element in DD is the fact that it “takes its orientation from the spatiotemporally self-contained speech event . . . whose coordinates diverge in principle from those of the . . . frame [reporting clause],” creating a “double-centered deictic structure” (1982, 110). FDD shares this property but, following Leech and Short (1981, 322), lacks the reporting clause within

the same sentence and/or quotation marks, or both. On the other hand, ID is a “single-centered” construction since the deictic expressions of the reported clause “take their orientation from the frame” (Sternberg 1982, 110). Thus ID is more reporting speaker oriented and perceived as a summary of the reported event. As the reported clause of DD is deictically self-contained and independent of the reporting clause, it retains all its deictic properties expressive of the deictic centre of the reported speech event. For instance, the embedded direct speech forms (e1DS) in example (1) above contain a first person pronoun (*me*) referring to the reported speaker (*she*), a vocative (*Dad*) and a non-sentential structure (*Thanks for . . .*, see, e.g., Quirk et al. 1985, 849–53), which are unlikely to appear in the reported clause in ID because it is deictically and syntactically subordinated to the reporting clause. The ability to evoke the reported deictic situation contributes to the sense of authenticity previously mentioned.

Deictic properties of the reported clause and its syntactic relation with the reporting clause go hand in hand. As noted by Quirk et al. (1985, 1022–24), the structural relation between the two clauses in (F)DD may be problematic. The reporting clause may be viewed as a main clause and the reported clause as subordinate, functioning as a direct object; or, the reported clause is viewed as a main clause and the reporting clause as subordinate, functioning as a comment clause. The looser relation between the reporting clause and the reported element is supported by the deictic and speech-functional independence of the latter, the absence of a subordinator and the variable position of the reporting clause or its total omission.

A partially quoted stretch of direct discourse, usually a phrase, can occur incorporated into an instance of non-direct reported language or thought.² Following Semino and Short (2004, 54–55), the occurrence of partial quotes, in bold, is indicated by a -q tag attached to the abbreviation of the non-direct form in question. For instance, in example (2) the abbreviation e1IS-q refers to a piece of directly quoted discourse occurring with an instance of indirect speech embedded at level one.

- (2) <e0IS>His spokeswoman stressed that <e1NRSAp> *he had not been accusing the Pakistani Government of sponsoring terrorism*, but <e1IS-q> *was repeating his previous demands for it to do more to “shut terror groups down”*. (Grice 2010b)

In (2) there are two instances of indirect reported speech (IS): one form is non-embedded (e0IS), functioning as a host to the embedded categories; the italicised indirect speech (e1IS-q) is embedded at level one and the non-finite reported clause (*to do more . . . down*), modifying the nominal part of the reporting element (*demands*), contains a stretch of partially quoted direct discourse, marked in bold.³

2. No unambiguous forms of free indirect discourse (combined with a partial quote) were identified in the contexts relevant to the present discussion.

3. An alternative interpretation not endorsed in the present analysis is to establish two separate reporting forms – one based on the verb *repeat* and the other on the noun *demands*. This would make e1IS-q embedded in the form referred to by the verb, the so-called narrator’s representation of speech act with topic (Semino and Short 2004) discussed later. And since this form would already be embedded in

Towards the more non-direct end of the scale there occurs the so-called “narrator’s representation of speech act with topic” (Semino and Short 2004, 52–53), exemplified in (2) as e1NRSAp (*he had not been accusing . . . terrorism*), embedded in e0IS. The form has a greater summarizing potential since the content, or topic (referred to with a -p tag), is not presented in the form of the reported clause but a phrase, for example, a prepositional phrase (*of sponsoring terrorism*) in example (2) or a noun phrase (*Christian people*) in example (3). Notice that in (3) the italicised form embedded at level one (e1NRSAp-q) also contains a stretch of partially quoted discourse, again marked in bold.

- (3) <e0IS>He told them that his father had gone to stay with <e1NRSAp-q> *what he called “**Christian people**”*. (Sanderson 2010)

The forms in (4) and (5), further towards the narrative end of the scale, do not dispose of the possibility to report content but solely indicate that a communicative event occurred. Consequently, they cannot combine with partially quoted direct discourse but will be commented upon as they will occur in later examples.

- (4) <e0DS> “<e1NI>***I am deeply concerned,***” <NRS>he said. <e0FDS> “**The basis on which <e1NRSA>*this statement has been made* is very fragile . . .**” (Grice 2010b)
- (5) <e0DS>Tam Fry, . . . , said: “<e1NV>***We had this debate 18 months ago when . . .***” (Ramesh 2010)

In (4), the non-embedded free direct speech (e0FDS, in bold) contains an embedded nominalised form (e1NRSA, in bold italics) indicating only the illocutionary force of the verbal event (*statement*) without any reference to its content; it is referred to as a “narrative report of speech act” in Leech and Short (1981, 323–24) and as a “narrator’s representation of speech act” without topic in Semino and Short (2004). The non-embedded direct speech (e0DS, in bold) in (5) contains an embedded minimal form of presentation (NV, in bold italics) referred to as “narrator’s representation of voice” (Semino and Short 2004, 43–45). The report is limited merely to an indication that a communicative event, in this case a speech event, has occurred without specifying either content or speech act value. So far, the examples have illustrated various forms on the speech scale; analogical forms of presentation can be found on the writing scale and thought scale to a certain extent as well. Example (4) illustrates an embedded minimal form of thought presentation (e1NI), a so-called “internal narration” (Semino and Short 2004, 45–47), indicating only a state of mind without expressing any particular thought.

3. DIRECT FORMS OF PRESENTATION AND EMBEDDING

So far, a number of embedded forms of presentation have been discussed, including direct, non-direct and combined forms. Embedded direct speech (e1DS) and indirect

e0IS, such an approach would also automatically increase the level of embedding of e1IS-q from one to two.

speech (e1IS) occurred in example (1), while embedded indirect speech combined with a partial quote (e1IS-q) occurred in (2). Examples (2) and (3) illustrate an embedded narrator's representation of speech act with topic (e1NRSAp and e1NRSAp-q), in the latter case combined with a partial direct quote. An embedded form of the narrator's representation of speech act without topic (e1NRSA) occurs in example (4); embedded minimal forms of reported discourse are shown in examples (4) and (5), illustrating a minimal form of thought (internal narration, e1NI) and speech (narrator's voice, e1NV) respectively. The following paragraphs will be devoted to the discussion of embedded direct forms of presentation, including non-direct forms with a partial quote. The results are summarized in Table 1 and exclude all ambiguous cases. For ease of presentation, the scales of speech and writing have been conflated; also, as free direct reported discourse and direct reported discourse are, due to their deictic properties, functionally nearly equivalent, the two categories have been merged as well. As for the abbreviations used in the table, (F)DD refers to (free) direct reported discourse, covering speech, writing and thought; ID-q is used as an umbrella term for indirect speech, writing and thought combined with a partial quote (-q); NRDAp-q abbreviates a narrator's representation of speech, writing and thought act with topic partially reported in direct form. As noted, the level of embedding is indicated by the combination of the letter *e* and a number, with e0 referring to non-embedded forms.

TABLE 1: EMBEDDED AND NON-EMBEDDED DIRECT FORMS OF PRESENTATION

EMBEDDED AND NON-EMBEDDED DIRECT FORMS					
		(F)DD	ID-q	NRDAp-q	Total
E0	Speech/Writing	850	202	96	1148
	Thought	0	1	0	1
	Total	850	203	96	1149
E1	Speech/Writing	30	14	13	57
	Thought	8	8	4	20
	Total	38	22	17	77
E2	Speech/Writing	3	0	0	3
	Thought	1	2	0	3
	Total	4	2	0	6
E0-E2	Total	892	227	113	1232

As Table 1 shows, direct forms of presentation on speech and writing scales (1148 e0, 57 e1 and 3 e2) clearly predominate over those found on the thought scale (1 e0, 20 e1 and 3 e2); also, (F)DD (892) is more frequently employed than the non-direct forms combined with a stretch of quoted discourse (227 ID-q and 113 NRDAp-q). Disregarding speech and writing vs. thought distinction, a great majority of direct forms are not embedded. As for the level of embedding and the frequency of occurrence, there is a decreasing tendency: 1149 direct forms were found non-embedded, 77 instances were embedded at level one and six instances at level two. The decrease is not unexpected because a higher level of discoursal embedding may contribute to the overall grammatical and deictic

complexity of the whole structure. Though non-embedded (F)DD (850) is employed much more frequently than non-embedded ID-q (203) and NRDAp-q (96), the difference in the frequency of occurrence of embedded forms is not so significant. There are 38 cases of e1(F)DD and 39 cases of embedded combined forms, 22 of e1ID-q and 17 of e1NRDAp-q. At the level two of embedding there appear 4 instances of e2(F)DD and two instances of e2ID-q.

Since in direct forms, especially (F)DD, the original deictic centre is retained, a switch from the host category to the embedded one also involves a switch in the deictic centre, affecting most notably spatial-temporal expressions or first and second person pronouns, as in example (1). Moreover, the presence of different speakers, reporting clauses and an extra set of quotation marks may make the whole structure cumbersome (Semino and Short 2004, 177–79). The reported element of combined forms is necessarily a combination or sequence of two separate deictic centres. In example (2), the embedded e1IS-q is contained in an instance of e0IS, neither of which involves a shift from the deictic centre of the reporting context; the partial quote is accompanied by a deictic shift, but there are no deictic elements that would markedly clash with the deictic orientation of the co-text. Similarly, the shift in the partial quote in e1NRDAp-q (example 3) is not deictically demanding either.

Discoursal embedding may be accompanied by an increase in grammatical complexity, which is here understood mainly as the presence of grammatical embedding, defined by Quirk et al. as “the occurrence of one unit as a constituent of another unit at the same rank in the grammatical hierarchy” (1985, 44). The relation between the reported and reporting elements in (F)DD is freer, and in this respect (F)DD may not contribute to grammatical complexity to such an extent. In (1), the two instances of e1DS are embedded in the host e0DS, none of which involves an undisputed relation of subordination of the reported clause to the reporting clause. On the other hand, due to the lack of subordination the range of structures in the reported element is virtually unlimited and can amount to a single word or a sequence of sentences, as follows in (6). In ID, on the other hand, the reported clause is clearly subordinated to the reporting one (example 1 e1IS); in (2), subordination occurs both in the host e0IS and in the embedded e1IS-q. As far as the NRDAp-q is concerned (example 3), its main formal property, namely the reported content realized in the form of a phrase, would naturally predestine it as the one most suitable for discoursal embedding (Semino and Short 2004, 181). Nevertheless, as shown in (2), the phrase realizing the topic can grammatically embed a non-finite reporting clause and move the form closer to ID. This ties in with the scalar character of the forms of presentation, both from formal and functional points of view.

Formal and deictic properties must be viewed merely as a potential of a form to appear embedded. Also, every instance of embedding is subject to an interplay of factors, asserting themselves to a different extent. In embedded (F)DD, the reported element is not clearly subordinated but involves a deictic switch and may vary in terms of length and grammatical structure. In contrast, in embedded ID-q the subordinated reported element contributes to grammatical complexity but at the same time may

evinced a higher degree of deictic assimilation to the reporting context. Example (6) illustrates an unusually complex embedding structure: the e2DS, in bold italics, contains several sentences; both the ultimate non-embedded (e0IS) and intermediate embedded (e1IT) host categories are instances of ID, though (F)DD is normally embedded in other instances of (F)DD (Semino and Short 2004, 179). Notice also that the embedded e2DS contains an instance of internal narration (e3NI, underlined bold italics) embedded at level three.

- (6) <e0IS>Mr Cameron said <e1IT>*he recalls*<e2DS>saying: ***“It’s not going to happen. I’m going to be leader of the Opposition. <e3NI>I’m depressed that it hasn’t worked out as we wanted it. I’m going to be in opposition for another couple more years.”*** (Grice 2010a)

Embedding, however, cannot be explained only by reference to the complexity of form, but primarily by the function of embedded forms. (F)DD may be preferable in situations requiring full evocation of the reported situation in order to achieve a truthful and authentic portrayal of the communicative event. Though ID-q (example 2) and NRDAp-q (example 3) serve the purpose of a summary, they simultaneously highlight the words quoted directly. In these cases, the non-embedded forms may be preferable. This, however, applies only to forms reporting speech and writing. The following section offers a few comments on reported thought.

4. DIRECT FORMS PRESENTING THOUGHT AND EMBEDDING

As Table 1 shows, the overall frequency of pure direct thought reports or non-direct forms with partial quotes is very low, 24 in total. Also, the tendency on the thought scale is completely opposite to that on the speech and writing scales: the embedded forms (20 e1 and 3 e2 forms) prevail over the non-embedded ones (1). This can be attributed to the nature of direct thought and the examined type of discourse. Thought cannot be observed directly, and thus its verbalization in a direct form may be perceived as artificial, especially in discourse where the reporter does not have access to the mind of the reported speaker (Leech and Short 1981, 345; Semino and Short 2004, 118). Consequently, the reporter tends to resort to non-direct forms of presentation, or direct thought is construed as embedded.

In (7), the direct reported thought (e1DT, bold italics) is embedded at level one in non-embedded e0DS; it is a self-quote, so the problem of the access to the mind of others does not occur. The rhetoric effect is to allow the reader to see for themselves what was going on in the mind of the reported speaker. This effect is achieved by maintaining the deictic centre evocative of the reported situation, reflected, e.g., in the retention of tense and interrogative form.

- (7) <e0DS>Dannatt, . . . , told the Chilcot inquiry: “. . . <e1DT>***‘Where did it come from?’ was my feeling at the time.***” (Norton-Taylor 2010)

Example (8) is different in that it is not expressly attributed to any specific individual. The italicised embedded indirect thought combined with a partial quote, in bold, (e1IT-q) does not contain a reporting verb but a noun (*idea*) with the content reported in the form of an appositive clause. The content construed as a projected idea (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 467–70) suggests acknowledgement of alternative viewpoints; and since the content is not presented as an undisputed fact but relegated to the realm of thought, it thus may be more easily challenged or, indeed, rejected. This is related to the concepts of heteroglossia and monoglossia and the need to show solidarity with different points of view (Martin and White 2005).

- (8) <e0NRSAp>The Justice Secretary has rejected <e1IT-q> *the idea that “**prison works**”*. (Kirkup 2010)

5. DIRECT FORMS OF PRESENTATION IN HOST FUNCTION

So far, attention has been paid to direct forms of presentation embedded in other forms of reported language. Let us now briefly examine direct forms functioning as a host to various types of non-direct forms. For ease of presentation, speech, writing and thought were conflated since direct thought in itself is infrequent and speech and writing are ontologically similar. Moreover, focus is placed on the formal properties of host categories, which are identical irrespective of speech, writing and thought distinction. The analysis was limited only to those ID-q and NRDAp-q in which the embedded form of presentation was found within the boundaries of the partial quote. Admittedly, such an approach cannot offer a complete picture since the exclusion of non-direct embedded forms lying outside the partial quote in the host category necessarily lowered the number of host categories as well as the number of embedded non-direct forms, to be dealt with in the next section. On the other hand, the limitation makes host (F)DD, ID-q and NRDAp-q more comparable in terms of the deictic switch.

TABLE 2: DIRECT FORMS OF PRESENTATION EMBEDDING NON-DIRECT FORMS

	DIRECT FORMS EMBEDDING NON-DIRECT FORMS			
	(F)DD	ID-q	NRDAp-q	Total
e0	450	57	11	518
e1	12	3	0	15
e2	1	0	0	1
Total	463	60	11	534

Table 2 shows that direct forms that are not embedded (518) function as a host more frequently, and the frequency of occurrence decreases with an increase in the level of embedding (15 e1 forms and only 1 e2 form). This can be explained by the increase in the deictic and grammatical complexity. As for the type of host category, especially (F)DD (463) seems to evince a propensity to function as host in comparison to partially quoted non-direct forms ID-q (60) and NRDAp-q (11). (F)DD (e.g., examples 1, 4,

5) is an ideal host since the reported element is deictically and syntactically more independent than its ID-q counterpart and thus more flexible in the range of categories and grammatical forms it may embed. In ID-q, the subordinate reported clause seems more limited in its host function, presumably due to the syntactic dependency of the reported clause and increased grammatical complexity (Semino and Short 2004, 182). In host NRDAp-q, the relationship existing between the reporting verb and the reported element involves no subordination, but due to the phrasal character of the reported element, a form of presentation that is discursively embedded in NRDAp-q is also likely to be grammatically embedded. On the whole, the data suggest that in comparison to (F)DD non-direct forms with only partially quoted direct discourse are less frequently employed in the host function. Apart from their formal properties, their limited occurrence as hosts may be related to their greater summarizing potential, which may be less compatible with the host function.

6. NON-DIRECT FORMS OF PRESENTATION EMBEDDED IN DIRECT FORMS

The last aspect to be commented on concerns non-direct forms of presentation embedded in (F)DD and combined forms. The topic will be dealt with only briefly and mainly in order to compare embedded non-direct forms of presentation with their counterparts combined with a partial quote. As in the previous section, the discussion will be limited only to forms embedded within the confines of directly quoted discourse.

TABLE 3: NON-DIRECT FORMS OF PRESENTATION EMBEDDED IN DIRECT FORMS

NON-DIRECT FORMS EMBEDDED IN DIRECT FORMS					
	ID	NRDAp	NRDA	Minimal	Total
E1	226	119	78	323	746
E2	25	33	36	53	147
E3	0	2	4	4	10
Total	251	154	118	380	903

Speech, writing and thought categories are conflated into indirect discourse (ID; example 1, e1IS),⁴ the narrator's representation of discourse act with topic (NRDAp; example 2, e1NRSap) and without topic (NRDA; example 4, e1NRSA), and finally minimal forms of reporting, covering the narrator's representation of voice on the speech scale (example 5, e1NV), its analogy on the writing scale and internal narration on the thought scale (example 4, e1NI and example 6, e3NI). As Table 3 shows, the frequency decreases with the increase in the level of embedding: there are 746 e1

4. The category of embedded ID contains 198 instances categorized as indirect thought, with an initial clause containing verbs such as *think* or *believe*. It is doubtful whether all these instances could be regarded as IT *per se* or as parenthetical comment clauses, employed as hedging devices. The status of the clause is problematic especially in the absence of prosodic cues and the subordinator *that* (Kaltenböck 2009, 49–50). The ambiguity in function could at least partially explain its high frequency of occurrence in comparison to forms with greater summarizing potential.

forms, 147 e2 forms and 10 e3 forms. In contrast to the embedded direct and combined forms listed in Table 1, embedded non-direct forms are more numerous and have been identified even at level three, even though the occurrence is very low and limited to forms not involving clausal subordination of the reported element. In comparison to their embedded combined analogues, embedded non-direct forms clearly predominate: alongside the total of 251 embedded ID, there are only 24 embedded ID-q forms; similarly, to the total of 154 embedded NRDAp forms correspond only 17 instances of embedded NRDAp-q. The higher frequency of embedded non-direct forms over embedded (F)DD and combined forms can be explained by the fact that pure non-direct forms do not involve a deictic shift and do not require the presence of quotation marks (Semino and Short 2004, 181–82). As will be shown in the next section, their summarizing potential may be mainly availed of for the purpose of a brief reference to communicative events the contents of which have already been presented. Further examples of NRDA and minimal reports are given in examples (13) and (14) below.

As mentioned, (F)DD and non-direct forms with a partial direct quote are predominantly non-embedded, and if they appear embedded, it is with much lower frequency than fully non-direct forms. Apart from the formal properties already discussed, this can be also attributed to the overall function of direct forms in newspaper reports: they imbue discourse with persuasiveness, evidentiality, reliability and credibility (Waugh 1995, 132–34). Since embedded discourse involves two or more stages in reporting resulting in a possible decrease in reliability, it may be assumed that persuasiveness and credibility can be achieved more successfully via non-embedded forms than embedded ones. Naturally, this account offers only a partial presentation since for a full treatment one would have to consider also non-direct forms embedded within other non-direct forms; nevertheless, it can be assumed that the tendencies already noted would be supported rather than refuted.

7. THE FUNCTION OF NON-EMBEDDED AND EMBEDDED FORMS OF PRESENTATION

The following paragraphs attempt to interpret the presence of reported language in newspaper reports in general and explain the occurrence of embedding. As mentioned, news stories are often concerned with a portrayal of events representing a normative breach; they chronicle events perceived as a disruption to the *status quo*, identify sources of social-order disequilibrium and help consolidate the established social values (Iedema, Feez, and White 1994, 107; White 1997, 106). For example, the source of disequilibrium in (1) is a fatal accident, in (2) and (4) a controversial remark made by David Cameron, in (3) a murder and the role of imprisonment in (8). Also, such events, due to their novelty and contentious nature, are subject to negotiation; in order to explain, interpret and evaluate them and simultaneously maintain impersonal treatment, the newspaper reporter relies on external sources.⁵

5. The impersonal style of hard news reports is achieved by a typical generic structure referred to usually as “the inverted pyramid” (van Dijk 1988, Bell 1991) and so-called “reporter voice,” characterized by

The presence of external voices contributes to a heteroglossic background of the text since an attributed proposition is necessarily construed as bound to the individual reported speaker and thus allows for possible alternative viewpoints (Martin and White 2005, 99). The presence of external sources and diverse perspectives on the reported matter is important in order to avoid presenting it as given, naturalised and taken for granted (Martin and White 2005, 99–100); this is especially true if the event is recent, socially disrupting and there is a possibility of reinterpretation of its social-political or economic significance. Issues reports, dealing with perceived disruptions that are communicative in nature, are rich sources of reported language and embedded forms of presentation. In order to achieve impersonal treatment, the reporter “extra-vocalises,” i.e., explicitly attributes (White 1998, 125), all interpretation and evaluation; the author reports on what an external source has said about a projected destabilising event, and such forms involve embedding. The following forms of presentation, some of them already dealt with, have been excerpted from an issues report dealing with David Cameron’s accusation that Pakistan supports terrorism. Supporting terrorism in itself can be seen as a source of disequilibrium, but as is clear from the excerpt it is the verbal act that is perceived as threatening.

- (9) <e0NI>Pakistanis irate over <e0DS>PM’s “**exporting terror**” remark (headline)
- (10) <e0NV>DAVID CAMERON sparked a diplomatic row yesterday by<e0IS-q> warning that Pakistan should not be allowed to “**promote the export of terror**” to the rest of the world. (lead)
- (11) <e0IS>His spokeswoman stressed that<e1NRSAp> *he had not been accusing the Pakistani Government of sponsoring terrorism*, but <e1IS-q>*was repeating his previous demands for it to do more to “shut terror groups down”*. (body)
- (12) <e0DS> “<e1NI>**I am deeply concerned**,” <NRS>he said. <e0FDS>“**The basis on which <e1NRSA>this statement has been made is very fragile . . .**” (body)
- (13) <e0IS-q>Denis MacShane, a former Foreign Office minister, warned that <e1NRSA> *Mr Cameron’s “foolish insults” of Pakistan* would be counter-productive. (body) (Grice 2010b)

Since Cameron’s accusations are perceived as threatening, they appear very early in the text – in the headline (9) and lead (10), with the controversial content presented as non-embedded, unmediated e0DS (“*exporting terror*” remark) and e0IS-q (*warning that . . . the world*) respectively. Also, the direct consequence of the accusation, namely the disrupted political order, is described in minimal forms of presentation, internal narration (e0NI, *irate*) in the headline and a narrator’s representation of voice (e0NV, *diplomatic row*) in the lead.

minimal authorial evaluation (see, e.g., Iedema, Feez and White 1994, White 1998 or Martin and White 2005).

The forms of presentation excerpted from the body of the text (11)–(13) describe the reactions to and the interpretation of the PM's remark. As the external sources refer to the controversial statement, the latter ultimately appears embedded in the forms representing the utterances of the former. In (11), the spokeswoman tries to negotiate the intended illocutionary force and content of Cameron's remark, stressing (e0IS) that his statement is not to be understood as an accusation (e1NRSAp) but a demand (e1IS-q). In (12), a Pakistani senator expresses his concerns in the form of internal narration (e1NI, bold italics) embedded in e0DS (in bold) and questions the credibility of the controversial statement (e1NRSA, bold italics) in the form of non-embedded e0FDS (in bold). Example (13) reports Denis MacShane's warning of possible consequences (e0IS-q) and his negative evaluation of Cameron's remark, referred to as a *foolish insult* in the form of an embedded narrator's representation of speech act (e1NRSA, bold italics).

In addition, there seems to be a clear correspondence between the form of the reported language, embedding and the need to distance oneself from the content by means of extra-vocalisation: the content which by its nature requires heteroglossic treatment is presented via non-embedded direct forms. As the text develops and proceeds from presenting the source of the disequilibrium to its interpretation, the forms of presentation referring to the remark alter from non-embedded direct (e0DS, example 9) and combined (e0IS-q, example 10) forms in the headline and lead to embedded combined forms in the body (example 11, e1IS-q) and finally embedded nominalized summaries with no topic reported (examples 12 and 13, e1NRSA). Simultaneously, as the source of the disequilibrium has been processed and focus is placed on evaluation, non-embedded direct forms are employed to provide solidarity with different evaluating and interpreting viewpoints. This can also explain the prevailing occurrence of non-embedded direct forms over embedded direct forms as well as of embedded non-direct forms over embedded direct ones.

8. CONCLUSION

The analysis has shown a number of tendencies in the use of direct forms of presentation. First, direct forms appear more frequently non-embedded than embedded, and the frequency of occurrence of embedded forms representing speech and writing decreases with the increase in the level of embedding. From the formal point of view, this can be attributed to the possibility of increased deictic and grammatical complexity following from the deictic and syntactic properties of the individual embedded forms. On the other hand, forms involving direct presentation of thought are almost exclusively found in the context of embedding; this can be explained by the nature of thought presentation and the discourse of newspaper reporting. The deictic and grammatical properties can also explain the predominance in a host function of (F)DD over non-direct forms combined with a partial quote.

As for the frequency of embedded (F)DD, combined forms and their fully non-direct analogies, the non-direct embedded forms prevail. If direct forms are to serve the

function of credibility and reliability, quoting the source only via one projection stage may be desirable. The function of direct forms is inextricably related to their deictic properties, i.e., to the retention of the deictic centre and the potential to reflect the perspective of the reported speaker. This potential can be exploited, e.g., in the uses of embedded (F)DD reminiscent of conversation or narrative, where (F)DD serves to achieve an enlivening and dramatizing effect (examples 1, 6 and 7). Simultaneously, thanks to the retention of the deictic centre and consequently the subjectivity of the reported situation, direct forms also contribute to the maintenance of impersonal, i.e., non-authorial perspective (examples 8, 11–13). Interpretation or judgement is extra-vocalised, hence non-authorial, and provides the desired heteroglossic background. The presentation of alternative viewpoints or at least one of many possible viewpoints is important in cases where the event described is controversial or socially disruptive; in the so-called issues reports, the source of disruption to social order is projected and thus involves reported language (examples 9–10). The presence of extra-vocalised, non-authorial comments referring to the projected source of disequilibrium results in discursual embedding (examples 8, 11–13). Heteroglossic portrayal can be achieved by non-direct forms as well as direct ones. Embedded forms with a greater summarizing potential may be preferred in an extra-vocalised reference to communicative events that have already been introduced in the text and where content may not be at issue.

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INTERTEXTUALITY AS A DISCOURSE STRATEGY: MASS CULTURE IN PRINTED ADS

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ABSTRACT: Works of popular culture such as songs or films referred to in printed advertisements can be understood in terms of intertextuality as a discourse strategy. These references allow recipients' mental space processing of the advertisement, thus enabling the recipients to become co-authors of the message. Multigeneric intertextuality, i.e., exhibiting the switch of genres, is a major type of mass culture intertextual reference. This paper deals with its employment in ads and its twofold function of building a desired emotional attitude towards the advertised item through exploring the mental space; and enhancing memorability by contextualizing the product in a novel way. This capacity makes intertextuality an effective advertising discourse strategy.

KEYWORDS: advertising discourse; discourse strategy; intertextuality; mass culture; memorability; genre

Present-day magazine advertising exhibits considerable levels of indirectness. This is a risky and costly strategy, but at the same time advertisers know that they are likely to be more successful in catching the reader's attention if they leave the reader to interact deeply on a very individual basis with the message. Ads become more indirect, which means the recipients of the advertising message are given more interpretive power.

1. EXPLORING THE MENTAL SPACE

One of the discourse strategies that assigns more power over the message to the recipient is intertextuality. The phenomenon originates when introducing meaning of unrelated text into the text that is being processed. Ad recipients have wide-ranging experience in perceiving non-advertising texts. This experience becomes the basis of exploring the recipients' mental space. This is understood in terms of text world theory as discussed by Hidalgo Downing (2000, 67–88). The term is used to label an interpretive mechanism of undercoded texts (as defined by Eco 1976, 135). It operates as an outlined space in recipients' conceptual capacity. It is framed by given discourse cues, yet with no specific structures filled in. Both advertisers and recipients enter the advertising communication with shared knowledge about the context, its goals and related expectations. The way in which the ad message is constructed and then processed opens up recipients' mental space and allows "filling the space" with reasons, emotions, memories of own experience, associations, imaginary constructs, etc.

2. INTERTEXTUALITY AS A DISCOURSE STRATEGY

Intertextuality is a discourse strategy that is based on exploring the recipients' mental space through drawing on the experience of the texts created in the past or

allusions to such texts. These function as triggers of filling the mental space with individual conceptual constructs. Urbanová (2008, 35) states that texts demonstrating intertextuality are to be understood as products of simultaneous text-creation and interpretation processes. The recipients become co-authors of the intertextual ad messages when they recognize the evoked text and their own past experience of that text reflects in their ad message-processing.

Intertextuality is to be understood as a text operating within another text, or a dependence of a discourse meaning on a text that was produced earlier. From the sender's point of view, intertextuality is coding of the textual meaning through another text or a reference to it. From the recipient's standpoint it is the dependence of the text interpretation on the meaning of another discourse. In both points of view a text operating in a certain context draws its meaning from another context.

Gadavanij (2002), drawing from Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999), understands intertextuality in two perspectives. First, it is a combination of genres within one discourse, or a presence of features of another genre in the respective discourse. Genre, as defined by Fairclough (1995, 14) is understood as a conventionalized text type; "a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular social practice." It seems viable to understand a combination of genres as one of two possible facets of intertextuality, further referred to as *multigeneric intertextuality*. In printed ads, their specific parts (such as a headline, a body copy or a slogan) or a complete ad text may be identified as belonging to a genre different than advertising. With mass culture references in mind, multigeneric intertextuality appears in the cases of popular songs or films being explored in the advertising copy.

The second perspective in which intertextuality is studied and defined is a presence of voices, or an indication of participants' presences that originally belonged to other discourses. Voice as a phenomenon marking one type of intertextuality is defined as "an indication of who the participants of the discourse are and what identity they assume" (Gadavanij 2002, 483). Such intertextuality is labeled as *heteroglossic*. In printed ads linked to mass culture, this type of intertextuality is found in cases when a famous personality (e.g., an actress) promotes an item in her own name. An analysis of this type, however, is not part of this paper.

Both facets of intertextuality may be used "as a strategy to produce the most effective discourse within . . . particular context" (Gadavanij 2002, 483). Effectiveness in case of advertising means to create the desired image of the advertised product and to make the product memorable until the recipient has the possibility to purchase it. Firstly, this can be done by depicting the promoted product in an emotional way. Robinson (2003, 52) asserts that "it is always easier to remember things that we care about, . . . things we enjoy (or even despise) always stick better in our memories than things about which we are indifferent. The strongest memories in our lives are always the ones that had the most powerful emotional impact on us."

2.1 ENHANCING EMOTIONALITY IN ADS

Intertextuality enhances creating the emotive response to the ad by allowing recipients to fill the mental space with their own associations and experience of the previously encountered texts. The texts, when well chosen, associate positive feelings and allow the mental space to be filled with pleasant memories, enlightening recollections and the creative development of possibilities in the original texts.

The following intertextual ad promoting Gap Jeans uses the genre of a popular magazine section, a Proust questionnaire, which is traditionally filled in by a famous personality. “Alanis Morissette. Favorite Song: Crazy, Seal. Favorite Jeans: Curvy Flare. Favorite. There’s more at gap.com. How Do You Wear It? Gap. Fit How You Feel” (VF1). Not only is a Proust questionnaire a positively-viewed genre, but the interviewee, Alanis Morissette, is a popular and commercially successful singer. Shortly after her remake of Seal’s song “Crazy” ranked high in American charts (2005), the ad could be expected to evoke a very positive attitude through mental space exploration. The recipients fill it in by associations of success, entertainment, celebrity lifestyle, by the melody of the song, by curiosity satiated when having read other Proust questionnaires in the past or by recipients’ own possible answers to such a questionnaire.

2.2 NEW CONTEXT THROUGH INTERTEXTUAL REFERENCE

The second means by which ads become more effective due to intertextuality is contextualizing the product in a memorable way. Robinson (2003, 53) claims that placing something in a physical or cultural context “can be helpful in building an associative network for later recall.” Recipients tend to remember better if they perceive the message in a related context. Robinson further notes: “. . . practical use-value, emotional and intellectual associations, and the sensory channels through which [the message] comes to you (the more the better)” all aid the effectiveness of memorizing and remembering (ibid). New individually-constructed situations that arise during the mental space processing become new contexts in which to place the product. The following Coca-Cola ad may effectively place the product to a known situation: „Good morning. Diet Coke“ (OK1). The phatic phrase “good morning” is quite restricted in its use. We tend to hear it repeatedly in the same place, at the same time, day by day. Hearing this phrase may be associated with waking up next to a partner in the bedroom, entering a corner bakery, meeting a friend in the office, etc. Its occurrence is relatively stable in each person’s life. These associations may become the concepts filling the mental space of the recipients once they read such an ad. By placing a product in such a situation, the recipients may recall it every time they hear or utter the phrase.

Both uses of intertextuality are interrelated and create a continuum. A Proust questionnaire or a well known hit song create the contents of recipients’ mental space and thus help establish a positive attitude towards a product; the product also becomes situated in the context evoked by the processing. The product may be recalled with repeated encounters with the same context. The song may evoke a well-known melody; a “good morning” greeting may evoke pleasant feelings of experiencing new beginnings,

a new sunny day, seeing a familiar friend's face. Repeatedly hearing the song or the greeting may, on the other hand, function as a recall for the product. This points to the usefulness of intertextuality as a phenomenon based on exploring recipients' mental space and exposing the promoted products to known contexts. The advertising context is replaced and presented as another, recipient-relevant one. Gadavani states: "Since genre and voice are the textual representations of the interface between discourse and society, the changing articulation of genre and the use of more than one voice may have the potential to redefine the context within which the discourse takes place. In this light, it can also be seen as a discourse strategy" (2002, 483).

3 MASS CULTURE INTERTEXTUALITY

References to specific instances of popular culture genres are a useful tool for promoting products. Verdonk (2002, 5) comments that this works as "an allusion to another text and, at the same time, an appeal to the reader's awareness of that text." By placing such a reference in an ad, the recipient feels satisfaction when spotting and decoding it, and consequently a whole set of highly individualized associated memories and emotions are transferred from the referred item to the mental space of the recipients. Verdonk (*ibid*) further states that intertextuality "appears to have the effect of giving the reader the pleasurable sense of satisfaction at having spotted the allusion, and it may often intensify the overall significance of a text."

Popular songs and films are most frequently referenced. As following examples show, mass culture references enrich meaning by filling the mental space with desired emotions and associations. They do not provide fundamental clues for understanding the message as such; they are not to be seen as "inescapable intertextuality" (Fiske 1987, 92–93). In Gray's definition (2006, 4) such intertextuality would mean "inescapable interdependence of all textual meaning upon the structures of meaning proposed by other texts." Here, however, the references can stay unspotted or be ignored and taken literally. A reference to a film (e.g., in the following example (3) "Legends of the Fall") can be taken as a film reference and intertextually evoke all the desired emotional response, but it may also be understood as a statement literally claiming that the "fall collection of promoted clothes contains legendary pieces." The mental space would not be created unless the film reference is spotted. Nevertheless, the text would still be functional, even if the emotive response would become diminished and thus the ad processing would be less effective.

The ads analyzed in this paper are made more efficient by referring to carefully chosen cultural items; due to the associations with such items the mental space may be filled with certain mood, prototypical hero characteristics or memories of specific situations. In this sense we can talk of "intertextual intent" as discussed by Kuppens (2009, 118).

3.1 SONG REFERENCES IN ADS

The following two ads reference popular songs well known to most Americans. They can be expected to invoke the melody and the characteristic setting or stereotypical ideas:

- (1) “Joy to the world and joy to desserts. Sara Lee. The joy of eating. The joy of joy. Sara Lee.” (P1)
- (2) “Born to be wild. All-new Suzuki SX4. Attitude and AWD, all standard. We admit it. We’ve got a reputation for having fun. Giving a little attitude. So it’s natural for us to offer up the equally spirited Suzuki SX4. This new sport X-over features the only 3-Mode i-AWD in the class, plus the power of a 143-hp engine, all standard. Yaris, Fit and Versa don’t offer either one. There’s ABS and the safety of a side-curtain airbags, standard. Plus available Electronic Stability Program (ESP) with TCS. The all-new Suzuki SX4. It’s gonna be a great ride. suzukiauto.com Suzuki. Way of Life.” (P2)

While (1) refers to a popular Christmas carol and (2) to a well known rock song (first made famous by the band Steppenwolf in 1968), both have similar function: to make the ads memorable and explore the mental space of the recipients with associations accompanying the references. (1) appears in the Christmas issue of *People* magazine so a Christmas carol as a part of the ad is a natural way of eliciting a festive atmosphere. Pleasant associations of Christmas are evoked quite effortlessly through an emblematic melody. (2) relies on the “Born to Be Wild” song which associates with free, unceremonious, unrestrained biker appearance and attitude. This attitude is fostered by visual means as well: the shadow cast by the car is the one of a rider on his/her motorbike. Even though further in the ad the discourse switches to descriptive (reason-evoking) and offers technical details of the promoted car, the song reference used as a headline is a cue evoking the independence and untamed nature of the implicit product user. The recipient may also interpret the headline as offering the insight into the sensuous “soul” of the car, while the following technical details describe its mechanical “body.” An emotive layer of meaning is added to the reason-inducing one.

Both ads incorporate audio traces as cues: when reading the ad, most recipients can be expected to recall the tune and possibly sing it in their heads. Employing more sensory channels is known to improve memorability and later recall. The advertisements may be recalled when the songs are heard again later, even in an unrelated situation.

3.2 FILM REFERENCES IN ADS

The two following ads refer to films.

- (3) “Legends of the Fall. Nordstrom.” (VF2)
- (4) “Truly RADLEY Deeply about choosing wonderful colors. Radley.” (VF4)

In both ads for clothes/accessories, a film reference is a cue evoking an emotive response. This is a risky strategy, but simultaneously it is a powerful way of building the product image through recipients’ mental space processing. Compared to songs, films are more complex works of art. By incorporating them in ads, multiple layers of associations can be introduced, and these can vary significantly from recipient to recipient. Personal attitudes towards the film itself, to the actors and their performances,

memories of where and with whom the film was seen, how it related to our previous lives and how it influenced our lives afterwards, but also the general social and critical acclaim – it all may influence the emotional state transferred to the mental space. This strategy appears to be well suited for promoting fashion and luxury items: while food and utility objects require some reasoning, clothes and accessories are nowadays chosen on mostly an emotional basis.

Both (3) and (4) use the film title in a double-meaning way. (3) uses the 1994 Edward Zwick drama *Legends of the Fall*, which in a review in the *Chicago Sun-Times* was described as “full-blooded performances and heartfelt melodrama” (Ebert 1995). The strongest association-evoking cue may be the impressive male character: the ad promotes formal refined men’s clothes and the film is famous for strong performances of three leading male actors – Anthony Hopkins, Brad Pitt and Aidan Quinn. The ad headline can also be interpreted literally: the fall collection of clothes sold in the Nordstrom department store is introduced and promoted as “legendary.” The film characters may be the ones transferring the “legend feel” to the mental space.

(4) uses the title of the 1990 Anthony Minghella film *Truly Madly Deeply*, which is simultaneously a 1997 popular Savage Garden romantic song. The film is considered to be wryly witty, funny, serious and comic at the same time, making an emotional impact; the song is one of most frequently listed as a wedding song for American brides.¹ Both address mostly romantically-inclined female viewers, and so many women, the target recipients of the Radley ad, may recall the film and/or the song and fill the related memories to their mental space. Moreover, the Radley brand name is inserted in the ad headline, mixed with the film title in a witty way, through a pun (with “madly” being replaced by “Radley”). This enriches the ad processing through a clever playful tone. The complexity of the emotional associations of a film and a recall of the tune of a song may in this ad combine and enhance the ad impact on a recipient.

Low-involvement and high utility value products seem to employ intertextuality in a plain, uncomplicated way, making use of the stereotypical character of the inserted text. High-involvement items such as clothes and fashion products explore multi-faceted possibilities offered by the intertextual paradigm. The following example presents the most complex employment of intertextuality in exploring the mental space.

INTERPLAY OF MULTIPLE GENRES

Promoting perfumes (i.e., products at the high end of luxury items spectrum) is a complicated task since recipients mostly cannot perceive the product directly through their senses. Perfumes can only be represented indirectly by their packaging or by symbolic images. Some perfume advertisements use a fragrant ad page. Because of the technicalities this strategy involves and due to the innovative and creative attitude which advertising constantly requires, novel ways of promoting perfumes appear. Prada

1. All the following websites feature the song in their first-dance lists: www.ourweddingsongs.com; www.popular-wedding-songs.com/first-dance-wedding-songs.html; www.weddingwire.com/wedding-songs/first-dance-music?page_27

Parfums ad (VF3) explores intertextuality in a peculiar, unorthodox way. It is the only encountered ad that manages to employ film, poetry and music through a print medium.

The print ad page only contains an abstract, mood-setting illustration, and a short, matter-of-fact direct appeal to the recipient: "Prada Parfums. See the movie *Thunder Perfect Mind* by Jordan and Ridley Scott." Since perfume is a luxury high-involvement product, a greater effort and more attention from ad recipients can be expected when considering its purchase. Unorthodox way of no-frills imperative in a perfume ad may evoke curiosity and the recipients may be tempted to know how a movie relates to the perfume. The names of famous and successful movie makers Jordan and Ridley Scott are a strong cue and a motivating element for culture-conscious recipients. They may respond positively and perform what the ad suggests. Once the Prada website is accessed, it offers a 6-minute film depicting a young beautiful woman moving through urban environment, reading a book. She does not speak yet her voice is heard throughout the film reading portions of the epic poem "The Thunder: Perfect Mind" which is a part of ancient Gnostic scriptures discovered in Egypt in mid-twentieth century. Part of the poem that she reads seems to be an ancient precursor of modern intertextuality definitions:

I am the voice whose sound is manifold
and the word whose appearance is multiple.
I am the utterance of my name.
(Robinson 1977, 272)

The film is too long for a usual commercial, yet not too long for a tempted viewer to watch. The captivating words of the poem based on paradoxical riddles questioning personal identity, combined with engaging music and the acting of the female character, mediate the quality of the promoted scent which is otherwise impossible to verbalize. The combination of all the inputs makes the ad a captivating cross-over between superficial thirty-second commercials and complex full-length movies. While the print ad appearing in the corpus does not seem to be intertextual in isolation, within an intricate network of modern media it seems to be contextually intertextual; a case of *multi-media intertextuality*. Voices of characters and participants are heard and seen, genres overlap in a truly post-modern way and the recipient is moved through different contexts not only within the ad, but also physically, by moving from one medium to another. The exploration of recipients' mental space is potentially very complex and rich; the impression of the ad may be powerful and compact.

CONCLUSION

Intertextual ads based on pop culture references transform the advertising context to the one that the recipients are expected to enjoy and associate with entertainment, relaxation and pleasure. They introduce contexts that may relate to a wide range of recipients' memories and shared knowledge. Filling the mental space can include associations with evoked situations and recollections of experiencing the texts in the past. Moreover, the culture references, once spotted and decoded, bring about the

feeling of satisfaction with completing the task and may also make the recipients feel the bond with their cultural environment. This is the major distinguishing feature of the multigeneric intertextuality based on referring to specific instances of genres of mass culture such as films or songs.

In a broad understanding of switching genres or contexts, intertextuality seems to evoke emotions or physical states confronted when the original text (or discourse) was experienced. Intertextuality functions by referring back in time to texts already noted; it recalls the experience or shared knowledge and evokes emotions related to the remembered entities. It is an effective advertising tool exploring the recipients' mental space.

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CORPUS

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POLITICAL DISCOURSE AND ITS FEATURES IN BARACK OBAMA'S 2011 SPEECH TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

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ABSTRACT: Politics is a struggle to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice. In this, language plays an important role because most political actions are accompanied by language. This paper deals with political discourse in general, its aims and purposes, and specifies various strategies, the purposes of which are to persuade the audience of the validity of the politician's views and to manipulate the audience. The practical part of the paper analyzes the speech of US President Barack Obama to the British Parliament, delivered in May 2011. It concentrates on selected rhetorical strategies, namely the use of pronouns, repetition and three part statements, and citations and quotations of other politicians. It also demonstrates how the same strategies were used by Ronald Reagan, who addressed the British Parliament nearly thirty years prior.

KEYWORDS: political discourse; rhetoric; persuasive techniques; pronouns; repetition; quoting politicians

1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In broad linguistic terms, political discourse analysis only recently became important. It is connected mainly with Paul Chilton who, based on analyses of political texts and talks in both domestic and international environments, dealt with the cognitive theory of language and politics, described the evolution and functioning of language in relation to political behaviour, and described typical features of a political interview and parliamentary discourse (Chilton 2004). According to Schäffner (1996), political discourse is a result of politics and is culturally and historically determined. It fulfils different functions because of different political activities and is also thematic because its topics are primarily related to politics, its activities, ideas and relations. Political discourse also often reflects political systems, ideologies, institutions and political events, but it also combines its topics with topics from other social domains, such as education, health care, crime, economy, etc. (van Dijk 1997).

Language used in political discourse is designed to achieve specific goals, to make people believe in certain things and to win their support. Politicians aim at addressing large groups of political supporters and their purpose is to present arguments that will persuade and manipulate their audience. Politicians achieve success thanks to their skilful use of rhetoric, by which they aim to persuade their audience of the validity of their views (Jones and Peccei 2004). Politicians also use the linguistic system to create a feeling of solidarity and to arouse emotions (van Dijk 1997). According to van Dijk there are two paths for investigating the political functioning of linguistic choices. The first one is based on general linguistic levels, e.g., what strategic functions are typically

fulfilled. It draws on one's knowledge of language and political culture and can also be the goal of empirical investigation of texts and talk. The second path is based on texts and transcriptions, using one's understanding of the language and political culture to make clear the links between linguistic choices and strategic functions.

2. PERSUASIVE TECHNIQUES OF POLITICAL LANGUAGE

Political speeches are characterized by the use of typical rhetorical techniques, including the repetition of certain words or phrases, paraphrases or quotations of previous political speeches and the use of pronouns, metaphors, metonymies, analogies and contrastive pairs, etc.

A powerful device used in political speeches is the repetition of words or phrases that bear core messages or using parallel clauses to make the sentences more memorable and catchy for the listeners. Word repetition is used especially in long speeches to hold the speech together, but also to emphasize moral values. A specific type of repetition are three part statements, where new pieces of information or new ideas are presented in three steps (Beard 2000). As a rule the first part initiates the argument, the second part supports or emphasizes it, the third part being the reinforcement of the first two and a sign that the idea has been completed. Atkinson (1984) considers three-part statements, together with contrasts, such as "claptraps," a device successful at evoking audience applause at appropriately chosen moments.

A significant contribution to the overall effect of a political discourse is played by pronouns used in politicians' speeches. The use of the first person pronouns *I* and *we* shows the speaker's personal involvement and responsibility. *I* is used predominantly if something is of individual importance to the speaker or declares who is responsible. It can also refer to any of the speaker's interactional and social identities, private or public (Bramley 2001). The plural pronoun *we* makes responsibility more unclear. *We* is of collective identity and expresses the authority to speak on behalf of others; to talk on behalf of the party, to turn away individual responsibility, to invoke a collective response or attitude to a matter (Wales 1996). To distract the speaker from the thing discussed and to show ideological differences and positive self-presentation, the personal pronoun *they* is used by politicians.

Citing historical speeches, quoting previous politicians or quoting from religious sources is popular among politicians because it indicates the speakers' familiarity with their predecessors, supports the speakers' authority and minimizes the risk of being criticized.

A persuasive tool in political discourse is also political metaphor, which either highlights or hides certain aspects of reality (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Political metaphor can help explain complex political arguments, reducing such arguments to metaphorical forms. Thus, it is frequently abused to constitute facts rather than explain them. Political metaphors often mirror the political ideology of the speaker, and thus their effect on an audience may differ from the speaker's intentions. An important role in political discourse is also played by metonymy, which Lakoff and Johnson contend is as pervasive as metaphor (1980).

3. PRESIDENT OBAMA'S SPEECH TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT

Barack Obama, the forty-fourth president of the USA and a Democrat, addressed the British Parliament on May 25, 2011. He was the third US president to do so, after Bill Clinton in 1995 and Ronald Reagan in 1982, but he was the first American president to give a speech in the huge Westminster Hall of the Palace of Westminster. Obama gave his speech as a part of his official, presidential visit to the United Kingdom, this visit being his second to Britain during his presidency (the first being the G20 summit of 2009).

4. ANALYSIS OF SELECTED RHETORICAL FEATURES IN PRESIDENT OBAMA'S SPEECH IN COMPARISON WITH RONALD REAGAN'S SPEECH

The practical part of the paper is an empirical study that concentrates on selected rhetorical features typical for political discourse, as they are used by President Obama in his speech to the British Parliament in 2011, namely the use of pronouns, repetition and the three-part statements, quoting and citing previous politicians. At the same time these rhetorical features will be compared with the same features used by Ronald Reagan in his speech to the British Parliament in 1982. The AntConc concordance program, developed by Laurence Anthony, is used for the analysis.

Even if there are nearly thirty years between the two speeches, both are of similar length (Obama's address consists of 4,311 words, Reagan's address is slightly longer, with 4,439 words). The topics covered by both Obama and Reagan are provided in Table 1 below.

TABLE 1: TOPICS OF OBAMA'S AND REAGAN'S SPEECHES

OBAMA'S 2011 SPEECH TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT	REAGAN'S 1982 SPEECH TO THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT
Introduction (par. 1–2)	Introduction (par. 1–3)
Shared heritage, shared history (3–9)	Recall of Reagan's visits to the UK (4)
Recent war conflicts (10–11)	Symbols of the East and the West (5–7)
New international order (12–13)	Totalitarianism in Europe (8–9)
Global economy (18–21)	US vs. UK share of the past (10–12)
World crisis (22–26)	Threat of global war (13) Threat posed to human freedom (14–21)
Security and prosperity (27–28)	Economic difficulties of the USSR vs. prosperity of democratic countries (22–32)
Terrorism, fight against terrorism (29–32)	Struggles for freedom in the past (24–27)
Disarmament, stopping the spread of nuclear weapons (33)	Fighting in the world (Lebanon, Africa) (28–29)
Arabic conflicts (34–41)	Fight for freedom in the Communist World (30–38)
Fight for freedom today and in the past (42–52)	Role of the USA and Western policies in global campaign for democracy (39–50)

Obama's speech covered eleven topics altogether. The majority of the topics might be considered of world-wide interest and could be, and often also is, a part Obama's other speeches (e.g., recent world conflicts, global economy, world crisis, fight against terrorism, spread of nuclear weapons in the world). The speech was aimed at members

of the British Parliament, but at the same time it was considered as a US message to the world. Relations with the United Kingdom and the partnership between the two governments in the fight against terrorism and for freedom and democracy dominate the speech. Reagan's speech covered twelve topics, some of which are comparable with those of Obama (e.g., shared history between the USA and the UK, recent war conflicts, fights for freedom, threat of nuclear weapons), even if describing the reality thirty years prior. Most of Reagan's speech was devoted to the ideas of the East and the West and to the fight of Eastern European countries for freedom and democracy, which was Reagan's key topic during his presidency.

4.1 USE OF PRONOUNS

Pronouns are more than just a word class functioning as a substitute for nouns and noun phrases. They can also have pragmatic functions, and one of the aims of this analysis is to investigate this.

Personal pronouns are often used within politics to express the degree of personal involvement of the speaker. Use of personal and possessive pronouns in Obama's speech to the British Parliament and their comparison with Reagan's speech is provided in Table 2.

TABLE 2: USE OF PERSONAL AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS IN OBAMA'S AND REAGAN'S SPEECHES

OBAMA	FREQUENCY	RANK IN THE FREQUENCY LIST	REAGAN	FREQUENCY	RANK IN THE FREQUENCY LIST
we	128	9	we	38	10
us	33	31	us	19	30
our	121	10	our	36	11
I	9	66	I	20	25
me	6	205	me	6	102
my	8	155	my	7	82
they	20	25	they	11	60
them	9	72	them	3	274
their	20	24	their	21	22

The plural personal pronoun *we* and its objective form *us* rank among the most frequent lexemes in both frequency lists (Table 2). They are nearly four times more frequent in Obama's speech, even if Obama uses these pronouns in two meanings only; to refer to the USA and to Americans (e.g., *after 9/11 we have disrupted terrorist networks and dealt al-Qaeda a large blow by killing its leader – Osama bin Laden . . .*) and to refer to both Americans and the British, pointing to their alliance and cooperation (e.g., *together we have met great challenges; we must keep working; I'm sure Prime Minister Cameron and I would agree that some days we could both use a stiff drink*). Even if Reagan uses the plural *we* and *our* less frequently than Obama, they appear in four meanings in his speech; two meanings being identical with Obama's – to refer to the USA and to Americans (e.g., *we and our NATO allies; . . . we feel in your house; we have been told; we plan to*

consult with leaders of other nations as well), to refer to Americans and the British (e.g., *what we share of the past*) but in addition they refer to mankind (*I believe we live now at a turning point; we are witnessing a great revolutionary crisis; . . . millions of refugees we've seen in the modern world; . . . we see around us; historians looking back at our times*) and to people of the West (*how we conduct ourselves here in the Western democracies; we must take actions to assist the campaign for democracy*).

Obama is less inclusive in his speech, the singular personal pronoun *I* (Table 2) is used by him to refer to his British visit (e.g., *I've come here today; the first time I came to London*) and to express his assertions (e.g., *I believe . . . , I am sure . . .*). Reagan, on the other hand, expresses much higher involvement in his address throughout his speech. He uses the first person singular to express his assertions, his beliefs and thoughts (e.g., *I believe; I think*) as well as his readiness to be involved in solving different problems (e.g., *I propose; I am prepared; I look forward*).

Of high frequency in both speeches is also the plural personal pronoun *they* and its possessive form *their*, which are used by both speakers in several meanings – to differentiate between us, Americans, possibly Americans and the British and people in Eastern European countries fighting for democracy (e.g., . . . *democracy's enemies have refined their instruments of repression . . . ; . . . to help others gain their freedom as well . . .*) as well as to refer to democracy's enemies (e.g., . . . *They threatened death to any who voted, and destroyed hundreds of buses and trucks to keep the people from getting to the polling places*.) in the case of Reagan's speech, and the world's enemies (e.g., *Hitler's armies would not have stopped their killing had we not fought them on the beaches and the landing grounds . . . ; they /al Qaeda/ have killed thousands of Muslims*) and people in the countries fighting for democracy – North Africa, Near East (e.g., *millions are still denied their basic human rights because of who they are, or what they believe, or the kind of government that they live under . . .*) in the case of Obama's speech.

4.2 REPETITION AND THREE-PART STATEMENTS

Repetition and three-part statements are used to emphasize a particular point and to make the speech more memorable and catchy for the audience. This is also the case of both Obama's and Reagan's speeches in which these rhetoric features appear frequently, as demonstrated in the following examples.

4.2.1 OBAMA'S SPEECH

Obama used lexical repetition, grammatical repetition, repetition on sentence level, repetition of the level of paragraphs and three-part statements frequently in his speech (twenty-two times). Their use is demonstrated on the follow-up examples.

— LEXICAL REPETITION:

- (1) The reason for this close friendship doesn't have to do with *our shared history, our shared heritage, our ties of language and culture* or even the strong partnership between our governments. (the possessive pronoun *our* repeated)

- (2) We are the allies *who* landed at Omaha and Gold, *who* sacrificed side by side to free a continent from the march of tyranny, and help prosperity flourish from the ruins of war. (repetition of the relative pronoun *who*; the third *who* is omitted because of the conjunction *and*)

— GRAMMATICAL REPETITION:

- (3) Perhaps that's why there are few nations that *stand firmer, speak louder, and fight harder* to defend democratic values around the world than the United States and the United Kingdom. (repetition of comparatives)
- (4) After years of conflict, the United States *has removed* 100,000 troops from Iraq, the United Kingdom *has removed* its forces, and our combat mission there *has ended*. (repetition of the present perfect)

— REPETITION ON SENTENCE LEVEL:

- (5) *Because of them*, we have broken the Taliban's momentum. *Because of them*, we have built the capacity of Afghan security forces. *And because of them*, we are now preparing to turn a corner in Afghanistan by transitioning to Afghan lead.
- (6) *That's what led to* the Industrial Revolution that began in the factories of Manchester. *That's what led to* the dawn of the Information Age that arose from the office parks of Silicon Valley. *That's why* the countries like China, India and Brazil are growing so rapidly. . .

— REPETITION ON THE LEVEL OF PARAGRAPHS:

- (7) *We also share a common interest* in stopping the spread of nuclear weapons. *We share a common interest* in resolving conflicts . . . ; *And we share a common interest* in development that advances dignity and security. (three paragraphs with the same beginning)

— THREE-PART STATEMENTS:

- (8) Centuries ago, when *kings, emperors, and warlords* reigned over much of the world, it was the English who first spelled out the rights and liberties of man in the "Magna Carta." (use of synonyms, parallelism)
- (9) In this century, our joint leadership will require *building new partnerships, adapting to new circumstances, and remaking ourselves*, to meet the demands of a new era.
- (10) Market failures can *go global, and go viral, and demand international responses*.
- (11) *With courage and purpose, with humility and with hope, with faith* in the promise of tomorrow, let us march straightforward together, . . .

4.2.2 REAGAN'S SPEECH

Reagan used only lexical repetition and repetition on sentence level. Together with three part statements these rhetoric features appeared ten times in his speech, which is nearly

two times less than in Obama's speech. Examples of these rhetoric features, as they are used by Reagan, are provided below.

— LEXICAL REPETITION:

- (1) No President, *no* Congress, *no* Prime Minister, *no* Parliament can spend a day entirely free of this threat.

— REPETITION ON SENTENCE LEVEL:

- (2) *Let us* be shy no longer. *Let us* go to our strength. *Let us* offer hope. *Let us* tell the world that a new age is not only possible but probable.

— THREE PART STATEMENTS:

- (3) History teaches the dangers of government that overreaches – political control taking precedence over *free economic growth, secret police, mindless bureaucracy*, all combining to stifle individual excellence and personal freedom.
- (4) Lebanon, a country that for too long has had to endure the *tragedy of civil war, terrorism, and foreign intervention and occupation*.
- (5) We ask only for *a process, a direction, a basic code of decency*, not for an instant transformation.

The majority of these statements relate to the close relationship and shared history between the USA and the UK.

4.3 QUOTING AND CITING PREVIOUS POLITICIANS

Obama's speech is not rich in citations and in quotations. He refers to Sir Winston Churchill two times – when he praises the role of the United Kingdom in spreading the ideals of democracy around the world “(. . . *Magna Charta, Bill of Rights, Habeas Corpus, trial by jury, and English common law find their most famous expression in the American Declaration of Independence*)” (par. 7) and when he quotes Churchill and Roosevelt's belief that “*all nations have both rights and responsibilities, and all nations share a common interest in an international architecture that maintains the peace*” (32). Obama also compares Churchill and Roosevelt's period with the present, saying that time has changed considerably “(. . . *the days are gone when Roosevelt and Churchill could sit in a room and solve the world's problem over a glass of brandy*)” (17) and refers to their belief that “*nations have both rights and responsibilities, and all nations share a common interest in an international architecture that maintains the peace*” (32).

In connection with today's free enterprise, Obama also mentions the Scottish founder of modern economics, Adam Smith, saying that “... *there is no greater generator of wealth and innovation than a system of free enterprise that unleashes the full potential of individual men and women*” (18).

Reagan quotes Sir Winston Churchill, two times: “. . . *But witty as Sir Winston was, he also had that special attribute of great statesmen – the gift of vision, the willingness*

to see the future based on the experience of the past” (10). “I do not believe that Soviet Russia desires war. What they desire is the fruits of war and the indefinite expansion of their power and doctrines. But what we have to consider here today while time remains is the permanent prevention of war and the establishment of conditions of freedom and democracy as rapidly as possible in all countries” (18).

At the same time Reagan refers to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher (*Mrs. Thatcher said that she hoped I was not distressed to find staring down at me from the grand staircase a portrait of His Royal Majesty King George III.*), the British statesman William Ewart Gladstone defending the Reform Bill of 1866 and his forecasts about the future (*. . . You cannot fight against future. Time is on our side.*), but also to Karl Marx (*. . . In an ironic sense Karl Marx was right. We are witnessing today a great revolutionary crisis, a crisis where the demands of the economic order are conflicting directly with those of the political order. But the crisis is happening not in the free, non-Marxist West, but in the home of Marxist-Leninism, the Soviet Union.*) (20) and Chairman Leonid Brezhnev (*. . . Chairman Brezhnev repeatedly has stressed that the competition of ideas and systems must continue and that this is entirely consistent with relaxation of tensions and peace.*) (33, 42). The quotations of Marx and Brezhnev show Reagan’s familiarity with opinions of the US opponents and opponents of the Western way of life in general.

5. CONCLUSION

The present paper dealt with political discourse and some of its features used in President Obama’s speech to British Parliament and compared these features with those of President Reagan’s speech, delivered nearly thirty years prior. Analyzing the politicians’ speeches and arriving at concrete conclusions is not easy because it is impossible to specify to what extent the speech was written by the politician himself and to what extent a speech writer participated in it.

Obama’s speech covered versatile topics important not only for Americans and the British, but for the whole of mankind as well. Most parts of his speech could be presented anywhere else, on any other occasion, and they often are. Ronald Reagan was a great communicator, with great experience in US politics and a fighter against communism and for freedom and democracy.

Having compared the two speeches to the British Parliament and having analysed the use of pronouns, repetition and three-part statements, citing and quoting speeches by both politicians, the following conclusions can be made:

5.1 USE OF PRONOUNS

Obama’s speech to the British Parliament was to the members of the British Parliament and at the same time watched by a global audience. Thus, Obama chose to be more formal. He preferred the personal pronouns *we/us* in his speech to the singular *I/me*. This might have been because he wanted to decrease his personal involvement and his own responsibility and to act as a spokesman of the American people, but also to include the audience present, the members of the British Parliament. At the same time,

he might have wanted to be seen as a new fresh face in politics, someone who unifies nations. He also desired to gain trust, loyalty and respect from the audience.

Reagan used personal and possessive pronouns considerably less frequently than Obama, but at the same time he was much more inclusive by using the singular *I/me*. This might have been because of his long-time involvement in politics and possibly also his age.

5.2 REPETITION AND THREE-PART STATEMENTS

Both speeches preferred three-part statements to repetitions as the ideas are reinforced step by step in the case of three-part statements. Obama used repetition on four levels – lexical, grammatical, on the level of sentences and the level of paragraphs, while Reagan's speech used only lexical repetition and repetition on syntactic level. This shows that for Reagan repetition was not a typical rhetorical device and he preferred other means of highlighting his ideas and reaching the audience.

5.3 QUOTING AND CITING POLITICIANS

Obama referred only to British sources (Churchill and Smith) when quoting. Churchill is frequently quoted by politicians worldwide because he is considered one of the most distinctive personalities in British modern history and his moving, motivational and persuasive rhetoric of wartime speeches still remain powerful. Very often, Churchill is even considered a metonymy for Britain during World War II (Charteris-Black 2005).

Reagan quoted Churchill and Gladstone but also referred to Marx and Brezhnev, by which he demonstrated his familiarity with the ideas of the Western society's opponents.

To conclude, the present paper has shown how selected features of language of politics were used by two top US politicians in their speeches to the British Parliament, delivered within the time span of thirty years. The choice of language features was largely influenced by their personalities, party membership and the periods when the speeches took place. However, the results of the analysis cannot be generalized, as Reagan and Obama's speeches on other occasions used slightly different language features, in dependence on the environments of the speeches. Changes in political rhetoric will be the subject of my future studies.

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PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF SPEAKER-ORIENTED BOOSTERS IN POLITICAL INTERVIEWS

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ABSTRACT: A speaker's involvement in political interviews manifests itself in the frequent use of boosting and hedging devices that are employed by politicians to modify the illocutionary force of propositions. These devices serve various pragmatic functions depending on the context of the situation and the specific aims politicians desire to achieve. Politicians may want to assert themselves in front of their audience, influence their potential voters or show confidence in their claims. However, they are sometimes indirect and want to demonstrate detachment from their assertions. As the topic of a speaker's involvement in political interviews is too broad, this paper focuses on one type of boosters only, namely, on speaker-oriented boosters and on the interpretation of their pragmatic functions in the corpus of political interviews.

KEYWORDS: speaker's involvement; intensification of the illocutionary force; speaker-oriented boosters; pragmatic functions; political interview

1. INTRODUCTION

In the genre of political interviews, manifestations of a speaker's involvement are quite diverse. Frequently, this involvement is shown by a modification of the illocutionary force of utterances, which means that speakers may intensify or attenuate propositions by using various boosting or hedging devices. Both boosters and hedges perform various pragmatic functions in political discourse, which differ from those in informal conversation because the intentions of the speakers are diverse.

Intensification of the illocutionary force of utterances appears frequently in political interviews because politicians aim at highlighting particular parts of utterances and, in this way, to make them more prominent for the viewers or listeners. The reasons for this intensification range from persuading and influencing the audience, to presenting the values and attitudes of a particular politician as positive and correct.

Since modification of the illocutionary force is a broad area of study, this paper will focus on one category of boosting device only, namely, on speaker-oriented boosters and their pragmatic functions in the corpus of political interviews. It will also examine differences in the use of these devices between male and female politicians. The domain of politics is usually associated with men rather than women. Related to this is the fact that female politicians attempt to assert themselves in politics and show and defend their competence as politicians. Their language therefore has to sound more confident and persuasive in terms of the validity of what they say than that of male politicians.

2. MATERIAL UNDER ANALYSIS

For the present study, a corpus of fifteen political interviews with British and American politicians was created: seven interviews carried out with male politicians, eight interviews with female politicians. As regards the size of the corpus, it consists of 60,893 words in total, with the male interviews accounting for 30,252 words and the female accounting for 30,641 words, so they are comparable in size. The interviews, which occurred between 2006 and 2008, were downloaded from the web pages of various British and American TV stations. Prosodic means were not the subject of this study since it is beyond its scope, and for this reason the work was carried out only with transcripts of the interviews.

The topics discussed in the interviews are contingent on the political function of the particular politician. They cover current affairs and internal issues in the UK, international politics, the EU, and a presidential campaign and election in the USA. The function of these interviews was not only to inform the public about these issues but also to persuade voters and gain their votes.

3. INTENSIFICATION OF THE ILLOCUTIONARY FORCE

In her study dealing with modification of illocutionary force, Holmes (1984) describes two communicative strategies for modifying the strength of the speech acts: attenuation (sometimes also called “hedging,” “mitigation” or “weakening”) and boosting (“accentuation,” “strengthening” or “intensification”). These two concepts have been extensively dealt with, particularly by Brown and Levinson (1987), Lakoff (1973), Fraser (1980), Coates (1987), and Urbanová (2003).

Intensification and attenuation are regarded as complementary, not contrasting, notions. They function as external modifiers of the illocutionary force, not its constituents. The differentiation between these two notions should be understood as “illocutionary force gradation” (Urbanová 2003, 67). The reasons why speakers may want to modify the force of a speech act are diverse. Holmes suggests these “convey modal meaning or the speaker’s attitude to the content of the proposition, and. . . express affective meaning or the speaker’s attitude to the addressee in the context of utterance” (Holmes 1984, 348). Since the topic of the intensification and attenuation of illocutionary force is wide in scope, this study will concentrate on several aspects of intensification only.

If a speaker wants to persuade a listener about the validity of the proposition expressed, s/he makes use of means that “boost the illocutionary force of the speech act asserting the proposition, expressing great certainty or conviction concerning its validity” (Holmes 1984, 348). In the present paper, the linguistic means expressing intensification of the illocutionary force are termed “boosters.” However, more designations for these devices appear in the relevant literature, namely, “intensifiers” (Quirk et al. 1985), “up-graders” (House and Kasper 1981), “accentuation markers” (Urbanová 2003), and “strengtheners” (Brown and Levinson 1987).

The expression of affective meaning, a reason for modifying the illocutionary force mentioned by Holmes (1984), includes the speaker's attitude to the recipient. "Modifying the illocutionary force of a speech act may serve to express a variety of attitudes to the hearer, ranging from very positive to very negative attitudes" (Holmes 1984, 349). In other words, both intensification and attenuation can be used to modify affective speech acts both positively and negatively in any of the categories as defined by Searle (1969). Thus, the boosting of a positively affective speech act can increase solidarity and the feeling of friendliness between the speakers. On the other hand, boosting the force of a negatively affective speech act may increase social distance between them (Holmes 1995, 77).

Since political discourse is predominantly oriented towards conveying facts and information, it has a "referential" function rather than an "affective" function (Holmes 1995, 3). Although matter-of-factness is typical of political interviews, a certain amount of affectiveness may also be found in this genre. The reason is that politicians must show a positive relationship to their viewers; otherwise they could seem detached and may have difficulty persuading voters.

4. CLASSIFICATIONS OF BOOSTERS

Classifications of boosters based on their relationship to discourse meaning are suitable for this study since they take into account the context and explain how these devices function in it. It should be stressed here that context is a decisive factor when identifying pragmatic functions of particular boosting expressions. Such classifications have been introduced by Holmes (1984) and Urbanová (2003).

Urbanová (2003, 68) suggests that boosters can be classified into three groups according to the relationship to discourse meaning:

- hearer-oriented
- speaker-oriented
- discourse-organizing

Holmes (1984) suggests a similar classification, but she introduces the category of "content-oriented" boosters instead of "discourse-organizing" boosters. It is not a mere terminological distinction; there is also a factual difference between these two categories: content-oriented boosters strengthen the illocutionary force of utterances either by "commenting impersonally on the validity of the proposition asserted" or by "boosting a focal element within the proposition" (Holmes 1984, 354).

Discourse-organizing boosters fulfil the function of emphasizing parts of the utterance and making these parts more prominent in the context of utterance structure. "In this respect their function is primarily textual and cohesive" (Urbanová 2003, 70). The classification proposed by Urbanová is more logical because the lexical items *very*, *completely*, *totally*, *absolutely*, *pretty*, *strongly*, etc., which Holmes regards as content-oriented, express and stress the speaker's attitude to the proposition more than orientation to the content of the message. For this reason, Urbanová's classification is

preferred in this paper and these lexical devices were included in the group of speaker-oriented boosters.

Expressions found in the corpus belonging to the group of discourse-organizing boosters are diverse; they range from enumerative conjuncts *first(ly)*, *second(ly)*, *third(ly)*, *one*, *two*, *finally*, to expressions and phrases like *in fact*, *the point is*, *the trouble is*, *in other words*, *by the way*, *particularly*, *the other thing is*, *the question is*, *on the one hand . . . on the other hand*.

Hearer-oriented boosters relate to the hearer, his/her experience and knowledge of the world, or “assumed shared background information” (Holmes 1984, 353). They place emphasis on the importance of the utterance for the hearer. In addition, they are utilized when the speaker expresses doubts about the validity of a particular utterance and asks for verification (Urbanová 2003, 69). Typical examples of hearer-oriented boosters occurring in the material under investigation are: *you know*, *as you know*, and *you see*.

5. SPEAKER-ORIENTED BOOSTERS

These boosters emphasize the subjectivity of the speaker and show his/her attitude to the proposition. The subtypes of speaker-oriented boosters proposed by Urbanová (2003) are relevant and appropriate and for this reason have been used for further classification of these accentuation expressions in this study:

- assurances
- agreement / understanding-showing boosters
- attitudinal boosters
 - attitudinal boosters expressing the degree of a certain quality
 - attitudinal boosters expressing beliefs

5.1 ASSURANCES

This kind of booster expresses the certainty and confidence of the speaker. Its function is to increase the reliability and truthfulness of the utterance meaning (Urbanová 2003, 69). Assurances occurring in the analysed interviews are: *I know*, *I believe*, *I can assure you*, *I'm sure*, *I'm certain*, *as I say*, *certainly*, *really*, *of course*, *obviously*, *surely*, *definitely*, *absolutely*, and *clearly*.

Several instances of assurances may be found in the Condoleezza Rice interview in (1). They express the certainty of the politician who wants to assure the audience about the truthfulness of her message.

- (1) QUESTION: He says he's pro-American. He said France will always be by the U.S.'s side when it needs her. But in the same breath, he also warned Washington not to block the fight against global warming. But he campaigned and he shared the idea that he was pro-American, perhaps more than previous administrations.

RICE: Well, *I certainly know* that he has great admiration for much about this country and I look forward to working with him on that basis. But what we

share with France is we share values. We share a belief in freedom. We share a belief in democracy. And I think it'll be a great opportunity to now with France continue to push that forward. But we're going to always have our differences. France is a big, important country. We're not always going to agree on everything. *I'm sure* we'll find our ways to disagree. But I *really* look forward to it. (Rice 2007)

5.2 AGREEMENT / UNDERSTANDING-SHOWING BOOSTERS

These boosting devices express an understanding and positive stance to the message conveyed by the speaker. Expressions showing agreement and understanding in the analysed corpus of political interviews are these: *right, yes, yeah, absolutely, it's / that's true, I (totally / fully) agree (with you), and that's right*.

In (2), Rice is asked about training for government employees who work abroad in countries where there is a military conflict in which the USA is involved. These people work for organizations such as the United Nations or the National Guard and must have special training. In her answers, Rice agrees with the interviewer but at the same time, she does not give concrete or exhaustive replies unless asked more directly:

- (2) QUESTION: Madame Secretary –
 QUESTION: (Inaudible) managed, these teams you're talking about with legal people from here or different –
 SECRETARY RICE: *Right*.
 QUESTION: They're managed by Foreign Service officers, right?
 SECRETARY RICE: *Yes, that's right*.
 QUESTION: Now, the problem that they're having is – and you mentioned it – it's training.
 SECRETARY RICE: *Yes*. (Rice 2008)

5.3 ATTITUDINAL BOOSTERS

5.3.1 ATTITUDINAL BOOSTERS EXPRESSING A DEGREE OF CERTAIN QUALITY

These indicate a positive or negative quality and therefore reflect “the attitude of the speaker towards the message” (Urbanová 2003, 69). Attitudinal boosters expressing a degree of certain quality that occur in the corpus are these: *very, pretty, completely, absolutely, a lot, incredibly, totally, profoundly, fundamentally, extremely, increasingly, fully, exactly, really, and perfectly*.

When speaking about his family, George W. Bush stresses the positive qualities of his wife by using the attitudinal booster “incredibly”:

- (3) SCHIEFFER: What has been the impact on your family?
 PRESIDENT BUSH: We are as close to them now as we have ever been. Laura and I have got a great relationship. There is nothing like some outside

pressure to bring you closer together. Secondly, I'm *incredibly* proud of her. She's a partner in this job in many ways. (Bush 2006a)

In (4), Hazel Blears wants to refute the interviewer's argument categorically, that is why she uses two boosters to emphasize one negative adjective:

- (4) JON SOPEL: Okay, all right, you talk about hospitals and closures and all the rest of it and the need to reorganise. You were at a key meeting in July to decide which units should close. You're the Party Chair – what were you doing there?

HAZEL BLEARS: [. . .] Part of my job is to advise the Prime Minister on policies right across government er and these meetings are as I say, a matter of routine. There was absolutely no question of me taking part in decisions which will be made on clinical evidence, they'll be made after extensive consultation. They'll be considered by the Overview and Scrutiny Committees of Local Authorities and (overlaps)

JON SOPEL: But very briefly, do you

HAZEL BLEARS: and we also have an independent Review Panel. So I think that your allegation is *absolutely, fundamentally* wrong. (Blears 2006)

5.3.2 ATTITUDINAL BOOSTERS EXPRESSING BELIEFS

These boosters also foreground the subjectivity of the speaker. Urbanová (2003, 70) correctly emphasizes that “prosodically marked expressions” such as *I think*, *I mean*, and *personally* make the utterance highly assertive and thus show involvement and persuasiveness. What is important to emphasise here is the fact that phrases such as *I think* and *I mean* may not only increase but also decrease the force of the utterance they modify. It always depends on the context, intonation pattern, and the status of the speaker in the context of the utterance.

Apart from *I think* and *I mean*, the following phrases expressing the subjectivity of the speaker appear in the analysed interviews: *I believe*, *I know*, *my point is*, *my attitude is*, *in my judgement*, *I hope*, *my own view is*, *I guess*, *because my concern is*, and *my principle objective is*.

Hillary Clinton wants to show her involvement by using the phrases *I think* and *my principal objective is* which emphasize her subjective attitude to the propositions expressed, as shown in (5).

- (5) Harwood: Don't you owe it, as someone with a pretty good chance of becoming president, don't you owe it to the American people what you think about some of these ideas specifically while you're running.

Clinton: *I think* what I owe the American people and tell them I will not spook them and sound the alarm over social security because that's not merited, we have time to deal with the problems. I will deal with it in a responsible fashion and the first thing I'll do is move back towards fiscal responsibility. [. . .] *My*

principal objective is to get back to fiscal responsibility and I want America [to] know I'll do that and I'm talking in great length about healthcare and Medicare because those are crises we have to deal with now. (Clinton 2007)

What is interesting is the occurrence of the phrase *in my judgment*, which also belongs to the group of speaker-oriented boosters expressing beliefs. It is utilized only by one speaker in the corpus, namely, by George W. Bush. It may therefore be considered as an idiosyncratic feature of this speaker.

- (6) MR. WILLIAMS: How long can you sustain the policy, though, with people so vehement in their doubt, the Congress voting as the Congress is voting, the polls showing what they're showing?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Yeah. Well, I'm – you know, I'm hopeful that the decision I have made is going to yield enough results so that the Iraqi government is able to take more of the responsibility. Listen, they want the responsibility. You've heard their prime minister say, we're ready to go. And *in my judgment*, and more importantly, the judgment of the military folks, they're not quite ready to go. (Bush 2007)

In the following extract, there is a high frequency of the speaker-oriented booster *I think*. Here again, it expresses the subjectivity of the speaker and thus a higher degree of involvement. In addition, there are other types of boosters that contribute to a higher level of emotiveness of the speaker (also written in italics). Emotiveness may be regarded as a booster in itself. In interviews, politicians use simple syntactic structures, which is a sign of emotiveness. They do not have enough time to prepare syntactically complex sentence structures since they must react to the interviewer's questions immediately. They also want to provide as much information as possible.

- (7) QUESTION: You've also been behind the call for a big diplomatic push, as well. Do you think you can convince President Bush to go along with you and your recommendation, the report's recommendation that Iran and Syria have to be engaged?

BLAIR: *Look, I think* the key diplomatic push is on Israel-Palestine, *in my view*, and I *totally* welcome what the report says on that and *I think* we've got to move forward on that *very* much.

I think in relation to Iran and Syria, *I think* it's more a question of us making sure that everybody in the region understands what their responsibilities are to help Iraq. *You know*, I've reached out to Syria recently and said to them, "Look, here is the strategic choice for you," and I don't think there's any problem with doing that at all and I don't think the president's got a problem with doing that.

The only issue is, at the moment, Iran is not helping the Iraqi government. It's undermining the Iraqi government.

So if people are to be part of the solution, it's got to be on an agreed basis and *I think, in principle, I think it's absolutely right*. You bring in all the regional neighbors in order to support the process. (Blair 2006)

6. FREQUENCY OF SPEAKER-ORIENTED BOOSTERS IN THE CORPUS

The total number of speaker-oriented boosters in the corpus is 763, as demonstrated in Table 1. Since the extent of both corpora is almost identical, raw counts of boosters may be used when comparing them. However, to be more precise, the frequency of speaker-oriented boosters per 10,000 words was counted. As shown in Table 1, female politicians used this type of booster more frequently than males. This result indicates that female speakers concentrate more on affecting the opinions and attitudes of the audience by attempting to show positive attitudes to the listeners, subjectivity of opinion, understanding, and agreement. They aim at persuading the audience that they are the right person for the function they exercise. Expressions such as *I think, I mean, I know*, and *I'm sure* indicate a high degree of involvement of the speaker in the interactional process.

TABLE 1: FREQUENCY OF SPEAKER-ORIENTED BOOSTERS

	RAW COUNTS			FREQUENCY PER 10,000 WORDS		
	Male politicians	Female politicians	Total	Male politicians	Female politicians	Average
speaker-oriented boosters	364	399	763	120	130	125

7. PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF SPEAKER-ORIENTED BOOSTERS

As mentioned in the previous sections of this paper, all types of boosters serve various pragmatic functions in political interviews, depending on the context. In general, it can be stated that these functions are connected with the genre of political interview as such. Thus, the pragmatic functions of boosters in informal conversations may differ from those in political interviews.

To turn now to the group of speaker-oriented boosters only: four functions were identified in the analysed interviews. They are summarized in Table 2, together with the frequency of their occurrence. These functions were also defined by Urbanová (2003).

TABLE 2: FREQUENCY OF PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS OF SPEAKER-ORIENTED BOOSTERS

PRAGMATIC FUNCTION	RAW COUNTS			FREQUENCY PER 10,000 WORDS		
	Male politicians	Female politicians	Total	Male politicians	Female politicians	Average
Subjectivity	175	185	360	59	60	59.5
Degree of Quality	75	107	182	25	35	30
Assurance	91	87	178	30	28	29
Agreement	23	20	43	8	7	7.5

7.1 SUBJECTIVITY

Subjectivity is by far the most frequent pragmatic function of speaker-oriented boosters in the analysed interviews. From Table 2 it is evident that the difference between male and female politicians concerning this function is not substantial. The high degree of subjectivity in the corpus shows that politicians concentrate on presenting their own opinions and attitudes as correct and positive, and they try to influence their audience by emphasizing these views. They aim at sounding trustworthy and honest to their audience, and in this way they want to affect their opinions. By employing these means, they also aim at justifying their position to the audience.

The subjectivity of the speaker's opinion is expressed by the pragmatic particles *I think, I mean, I guess, I hope, I believe*, and further by phrases *in my view, in my opinion, my point is, in my judgment, my attitude is* and *because my concern is*.

In (8), George W. Bush defends a new health insurance plan and tax code reform. He emphasises his point by using the subjective booster *in my judgment*, and in this way he tries to persuade the listeners that this reform will not mean a tax increase for them, as was suggested by the interviewer, but on the contrary will enable more people to buy health insurance.

- (8) MR. WILLIAMS: Mr. President, you're bringing out a new budget next week, and I presume you're going to have healthcare, health insurance plan in it. To pay for some of the plan, some people who don't pay taxes on their health insurance plan now will have to pay taxes. Isn't that a tax increase for them?
- PRESIDENT BUSH: No, really what it is, it's a rewriting of the tax code. We've got a tax code today that says if you get your insurance from a large employer, for example, it's part of your – it's a non-taxable event. And yet if you're an individual, like Juan Williams out there as an independent contractor, and you buy your own health insurance, you're at a tax disadvantage. And so I'm asking the Congress to reform the tax code to treat everybody fairly. And *in my judgment*, such a plan will encourage and enable more individuals to be able to buy health insurance, which will help us deal with the uninsured. (Bush 2007)

7.2 THE DEGREE OF A CERTAIN QUALITY

The degree of a certain quality, which is the next function expressed by speaker-oriented boosting devices, is close to the function of assurance with respect to the frequency of occurrence. It appears 182 times in the analysed corpus. Its distribution is slightly higher in female speakers (the difference between males and females is thirty-two instances). Adverbs *very, really, pretty, completely, absolutely, extremely, incredibly, strongly, fully, totally*, and *perfectly* are used to fulfil this function in the corpus. These boosters foreground a positive or negative quality of the following expression and in this way, they show the attitude of the speaker to the proposition expressed.

In (9) Hazel Blears uses speaker-oriented boosters *really* and *pretty* to accentuate both positive (*a really good record, pretty successful*) and negative qualities (*really dangerous, a pretty dim view*) of the adjectives to follow. Again, the use of these boosters reflects her attitude to the issues expressed.

- (9) JON SOPEL: I don't want to get hung up on the titles, but there was a time when a Labour person would have been thrilled to be described as Blairite, because it – you know they were being associated with the winning team. I just wonder whether it is seen a bit more maybe as a handicap now?

HAZEL BLEARS: Well I, I think it's *really* dangerous erm if we actually distance ourselves from what we've been doing over the last ten years.

If you think about it, in America, Al Gore kind of tried to put a bit of distance between himself and Clinton and what people did was they voted for George Bush. What I don't want us to do is to distance ourselves from all the good things that we've done over the last ten years, because I do think we've got a *really* good record.

Because my concern is that people then might, you know, see David Cameron and his Tories, as a bit more interesting. If people think that we're saying, well, we didn't get it all right, then I think they'll take a *pretty* dim view of us. I mean we, we haven't got everything right, but I think overall the record on health, on education, on tackling crime, all of that is *pretty* successful. (Blears 2007)

7.3 ASSURANCE

Boosters expressing assurance appear in the corpus quite frequently (178 instances), but their occurrence is about half that of subjectivity. One explanation is that politicians do not show assurance so often because they want to save face in front of their audience in case their claims later prove to be untrue. They do not want to be accused of lying. Both male and female politicians employ this pragmatic function to the same extent.

Assurance is expressed by these lexical items: *I'm sure, I am absolutely certain, I can assure you, really, of course, obviously, absolutely, I (truly / strongly) believe, and certainly*. When using these expressions, the speaker wants to show certainty and confidence about his/her claims. Examples from the corpus to exemplify this category follow.

In (10), George W. Bush assures the audience of cooperation with allies of the USA in the Iraq War. He presents his personal views and certainty about his assertions, and that is why speaker-oriented boosters *certainly* and *of course* are used.

- (10) SCHIEFFER: Well, let me ask you: If they continue to insist that they're going to do it in their country, Senator Clinton, for example, who seems closer to your policy on Iraq than to some in her own party, is already saying sanctions now. Do you think sanctions would work against Iran?

PRESIDENT BUSH: Well, first of all, we have already sanctioned Iran. The United States Government has got sanctions in place on Iran. I think probably what

she is referring to is whether or not we should refer Iran to the United Nations Security Council. I have said that is *certainly* a very – a real possibility, and that once we are in the Security Council, *of course*, that's one of the options, but we are going to work with our friends and allies to make sure that when we get in the Security Council, we will have an effective response. (Bush 2006a)

In the following extract, David Cameron assures the viewers of his attitude to the family and marriage by using the phrase *that's what I believe*, which stresses his certainty about this proposition:

- (11) JON SOPEL: Okay, but your family policies . . . this is poll-driven isn't it because you found out that the people when they've started a family, tend to move away from the Conservative Party. We've heard about all this polling data you've got and suddenly we get a speech on the family.

DAVID CAMERON: No, not at all. If you look at what I said you know since running for Leader of the Party, I put the family absolutely front and centre. In fact some of the things I've said like Bac . . . are unpopular with some people, they say, oh you're going to put a lot of people off. In the end, you've got to say what you believe. I happen to believe marriage is really important and I think we should back it and if people don't agree with me, [well] I'm sorry, that's my view. *That's what I believe*. [. . .]. (Cameron 2008)

7.4 AGREEMENT

The least frequent function in the corpus is that of agreement. It appears only forty-three times, again without any substantial difference between male and female speakers. The reason is that in the genre of political interview, the interviewer usually asks challenging and controversial questions which s/he assumes the interviewee may not like. The politician will have to explain and vindicate his/her points of view, which may be attractive for the audience. This challenging style of communication explains the rare use of agreement in political interviews. Agreement is indicated by the use of speaker-oriented boosters *right*, *absolutely*, *I (totally/fully) agree (with you)*, *exactly*, *that's right*, *yes*, and *yeah*.

In (12), William Hague shows his agreement with the policy of Gordon Brown and David Miliband concerning the situation in Zimbabwe. This agreement is further stressed by the booster *fully*.

- (12) JON SOPEL: To a much more serious subject if you don't mind me describing it in that way. The situation in Zimbabwe. The government at the start, the British government seem to have a rather softly softly approach, it then became slightly more belligerent. Do you think that the British government has been sending mixed messages over the elections in Zimbabwe.

WILLIAM HAGUE: They did have a softly softly approach to begin with but *I fully agree* with what Gordon Brown and David Miliband have said over the last couple of weeks. I think it's very important that Britain helps to focus international attention on the outrages that are taking place now in Zimbabwe, so I don't want to get in to criticizing the government on this. (Hague 2008)

8. CONCLUSION

The research presented in this paper demonstrates that speaker-oriented boosting devices perform in different contexts various pragmatic functions in the genre of political interview. All these pragmatic functions; namely, subjectivity, the degree of a certain quality, assurance and agreement, contribute to a higher degree of speaker involvement in this type of discourse. Of course, more pragmatic functions may be identified in political interviews, but these functions are expressed by a different type of booster. As mentioned, the classification according to discourse meaning, which is used in this paper, includes not only speaker-oriented but also hearer-oriented and discourse-organizing boosters.

Fifteen political interviews altogether, seven interviews with male politicians and eight interviews with females, were analysed in this paper. Both corpora were of the same length so they were easily comparable. With reference to the differences between male and female speakers in the frequency of occurrence of speaker-oriented boosters, the use of these expressions per 10,000 words is slightly higher by female politicians (see Table 1), which is, in general, connected with the orientation of female speakers to self-presentation in the field of politics with an attempt to have a positive effect on the audience.

The most frequent pragmatic function of speaker-oriented boosters in the corpus is subjectivity, which is used more often by females. This is connected with the focus of female politicians on presenting their own values and attitudes as true and as such, their effort to influence the audience. Female politicians also make use of more boosters expressing the degree of a certain quality. This result confirms the feature that has already been observed, namely, that women have a more difficult task asserting themselves in the field of politics, thus, their language must show certainty and confidence for them to be perceived as competent in the role of a politician. Since males do not have to justify their position in front of the public to such a great extent as women, they, in addition, focus on foregrounding those parts of utterances significant for the hearer. That is why the linguistic devices, the function of which is to express a hearer-oriented emphasis, are used more frequently by males. The pragmatic function of assurance appears in the material under investigation with almost the same frequency as the expression of the degree of a certain quality and, at the same time, there is no substantial difference in occurrence between male and female politicians. Both groups of speakers concentrate on saving face in front of their audience rather than on asserting that something is sure and definite. Agreement is the least frequent function of speaker-oriented boosters in the analysed interviews. This is connected with the genre of political interview itself and the challenging style of communication used therein.

In summary, the use of any boosting devices, not only speaker-oriented, in the genre of political interview is both common and recurrent. This contributes to a higher degree of speaker involvement. Therefore it cannot be claimed that this type of discourse belongs to the low-involved genres. It is also worth noting that context plays a crucial role when considering the pragmatic functions of linguistic devices. In general, one and the same linguistic means does not have only one particular function which would be fixed and stable. Its distinct meaning depends on more factors, one of them being the context in which it is used.

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KEEPING YOUR OWN, GAINING COMMON GROUND: STRICT FATHER AND NURTURANT PARENT MODELS IN DAVID CAMERON'S SPEECHES ON SOCIAL SERVICES

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ABSTRACT: The campaign ahead of the May 6, 2010 general election in the United Kingdom was fought in the context of a severe economic crisis, substantial budget deficit and looming cuts in government spending. Much of the debate in the campaign focused on the scope of the British welfare state. This paper analyses selected speeches on social services by David Cameron, the head of the Conservative Party. Using insights from conceptual metaphor theory, the paper gives an overview of Strict Father and Nurturant Parent metaphors in the claims and warrants in Cameron's speeches. The paper concludes that the two frameworks are used by Conservatives to respectively strengthen their core support and reach out to moderate supporters of the Labour party.

KEYWORDS: David Cameron; British Conservatives; social services; Strict Father; Nurturant Parent

The aim of this paper is to analyse selected speeches on social services by David Cameron, head of the Conservative Party, made during the extended campaign ahead of the 2010 general election. Social services in the context of imminent cuts in government spending provided the main theme of the campaign. Using insights from conceptual metaphor theory, the paper gives an overview of Strict Father and Nurturant Parent metaphors in the claims and warrants in Cameron's speeches and makes the claim that the predominant Strict Father frame is utilised to reaffirm support for core Conservative values, while the Nurturant Parent frame largely serves to rally the support of potential but undecided Labour voters. Fifteen speeches given by David Cameron in 2009 and 2010 provide the corpus for the paper. Formally the campaign only opens once the election year starts; however, 2009 saw the European Parliament election and a debate on the National Health Service (NHS) triggered by wrangling over the health care bill in the United States, both of which were considered likely to yield valid material for analysis.

BACKGROUND: WELFARE STATE, CONSERVATIVES, AND THE 2010 ELECTION

Welfare state according to Jacob Torfing (1998, 163) means "a discursive formation of political strategies, institutional forms and power networks" conceived of and implemented in ways which vary from country to country. In the United Kingdom, it came to mean a wide-ranging programme of social insurance, outlined by Sir William Beveridge in his 1942 Report. The recommendations of the report were largely implemented on July 5, 1948, when five Acts of Parliament (National Insurance and National Assistance Acts; the Town and Country Planning Act; the Children Act; the National Health Service Act) came into force, neatly corresponding to the five social

ills – “giants on the road of reconstruction” – identified by Beveridge: “Want . . . , Disease, Ignorance, Squalor and Idleness” (1942, 7). The result was “a mix of universal and comprehensive social policies through which government became more positively responsible for the promotion of individual welfare” (Jones and Lowe 2002, 6); these policies comprised at the outset “social security and the personal social services, the health service, education, housing and employment policy” (Jones and Lowe 2002, 6). Out of these, of particular import to the British is the NHS, which has been called by former Chancellor Nigel Lawson “the closest thing the English (sic) have to a religion” (Timmins 2001, 451); as Andrew Marr wrote in *A History of Modern Britain*, “we have clung to it [the NHS] tenaciously . . . and no mainstream party has dared suggest taking it away” (2008, 67). The British welfare state, the onset of which Beveridge dubbed “a British revolution” (1942, 17), currently takes up around one-fourth of British government revenue (Timmins 2001, xv).

The British welfare state, however, has not ceased to evolve and is constantly being debated. The most vocal ideological objections to the welfare state have historically come from the Conservative Party (Jones and Lowe 2002, 16–17), though at no point has the party as a whole formally called for a wholesale dismantling of the system or, in particular, the NHS. Yet, during Margaret Thatcher’s time in office, a Conservative think-tank proposed supplementing or replacing government-provided social services, notably health, with private provision. The proposal met with objection both in the Cabinet and among the general public and cast a long shadow on the Conservative Party’s reputation (Timmins 2001, 387–91): despite a lesser emphasis on “reining back the state” during Conservatives’ time in opposition (Coxall, Robbins, and Leach 2003, 59–62), the popular image of Conservatives could still be summarised by Theresa May as “the Nasty Party” in 2002 (Hasan 2010).

The campaign ahead of the 2010 general election was fought in the context of one of the most severe economic crises after the Second World War. According to the Office for National Statistics, in May 2009 the current budget deficit for 2009/2010 reached £17.5bn, with debt reaching 54% GNP (ONS 2009, 1). Cuts in government spending were imminent, and although the Conservative Party vowed to reduce “the bulk of the deficit over one parliament” (*Invitation to Join the Government of Britain*, 7) and so faster than Labour, David Cameron chose formally to open the electoral campaign with the unveiling of a poster bearing the slogan “I will cut the deficit, not the NHS,” thus arguably attempting to establish common ground with Labour-voting supporters of the NHS and the welfare state. Arguably, this brought him closer to the left wing of the Conservative Party, in the long tradition of One Nation Toryism, and farther away from the competition-driven neoliberalism espoused by Margaret Thatcher, which to some extent provided a basis for a “new consensus” between Conservatives and New Labour (Coxall, Robins, and Leach 2003, 46).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND ANALYSIS

Conservative rhetoric in this particular election campaign is analysable with recourse

to the work of George Lakoff on political discourse in the United States. Consistent with the prevalent view of meaning in Cognitive Linguistics – that meaning is encyclopaedic; dynamic; structured in frames (Evans and Green 2006, 215–30) – Lakoff accepts that “[w]ords don’t have meanings in isolation. Words are defined relative to a conceptual system” (Lakoff 1996, 29). He finds that political discourse is firmly grounded in the Nation As Family metaphor, and that American conservatives and liberals (the right and left in the United States) express their beliefs, values and policies in terms consistent with two realisations of this metaphor: a Strict Father family and a Nurturant Parent family respectively, where the government is conceptualised as the parent. These “models of ideal family life can evoke corresponding sets of metaphorical priorities, each of which constitutes a distinct moral system” (1996, 30) and each of which is grounded in a specific view of the world. In the Strict Father frame, the world is viewed as a hostile and difficult place (Lakoff 2004, 7); Moral Strength and Moral Authority head the list of key metaphors (Lakoff 1996, 100–101); some of the most important categories of moral action are self-discipline, responsibility and self-reliance (Lakoff 1996, 163), though it has to be noted that in *Moral Politics* (1996, 97) Lakoff defines responsibility as close to self-discipline; in *Don’t Think of an Elephant* (2004), his later work for the general reader, responsibility, understood as not exposing others to negative consequences of one’s action, is firmly placed in the Nurturant Parent frame. The world, although dangerous, is viewed within the Nurturant Parent frame as a place that can in principle be improved (2004, 12); Morality as Nurturance and Morality as Empathy open the list of high-priority metaphors; categories of moral action include: “1. Empathetic behavior and promoting fairness. 2. Helping those who cannot help themselves. 3. Protecting those who cannot protect themselves” (1996, 163).

The speeches in the corpus were analysed with respect to the argumentative claims made and the warrants justifying those claims. In Stephen Toulmin’s model of argumentation, the claim and the warrant are of particular importance. The former is “the conclusion of the argument that a person is seeking to justify,” while the latter “is the portion of the argument that authorizes our movement from the grounds to the claim” (Foss, Foss, and Trapp 1985, 87). The purpose of the analysis was to establish which frame – Strict Father or Nurturant Parent – is evoked by particular claims and warrants in David Cameron’s speeches; to establish whether there is a pattern in when these frames are called up; and qualitatively to analyse and interpret selected representative examples.

The speeches concern social services generally, and in particular the NHS, but several other themes recurred in the corpus. The main themes of interest are:

- the causes of and solutions to the socio-economic crisis experienced by Britain and the British social services;
- the philosophical principles and overall goals of Conservatives;
- the value of the NHS.

The claims on the causes of the crisis overwhelmingly evoke the Strict Father frame. The most frequent claim concerning the causes of the crisis is lack of responsibility, as in (1):

- (1) Our vision for the country is based on one simple value: responsibility. . . . Because when you spool back to the source of so many of our problems today, you'll find the same cause: a lack of responsibility. In our economy, some bankers asked what they could get away with and not what was the right thing to do . . . Some individuals racked up debts on credit cards and ignored the inner voice that told them it was wrong . . . And the Government borrowed and borrowed as if pay-back day would never come. (Cameron 2009a)

Here, (lack of) financial responsibility is clearly understood as (lack of) moral self-discipline, tantamount to giving in to evil, which evokes several Strict Father metaphors (notably Moral Strength and Moral Boundary). Notably, alternative framings could have been utilised – government borrowing is seen as irresponsible by the right, but not necessarily by the left; credit card debts are not always just “wrong,” and the choice of the framing is ideological.

The second most frequently cited factor is excessive governance on the part of the state, which acts to disincentivise mature behaviour, as in the passages below.

- (2) We've also seen a denial of responsibility in our public services, where nurses', doctors', teachers' professional judgement is undermined by the tyranny of top-down centralised control. (Cameron 2009a)
- (3) The tick box inspection regime was designed to improve the quality of social work, but by stopping trained professionals from using their discretion and judgement it has harmed children instead of helping them.

The big government approach has spawned multiple perverse incentives that either discourage responsibility or actively encourage irresponsibility. Far too many of the people I see in my constituency surgery are, thanks to the state, financially better off if they do the wrong thing than if they do the right thing. (Cameron 2009b)

Some Strict Father metaphors evoked here are Morality as Self-Reliance and Moral Authority, the latter of which “transfers the resentment towards meddling parents into resentment against the meddling figures of authority” (Lakoff 1996, 100).

Relatively few instances of the Nurturant Parent frame are being evoked below, most often but not exclusively in the context of Big Society, a much-vaunted but little-defined initiative intended to boost civic involvement in the running of, among others, social services:

- (4) So what is it that's gone wrong? Well some would say, and I would agree in part, that we don't have a strong enough response to crime, that we tolerate too much criminal behaviour. Some would say that we've become too selfish, too greedy, it's all about me and self gratification not about thinking of others and community and I would probably agree with that too. (Cameron 2010b)

But even though the Nurturant Parent metaphor of Morality as Nurturance of Social Ties is evoked in (4), this is ambiguated somewhat by the expressed preference for a

decisive response to crime, which in turn evokes the Morality as Punishment metaphor, firmly grounded in the Strict Father model.

Claims and warrants evident in the proposed solutions to the problems experienced by Britain show elements of both Strict Father and Nurturant Parent frames, with a preference for the former. Reforming social services and scaling back the involvement of the state therein, as well as a quick reduction of the deficit, are frequently proposed:

- (5) That's what I mean when I say, as I have for many years now, that the modern Conservative Party stands for social responsibility not state control.
We want to bring responsibility to our economy by making the country live within its means, bringing law and order to the financial markets and by building a new economy based on savings and investment not borrowing and debt.
(Cameron 2009a)

The passage mentions social responsibility, or not exposing others to the negative consequences of one's action, placed by Lakoff (2004) in the Nurturant Parent frame, presumably by virtue of evoking the values of empathy and nurturant morality. However, the claim "bringing responsibility to economy is living within its means" is predicated on the warrant "reducing government spending is an expression of responsibility," which again is an ideological assumption shared by the right but not by the left. Thus, it initially seems that this claim appears to evoke the Nurturant Parent model, but on examination the policies proposed belong in the Strict Father framework.

Expressions of Conservative philosophical principles and overall goals are largely consistent with the Strict Father frame, especially when they are not stated explicitly.

Choice, competition and ambition are frequently cited as desirable values, as in (6):

- (6) We can't go on like this, and we need change to get the country back on its feet – change based on the values of responsibility and aspiration. . . .
We can't go on with an old-fashioned left-wing class war on aspiration from a government that has seen the rich get richer and the poor get poorer. (Cameron 2010a)

However, there is almost explicit recourse to Nurturant Parent values in (7):

- (7) And we do this as a *changed* party.
A party that knows the damage that unemployment can bring not just to our economy, but to our society.
A party that is not prepared as Labour seems to prepare to write off people who have been on welfare for year after year, but that offers them fresh hope.
(Cameron 2009c; emphasis original)

The empathy ("knows the damage . . . ") and nurturant morality ("fresh hope" to long-term unemployed) seem designed to counter the "Nasty Party" image: Margaret Thatcher famously stated in 1987 that "[t]here is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women, and there are families" (Timmins 2001, 431), but the 2010

Conservative manifesto accepted that “[t]here is such a thing as society – it’s just not the same as the state” (*Invitation to Join the Government of Britain*, vii).

But it is with claims and warrants concerning the value of the NHS that the Nurturant Parent framework is most consistently applied. The universal provision of health care by the NHS, free at the point of use, as conceived by Beveridge, is endorsed in Cameron’s speeches:

- (8) What clearer expression of responsibility can there be than a country that comes together to look after its hurt, its sick, its frail, its elderly?
What a fantastic fact of British life that the moment you’re injured or fall ill, you know that whoever you are, wherever you’re from, whatever’s wrong, however much you’ve got in the bank . . .
. . . there’s a place you can go where people will look after you and do their best to make things right again.
The NHS is an expression of our social responsibility, our shared responsibility.
(Cameron 2009a)
- (9) Remembering that when it comes to our public services – protecting them and investing in them, we are all in this together. We will cut the deficit, not the NHS because the NHS is the bedrock of a fair society. And we will bring change to our NHS because as in so many other ways, we can’t go on like this. (Cameron, 2010a)

Key metaphors of the Nurturant Parent frame (Morality as Empathy; Morality as Fair Distribution) are evident in (8) and (9), as are moral action priorities in the Nurturant Parent frame (empathetic behaviour; promoting fairness; helping those who cannot help themselves). This endorsement – possibly even a celebration – of the NHS by Conservatives was one of the key themes of the campaign, and although it is evident that the overall presence of Nurturant Parent metaphors in the whole campaign was not substantial, it was made more so by the prominence of the NHS theme.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The following generalisations are arguably justifiable on the basis of the analysis. Firstly, values and warrants present in David Cameron’s speeches evoke both the Strict Father and the Nurturant Parent model of family. Secondly, the frames seem to be evoked for different purposes or at least to different effects: references to the Strict Father frame serve to reinforce support for what can be considered to have constituted core Conservative beliefs over the last three decades (see Coxall, Robins, and Leach 2003, 57–62), while references to the Nurturant Parent frame would likely resonate with voters opposing the government but not key policies and ideas of the Labour party. Lastly, a skilful blending of the two frames is evident, with policies associated with one frame being constructed with vocabulary evoking the other. This can be viewed as an attempt to gain common ground, a legitimisation strategy aiming to construct “a shared mental frame between the speaker and the addressee,” which hinges on the speaker’s “imposition of common discourse goals” (Cap 2006, 22).

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THE NOTION OF *NATIVE SPEAKER* AND ITS RELEVANCE FOR *ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE*

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ABSTRACT: The appropriateness of the concept of *nativeness* for English as an International Language has been questioned from at least two positions: the notion of a *native speaker* as such, whether it is a viable linguistic category, and, specifically, whether it is applicable to English, which is used for lingua franca communication among speakers from a wide range of settings. It will be demonstrated that *native speaker* is more of a social construct, and a number of arguments against its relevance for English as an International Language will be presented, suggesting possible alternatives.

KEYWORDS: native speaker; non-native speaker; English as an International Language; English as a Lingua Franca; expertise

Before examining the notion of native speaker, let me briefly introduce the concept of *English as an International Language* (EIL). This is a variety of English that is developing as a result of the predominance of non-native speakers in English-medium communication, a variety that is used as a lingua franca¹ for international communication between speakers of different language backgrounds. It is characterized by a core of features common to all varieties of English, without only locally comprehensible usages (for a more detailed introduction see, e.g., Jenkins 2000; McKay 2002).

The appropriateness of the concept of *nativeness* for EIL has been questioned from at least two positions: the notion of a native speaker as such, whether it is a viable linguistic category (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001, 81), and, specifically, whether it is applicable to English, which is used for international communication among speakers from a wide range of settings (Jenkins 2003).²

Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (2001) question what they call the nativeness paradigm by referring to works of Davies (1991) and Paikeday (1985) who come to the conclusion that the notion of nativeness in language is a myth. Brutt-Griffler and Samimy support this view by providing real-life examples of English speakers who cannot readily be placed into the traditional native or non-native category.

1. *English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)* is indeed a term that is often used interchangeably with EIL.

2. EIL-related research into what it is to be a native speaker is partly motivated by a growing interest in the issues of linguistic identity (Jenkins 2007; 2009) connected with learning and speaking a foreign language, which in the context of EIL means trying to reconcile the conflicting needs of keeping varieties of English as used for global communication mutually intelligible to all speakers while at the same time allowing for signaling speakers' mother tongue identity by allowing those features of their L1 that do not cause intelligibility problems (for a brief overview of the topic see, e.g., Nečasová 2011).

Their four case studies suggest that nativeness constitutes “a non-elective socially constructed identity” rather than a linguistic category (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001, 100). They have found that the experiences of their subjects, international speakers of English, demonstrate that the determination of their identity as native or non-native speakers depends on social factors, such as preconceived notions of what a native speaker should look or sound like.

One of the reasons for this that seems to appear in their research is that the concept of nativeness comes from contexts where monolingualism is the norm. Bilingualism or multilingualism can then be taken as a marker of non-nativeness. It is as though, for many people intuitively, knowing another language excludes the possibility of being an “authentic” native speaker (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001, 102).

Another important component of the socially-constructed notion of native speaker is that he or she must come from a nation where English is spoken natively. National origin seems to be a prominent feature in constructing a native speaker. This is expressed in the assumption that English is only properly learned from birth in select nations of the world: a native speaker is someone who learns the language in its “natural environment” (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001, 104). This involves the notion that those who learned the language there have innate qualities that cannot be learned by others, as one of Brutt-Griffler and Samimy’s subjects, Monica, who came to the U.S. from Argentina at age thirteen, comments:

[T]he notion of a native speaker of English is quite problematic to me. It implies that if I am not born in a place where English is the official language, then I can never, regardless of how hard I try, attain a thorough command of the language. As if there is something inherent about where I am born. In other words, where I come from seems to determine how far I can go. I actually came across this kind of attitude from a teacher I had for English (as one of the required courses) while pursuing my undergraduate degree at a US institution. After my complaining to her for giving me a B grade for the course, she responded that I should be happy with a B since my getting an A would be almost impossible for I was not a native speaker. In other words, the mere fact that I was not born in the US seemed to condition this teacher’s answer (and grade, I might add). (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001, 104)

Another of their subjects, Laura, comes from the Philippines and learned English as her first language, attended English-medium schools and used English at home. When she came to the United States, she was put into the non-native speaker category and had to take the TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language) to be allowed to study at an American university. Laura comments that this was her introduction to the belief that she was not a native speaker of English (Brutt-Griffler and Samimy 2001, 101).

Self-ascription as a native speaker does not matter because Laura is identified by the outside world as a non-native speaker. Amin corroborates this conclusion when she writes:

I consider myself to be a native speaker on the grounds that English is the language I know best, but my colleagues – teachers of English and ESL, linguists, and applied linguists – usually position me as a non-native speaker, I suggest, because I am non-White and because I have a Pakistani accent. When I self-identify as a native speaker, there is a look of bewilderment, disbelief, and embarrassment on their faces. (Amin 1999, 97)

Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (2001, 105) conclude that international speakers of English are consigned by the limiting discourse and professional usage to one or the other side of the native / non-native categorisation with neither consistency, clarity, nor merit to the classification. National identity should not be a basis of classification of speakers of an international language.

Jenkins also questions the viability of the nativeness concept for EIL and lists a number of arguments that have been expressed against it (2003, 81):

- the term native speaker fails to recognise that some varieties of English in the Outer Circle³ are spoken not only for official purposes but also in the home;
- it ignores the fact that English is often one of several languages available in the repertoires of multilingual populations and that it is often difficult to decide which language is a speaker's first, second, third and so on;
- it perpetuates the view that monolingualism is the world's norm when, in fact, the majority of people are bi- or multilingual;
- it implies that the English of the ethnic Anglo speaker is a reference point against which all varieties of English should be measured;
- it is offensive to label as non-native those who have learned English and achieved bilingual status as fluent, proficient users;
- the perpetuation of the native / non-native distinction causes negative perceptions of and among non-native speakers in general and teachers and researchers in particular;
- perhaps most seriously, it encourages a very simplistic view of what constitutes error in English language use, and leads to deficiencies in the testing of English internationally, because users of English, regardless of their own variety of the language, are being measured against an irrelevant and unrealistic native standard.

For the reasons listed above, some scholars have rejected the disputed native and non-native labels and have proposed several alternatives. I will briefly describe two of them, by Rampton (Leung, Harris, and Rampton 1997; Rampton 1990) and by Jenkins (2000).

Rampton uses the term *expert* to describe proficient users of English and argues that *expertise* has these advantages over nativeness (1990, 98–99):

- experts do not have to feel close to what they know a lot about; expertise is different from identification;
- expertise is learned, not fixed or innate;
- expertise is relative;
- expertise is partial;
- to achieve expertise, one goes through a process of certification, in which one is judged by others; their standards of assessment can be reviewed and disputed.

3. Outer Circle countries (based on Kachru's Circles of English) are those countries, usually former colonies, where institutionalized varieties are spoken as a second language and where English serves important social functions, such as in education or administration (Kachru 1992).

Although the advantages of this model are well-argued, there remains the problem of establishing what exactly expertise is.

Jenkins distinguishes three types of English speakers: monolingual English speaker (MES), bilingual English speaker (BES), and non-bilingual English speaker (NBES). MESes are those speakers of English who do not speak any other language than English fluently. BESes are proficient speakers of English and at least one other language, regardless of the order in which they learned the languages. The third term, NBES, is used for speakers who are not bilingual in English but nevertheless may be able to speak English to the level that serves their particular communicative purpose.

The term bilingual is redefined for English as an International Language so that, it no longer implies 'equally competent in two languages', an interpretation which itself leads to diffidence on the part of proficient BESs to describe themselves as bilingual. Rather, the term should mean that the speaker has attained a specified degree of proficiency in both languages, although in practice probably going well beyond this level in one of them. (Jenkins 2000, 10)

Jenkins's classification is neutral and treats various speakers of English equally, without implying that one is better than the other. Its main advantage is that it removes the distinction, artificial for an international language, between proficient speakers of L1 and L2 varieties. Its main problem, however, is where the line should be drawn between BES and NBES and who should draw it. Because of this difficulty, McKay (2002) uses the term bilingual user of English to describe a wide range of proficiency.

As shown, the terms native and non-native speaker are not undisputed linguistic universals, especially in the context of a language used for international communication of which, it can be argued, there are no native speakers (in the traditional meaning of the word) at all (Seidlhofer 2001). Furthermore, while these terms will undoubtedly remain widely used, it is important to use them in an informed way and be aware of the objections raised against them.

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RELATIONSHIPS AND IDENTITIES IN CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS: CZECH SPEAKERS PRESENTING IN ENGLISH

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ABSTRACT: The genre of conference presentations will be examined within the Hallidayan systemic-functional framework and in the concept of genre analysis. The analysis will centre on the interpersonal function of discourse and will examine the similarities and differences in conference language speaker-audience relationships in English and Czech English. This will be investigated through analysing surface features such as *I* and *we*-perspective and direct *you*-address in connection with the type of so-called micro-speech acts such as stating aims, referencing, defining, or exemplifying. The paper will thus address the extent to which the data reveal contrastive differences in linguistic strategies and discourse preferences between scholars from two cultural and language backgrounds – English and non-English. The paper also uncovers the application of the Anglo-American standard of academic writing and rhetoric by Czech scholars who use English as the lingua franca of academic communication.

KEYWORDS: conference presentation; contrastive analysis; Czech English; discourse rhetoric practices; genre analysis; interpersonal function; speaker-audience interaction

1. INTRODUCTION

Conference presentations represent a special domain of academic discourse: they constitute linguistically complex situations, the specifics of which follow from their quality of spoken monologue discourse. The genre, which has gradually been moving towards the mainstream of linguistic interest, will be examined within the Hallidayan systemic-functional paradigm (which consists of ideational, interpersonal and textual semantic components) emphasizing the systemic and social elements of language use (Halliday 1978, 2004) and in the concept of genre analysis by Bhatia (2004), Martin (1997), and Swales (1990, 2004).

Most previous research into conference language has focused on monolingual research data and relatively few studies have been undertaken contrasting English with French, Spanish or Bulgarian. To my knowledge, there are no contrastive studies on Czech English in this field. The analysis will centre on the interpersonal dimension and will examine the similarities and differences in conference language speaker-audience relationships in English and Czech English. This will be investigated using an adapted framework introduced by Vassileva (2002), who suggested analysing surface features such as *I* and *we*-perspective, direct *you*-address, rhetorical questions, and others, in connection with the type of so-called micro-speech acts such as stating aims, referencing, defining, or exemplifying. The goal is to identify the existence

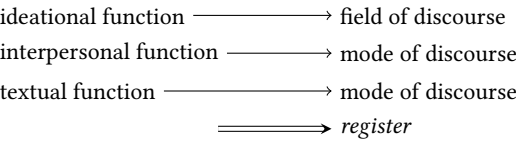
of contrastive differences in linguistic strategies and discourse preferences between scholars from two cultural and language backgrounds – English and non-English. The research corpus consists of ten conference presentations given at medium-size conferences between 2008 and 2011. On average, the audiences at these conferences ranged from twenty to thirty participants, which enabled interaction. The presenters were native speakers of English and Czech speakers using English in the field of applied linguistics; the corpus totals approximately five hours.

This paper tries to accomplish three main aims: first, to outline and identify typical generic features of the genre of conference presentations; second, to identify and explore the linguistic means that contribute to interpersonal meaning in the genre through the study of speaker self-representation strategies and interactional skills in conference language; and third, to reveal and classify possible culture-based rhetorical patterns and discourse practices in the genre by comparing English and Czech English conference speakers.

2. RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The research is rooted in Halliday’s systemic-functional paradigm comprising the concept of language functions that provides a functional framework for the study of the semantic system of language (Halliday 1978). The concept employs three functional-semantic components or meta/ functions of language that simultaneously exist in any use of language. The *ideational* component of the system means that language reflects and represents reality, and it thus deals with the content; the *interpersonal* component concerns social relationships between discourse participants, which in the present research subsumes the speaker’s relationship with the potential audience; and the *textual* component performs an enabling and facilitating function, which helps build up sequences of discourse, organise discursive flow and create cohesion and continuity. Halliday (1978, 112) stresses that the three functions have a text-forming potential by claiming that “a text is a product of all three; it is a polyphonic composition in which different semantic melodies are interwoven, to be realized as integrated lexicogrammatical structures.”

FIGURE 1: THE RELATION OF SEMANTIC COMPONENTS OF LANGUAGE AND CONTEXTUAL CATEGORIES

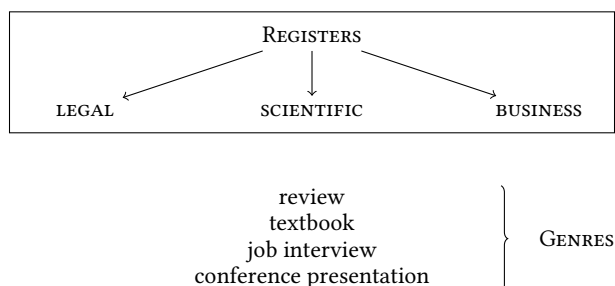


In Figure 1, the three semantic components interact with and mediate between the language system and find their counterparts in *contextual* categories of *field*, *tenor* and *mode*, the constellation and interplay of which results in a special class of semantic variety, *register*, which “is recognizable as a particular selection of words and structures”

(Halliday 1978, 111). Register is later viewed as “a particular setting of systemic probabilities” (Halliday 2004, 27–28), which means that system (of language) represents the overall potential and text is just one particular instance of use; the relationship between language and text are reflected via the so-called *cline of instantiation*.

The three functions of language do not operate in isolation as clear-cut categories but operate simultaneously and inseparably, each of them having a different role in terms of their dominance or hierarchy function according to the type of discourse and genre. In most registers one particular contextual factor dominates the other two, which results in having “field-dominated registers, such as ‘scientific register’, or mainly mode-dominated register, as in the case of ‘casual conversation’, or tenor-dominated register like ‘client consultation’” (Bhatia 2004, 32). While registers are defined as typical lexicogrammatical choices from the grammatical system, genres offer a different approach towards understanding how discourse is used in academic and other institutional settings. As Bhatia (2004) suggests, genres are oriented more on action than on grammar and are unified by stating communicative purposes that are supported on the textual level by specific cognitive structures (viz. Swales’s 1990 *Create-a-research-space move structure* in research article introductions). Swales (1990) defines *genre* as a perceivable communicative event characterized by a set of communicative purposes identified and understood by the members of the particular academic or professional community in which it is used. Genres are compared to mental structures; they are defined by specific function(s) and structure and driven not only by formal but also by social and contextual factors (Bax 2011). The relation between registers and genres, both of which are employed as efficient analytical tools for the study of discourse, can be approached as suggested in Figure 2 in terms of overlap and interplay rather than viewing the two as mutually exclusive concepts.

FIGURE 2: THE INTERPLAY OF REGISTERS AND GENRES (ADAPTED FROM BHATIA 2004, 31)



The previous research into the communication and textual strategies in mass media texts, advertising, academic texts, and radio discussions (Hopkinson et al. 2009) has demonstrated that the interpersonal function is dominant in these genres. The aim of this paper is to find out how the interpersonal function is realized and materialized in the practices of discourse rhetoric in the genre of conference presentation.

3. THE GENRE OF CONFERENCE PRESENTATION

The conference presentation is a key genre in which the conference is viewed as part of a *scientific genre colony* (Bhatia 2004), which includes events such as plenaries, section papers, panel and poster sections, book offer, coffee breaks, dinners, social evenings or trips. From this perspective the conference can be seen as “the mixture of social and research-process genres” (Hyland 2009, 79), giving it a complex, multi-genre character. Consequently, the conference presentation is a sub-genre of the conference genre colony. Hyland (2009, 28) views the sub-genre as a key research genre by which academic research is spread “at various levels of completion, from work in progress to post-publication overview, and to be delivered to an audience of various sizes, homogeneity and expertise.” The presenter offers original, authentic and not yet tested claims to the audience based on work carried out in the library and / or in the field but which must first usually undergo a strict review process before appearing in a peer-reviewed journal (Swales 2004).

The conference presentation is a genre at the crossroads of the spoken and written modes – it originates and exists in the context of *spoken monologue discourse*. Although this genre of prepared speeches is strongly grounded in the written text, in the process of its production, i.e., when presenting the paper at the conference, the speaker must inevitably negotiate and communicate with the listeners (Tanskanen 2006). This aspect of interaction between the speaker and the audience, which is an integral part of the interpersonal semantic component of language, is a seminal constitutive feature of the genre.

As for the traditional dichotomy of written – spoken modes in this type of academic discourse, it is rather problematic since there is still little agreement on the salient characteristics of spoken and written language (Vachek 1976). However, it can be taken for granted that in the conference presentation the negotiation-like process between the interactants is based on an overlapping and mixing of the two modes – code-mixing – which results in a *hybridization* of communication (Daneš 1995; Urbanová 2010). The multifaceted complexity of the conference presentation lies in the genre’s sequence-like nature: on one hand, the genre opens with an audiovisual presentation at the conference based on the prepared text written for the oral presentation, and on the other hand, the genre closes with a research article prepared for publication in a specialised journal. Ventola (1997) uses the term *semiotic spanning* to refer to the intermeshing process accompanying the conference presentation and to draw attention to specific cross-referential aspects of conferences that have been thus far neglected.

The conference presentation can also be approached via the metaphor of the *genre chain* (Swales 2004), which stresses the chronological ordering of individual events: the genre chain starts with a call for abstracts; then the participants send their conference abstracts to the organizing committee; the review process starts – if the paper is accepted, the participants are sent instructions for the presentation; then the oral presentation at the conference follows. The next steps in the genre chain are the submission of the paper, the review process and then revision. The chain closes with publication.

The unifying shared communicative purpose expected in the genre is to disseminate academic research and knowledge; with respect to this fact scientific discourse is obviously field-dominated, and the ideational component seems to have a controlling role over the interpersonal and textual functions. Nevertheless, the ideational features are realized not only through the choice of reality presented but also through the interpersonal component (interpersonal features encompassing interactive events between speaker / writer, and audience – such as means of address or modality), and the textual metafunction (text organisation and structuring, the clause as a message towards the receiver).

4. THE ANALYSIS OF THE INTERPERSONAL MEANING IN THE GENRE

This paper focuses on some aspects of the dynamic character of speaker-audience interaction within the concept of the interpersonal semantic component by which language reflects and at the same time shapes interpersonal and textual relationships. Hyland (2009) argues that the interactions and relationships in academic contexts can be studied through the concept of *stance* and *engagement*; although he originally established the two categories for the research of academic writing, communication in any setting and under whatever circumstances has always been a two-sided process existing between two parties: the author (speaker / writer) and the audience (listeners / readers). This aspect of mutual communication and interaction inevitably opens space for investigating the role, nature and extent of the interpersonal exchange between participants. While the stance reflects “the writer’s textual ‘voice’ or community recognized personality” (Hyland 2009, 74) through the use of hedges, boosters and attitudinal devices, the engagement concept reflects the speaker’s focus on and awareness of the audience – the listeners – as discourse participants who are addressed through a variety of personal pronouns, directives, personal asides, questions, or appeals to shared knowledge (Hyland 2009, 77). Similarly, Vassileva (2002, 257) claims that “some of the most typical exponents of the genre of conference presentations are *speaker self-representation* and *interactional skills*” and introduces a functional framework for the analysis of direct speaker-audience address that will be employed in this paper.

The basic analytical unit is, in harmony with Vassileva’s analytical approach (2002), the so-called micro-speech act. As the texts are primarily monologic and linear in nature, it is necessary to identify minimal analytical units that carry the characteristics of organised speech acts with one specific communicative goal or the micro-theme. According to Vassileva (2002, 258), the analysis of a direct speaker-audience address includes the categories:

1. the first person singular *I* perspective versus the first person plural *we* perspective,
2. the *you* perspective,
3. the use of rhetorical questions,
4. extra-textual references,

- 5. jokes,
- 6. story-telling elements,
- 7. deixis,
- 8. personal reference,
- 9. cross-reference to other speakers participating in the same event.

Out of the nine categories that enable the uncovering of various facets of the relationship between the interactants, the focus is on (1) the first person singular *I* perspective vs. the first person plural *we* perspective, and (2) the *you* perspective, which, having the function personal deixis and inherently exophoric pronouns, express participant roles in the speech event and are treated as pure deictics.

Table 1 shows the frequency of use of the three basic means of speaker-audience interaction per minute, as well as the overall frequency including all means under consideration. The rationale behind this analytical procedure lies in the fact that the overall number of hours recorded both in English and Czech English is slightly uneven, and in order to get a global view of the quantitative data, it is necessary to first look at the frequency of usage of the three linguistic means analysed.

TABLE 1: FREQUENCY OF USE PER MINUTE

	ENGLISH	CZECH ENGLISH
<i>I</i> perspective – average	1.4	0.8
<i>I</i> perspective – speaker variation	0.5–2.1	0.2–1.3
<i>We</i> perspective – average	0.9	1.4
<i>We</i> perspective – speaker variation	0.4–1.5	0.1–2.7
<i>You</i> perspective – average	0.6	0.6
<i>You</i> perspective – speaker variation	0.3–1.2	0.4–0.7

According to the data, native English in comparison with Czech English employs just less than half of the means in the first category of *I* perspective. The explanation for such a remarkable difference may be that Czech speakers are less aware of the Anglo-Saxon rhetoric of discourse production and are inclined to avoid stating the marked authorial presence that supports author responsibility. Interestingly, however, the speaker variation for *I* perspective demonstrates that even some native-speakers avoid signalling authorial presence. In contrast, the *we* perspective is relatively strong with Czech speakers. This tendency reflects the Czech tradition of presenting scientific knowledge objectively and collaboratively (Čmejrková and Daneš 1997).

TABLE 2: NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES AND DISTRIBUTION

	ENGLISH		CZECH ENGLISH	
	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER
<i>I</i> perspective	38	320	25.2	340
<i>We</i> perspective	25	212	46.7	630
<i>You</i> perspective	17	144	18.5	250

Table 2 demonstrates the number of occurrences and their percentage in the two subcorpora. Again, it is obvious that native speakers adhere to the *I* perspective while Czechs show a similar distribution of the *we* perspective as in Table 1. The following section presents a detailed analysis of the individual micro-speech acts within the three categories.

4.1 THE *I* PERSPECTIVE

Micro-speech acts carry certain communicative purposes characterized at various levels of generalization, and these are at the same time realized in terms of combinations of rhetorical acts, which Bhatia (2004) calls *generic values*. These values, such as arguments, narratives, descriptions, explanations and instructions, have been variously referred to as primary speech genres (Bakhtin 1986).

The *I* perspective includes the following micro-speech acts: analysis / argumentation, aims / advance organizers, personal view, personal experience, focusing, self-reference, conclusions, terminology / procedures, exemplification, reference, back organisers and permission (Vassileva 2002, 262–63). Most frequent in both languages are the micro-speech acts of analysis / argumentation, personal view and back organisers / reference. The native speakers use the *I* perspective mainly to express their personal experience and view, while the Czech speakers overuse *I* to claim and state their aims, or as advance organisers.

- (1) I should begin by saying that I have nothing whatever new to say to you . . . – advance organiser / personal view (English HW)
- (2) All that I am going to do is to discuss a number of issues which I've discussed before and that which I still feel are critical in the whole area – aims / back organiser / self-reference (English HW)
- (3) I'd like to start with a quotation from a book on pragmatics . . . – aims (Czech GM)
- (4) So as I've shown or illustrated . . . then I'd like to focus on three basic areas – first of all I'm really interested or . . . I'd like to illustrate basically – self-reference / aims (Czech GM)

4.2 THE *WE* PERSPECTIVE

Much attention has been paid to the pronoun *we* in research on interpersonal aspects on academic writing (Zapletalová 2009). Traditionally, the pronoun *we* is treated as having two semantic functions, *inclusive* and *exclusive*. The concept of *we* is rather elusive and indeterminate; the traditional distinction into the range of categories such as (i) the royal *we*, (ii) the modest *we*, (iii) the authorial inclusive *we*, (iv) the collective *we*, (v) the so-called editorial *we*, or finally (vi) rhetorical *we* does not seem to precisely cover meanings implied in the corpus. Instead the following framework offers the classification of *we* based on *cognitive classes* of particular micro speech-acts: Analysis / argumentation, team work, common knowledge, common experience,

invitation, aims / advance organisers, focusing and exemplification (Vassileva 2002, 267).

As the data suggests, both languages demonstrate a prominent preference for the *we* perspective where the speaker aims at engaging the audience in the process or argumentation (inclusive collective *we*). In contrast to written English where *we* is accompanied by metadiscoursal verbs like *assume*, *accept*, *hypothetise*, in conference language the situation is different – the speaker is more direct and strongly yearns for cooperation – the use of modals like *need*, *have to*, *should*.

- (5) There is a distinction we have to make between . . . and we need to find some relation between . . . – argumentation (English CH)
- (6) Now if we consider the phrase we can assign it semantic meaning since we know . . . but we can relate this text to different contexts – analysis / common knowledge / analysis-argumentation (English CH)
- (7) That's what we study in pragmatics and basically we can see the huge growing body – common knowledge (Czech RT)
- (8) And if we have time or we find it interesting we can also mention . . . – team work (Czech RT)

4.3 THE YOU PERSPECTIVE

The *you* pronoun is overtly interactive in its nature as it directly draws the addressee into the on-line process of communication. *You* occurs in the micro-speech acts like *you = one*; it frequently signals reference to visuals and data, implies common knowledge and experience, signals commands and exemplification. Proportionally, its occurrence in both English and Czech English is balanced. It is most frequently used in the meaning of *one*, which is one of the means of *depersonalising* academic discourse. In spoken academic discourse it is used as an alternative to *one*, and it means that the speaker, apart from trying to maintain a certain distance from the facts presented, also tries to draw the audience into the process of communication.

The second in frequency is *you* in order to make the audience pay attention to data, examples, graphs – visuals.

- (9) You're acquainted with basic issues relating to the nature of linguistic analysis and interpretation. Therefore I hope you see this related to the conference . . . – common experience (English HW)
- (10) The last example you see here is . . . – example / reference to data projector (English HO)
- (11) So I hope to give you some ideas, Leech and Short who as you know . . . now when you can pay attention to . . . – examples / common knowledge / examples (Czech RT)
- (12) Well you might like the term, this metaphoric term, or you might not or you would think about the different but I think . . . – you= 'one' (Czech RT)

5. CONCLUSION

This study has focused on contrastive differences in linguistic strategies and discourse rhetoric preferences between scholars from two relatively distant cultural and language backgrounds: English and Czech. The aim was to reveal whether the linguistic realization of speaker-audience relationships in the genre exhibits any substantial culture-specific differences that follow from different concepts of research text / speech in both discourse communities. The research has also tried to determine the way in which the particular discourse preferences in either community are functional in terms of shared rhetoric expectations in one particular discipline – applied linguistics. To sum up, Czech English speakers employ fewer means of direct speaker-audience address, and this distinction contrasts with the results by Vassileva (2002) who identified profound differences between the two language communities – English and Bulgarian. The internal distribution of the means studied is more or less similar, but there is a more profound distinction in the use of these means in particular micro-speech acts.

The most obvious contrast is between the *I*- and *we*-perspective: native English speakers prefer to enhance their personal view and personal experience, clearly offer arguments and identify individual steps in the analysis. Czech speakers seem to avoid using devices promoting open personalisation and rather employ devices which help them state aims so as to organize their speech as a sequence of logical steps.

The differences – though not so profound and striking – between the two groups of speakers have two possible explanations: first, the distinctions outlined result from different academic rhetorical traditions and practices. Czech-English speakers employ depersonalised strategies, which is in harmony with viewing academic discourse as objective and impersonal, while native-English speakers produce reader-oriented texts. Second, producing texts in Czech culture is still understood as the *art of writing*, which has much to do with intuition and inborn qualities; there is only a short-lived tradition of teaching discourse rhetoric theory and practices as salient and indispensable academic skills.

Returning to the three aims outlined in the introduction, I claim that a conference presentation is an autonomous subgenre which, as a research genre, occupies the central position in the conference discourse colony. Deictic pronouns of the first and second person singular / plural are significant linguistic means that contribute to the interpersonal meaning in the genre as they co-occur with particular cognitive classes. By comparing English and Czech English conference speakers, the research revealed that the existence of possible culture-based rhetorical patterns in the genre, which mostly reflect native-language rhetorical pattern practices of discourse organisation.

Taking into account the Hallidayan concept of language use, the conference presentation as a subgenre of research speech is, despite the importance of its ideational content, primarily a communicative event. As such, communication is an interpersonal activity in which the speaker employs various interpersonal strategies, e.g., persuasion and building consensus that are supported with and reflected in the use of personal pronouns. It follows that the three semantic components – ideational, interpersonal

and textual – are inseparable and work together towards achieving a common communicative purpose; in the field-dominated scientific discourse in particular, the semantic components tend to emphasize the role of interpersonal metafunction.

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ACADEMIC PAPERS IN ENGLISH AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF SENTENCE ADVERBIALS BY NATIVE VS. NON-NATIVE WRITERS

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ABSTRACT: The use of sentence adverbials, i.e., syntactically and/or prosodically detached conjunctive and disjunctive adverbials, is one of the most powerful tools for achieving cohesion in academic texts. Although the genre of academic papers reveals a tendency to some degree of formal uniformity within individual disciplines as the discourses are becoming increasingly international, there persist significant differences in frequency as well as distribution of lexical and grammatical devices between native and non-native users of English. The paper examines preferences of these two groups in the use of sentence adverbials in academic papers dealing with humanities. The research draws on several corpora of expert and novice native and non-native academic texts. Among the findings of the analysis are observable tendencies to overusing or underusing certain adverbials and their distributional patterns displayed by individual groups of authors.

KEYWORDS: academic papers; native academic writers; novice academic writers; sentence adverbials; sequential adverbials

1. INTRODUCTION

English for Academic Purposes (EAP) is a variety of English used in the fields of science and education, and belongs thus to occupational varieties of language. As Schmied (2011, 2) points out, EAP overlaps to varying degrees with concepts such as EIL (English as an International Language), ELF (English as a Lingua Franca), ESP (English for Specific Purposes), etc., and its educational aspects are discussed within the traditional concepts ELT, TESOL and TEFL. EAP is marked lexically, grammatically and structurally, and the combination of its typical features is, generally speaking, known as the formal style (however, by far not all applications of the formal style are in the domain of science, but also in the areas of administration, media and journalism, law, business, etc.).

The structure of texts within English for Academic Purposes is directly dictated by considerations of their purpose – they must be clear, with logical arrangement of ideas, surveyable, predictable, cohesive and coherent for their intended readership. The structure of academic texts thus employs devices that help to achieve these goals. Logically, such devices operate at different levels of language and their functions sometimes overlap, but it would contradict the general principle of language economy if the role of a linguistic phenomenon were not well-defined and identifiable or if it were often performed by several devices at the same time. Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that the structure of a text and the roles its parts play (since this is an essential

quality of an academic text) are signalled by some explicit markers. Alternatively, this may also be signalled implicitly by some conventional arrangement of arguments and text parts, but it seems that some explicit structural markers or signals are standardly utilized. This paper will look into the functions and distribution of explicit markers of text structure, namely the so-called sentence adverbials (cf. Huddleston and Pullum 2002).

2. SEQUENCE MARKERS AND CONNECTIVES IN EAP

Sentence linkers in general are one of the tools for achieving cohesion in formal texts. They help recipients to reach the obvious goal, namely “to recognize a text as ‘academic’, one important aspect . . . [of which is] the use of clear and fairly predictable structure” (Hamp-Lyons and Heasley 2006, 30).

The linking and text-organizing devices are particularly useful in the spoken mode where they function as scaffolding. In the written mode there is more time for preparation and production of the text and linkers and text-organizers are often replaced by other lexical and grammatical cohesive devices (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976). This paper examines several corpora of academic texts to see how frequently and in what patterns adverbial linkers are distributed and what relative importance for text organization they have for native and non-native writers.

The author’s previous research in this area was described in the paper “Sentence Linkers in Essays and Papers by Native and Non-native Writers” (Vogel 2008). Its focus was the use of adverbial linking devices functioning at the suprasentential level. The adverbials were studied in a corpus consisting of twenty essays in the field of teaching methodology written by advanced non-native writers and five papers by native writers from the same field. The aim of the analysis was to examine the distribution of linking devices (particularly sequential adverbials) within paragraphs and the whole text, their variety and native vs. non-native differences. The findings of the research are that non-native writers (NNW) placed sequential adverbials in 30% of paragraphs immediately following the introductory one (paragraph $i+1$), in 30% of paragraphs $i+2$, and in 45% of final paragraphs. On the contrary, native writers (NW) used no sequential adverbials in their papers, and these texts generally revealed a poor range of linkers.

The following premises and hypotheses about the typical behaviour of native vs. non-native writers in EAP were derived from earlier research (Vogel 2008) and tested in the more broadly conceived present research:

1. Non-native and native writers use tools of grammatical cohesion differently, which is evident from the distribution of sentence adverbials.
2. Non-native writers tend to overuse sequential adverbials, whereas native writers tend to avoid them, probably as a too explicit marker.
3. Also, non-native writers tend to use conjunctive and disjunctive adverbials (due to their explicitness) more often and in a wider range than native writers. (A logical question arises in the context of language training: Is it the result of being taught academic writing?)

4. Conversely, native writers employ a wider scale of style and particularly content disjuncts (as defined in Greenbaum and Quirk 1990, 182–84) than non-native writers.
5. It also prompts the question whether the differences between native and non-native styles of EAP, here manifested through the distinctive distributional patterns of sentence adverbials, have any qualitative impact on the texts, their stylistic acceptability, clarity of message, pragmatic effect, etc.

3. METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH

The current research has used a similar methodology to that applied in 2008, namely:

1. Identification of sentence adverbials or linkers at the intersentential level but also interclausal level if they are syntactically detached.
2. Classification by function, focus on conjunctive (particularly listing, summative, resultive and contrastive) and disjunctive adverbials (adhering to the classification by Greenbaum and Quirk 1990, 181–87). These two syntactico-semantic types of adverbials are assumed to be the most efficient markers (among adverbials) of logical and sequential arrangement of ideas and corresponding parts of text.
3. Tagging sentence adverbials by:
 - their type (grammatico-semantic);
 - their position within a sentence and paragraph (initial, medial, final) and in the whole text (referring to the serial number of a paragraph);
 - their sequence (which is relevant for sequential adverbials);
 - the authorship (used by native vs. non-native writers, novice / inexperienced vs. expert writers – this is a new variable to be analysed).

What is not monitored are differences between various disciplines, between non-native writers by their different mother tongues, frequency of sentence adverbials (i.e., number of occurrences per total wordcount), ratio of sentence adverbials to other connectives, namely conjunctions, etc. All of these criteria would be important descriptors as well, but the previously listed criteria have taken precedence.

As the texts in individual corpora are of varying lengths, only the initial (Pi) and the following five and the final (Pf) and the preceding five paragraphs were scrutinized. It is likely that the introductory and final paragraphs in various papers perform similar functional roles in relation to the whole (and are obviously found in all of them), whereas the varying number of paragraphs between them, in the bodies of papers, do not display such clearly definable organising, presentational, hypothesising, argumentative, concluding, etc., functions relevant to the structure of the whole papers. In other words, the current paper attempts to look into occurrences of sentence adverbials in comparable functional settings, as these are supposed to correspond to specific text stages.

The corpus of EAP texts written by native users has the following composition:

- Corpus 1 (C1): five papers (conference proceedings, field: teaching methodology)

- Corpus 2 (C2): five papers (collective volume – anthology of “selected readings,” field: linguistics – syntax)

The corpus of EAP texts written by non-native users consists of the following subcorpora:

- Corpus 3 (C3): ten essays (written by Czech master’s programme students of English, field: teaching methodology)
- Corpus 4a (C4a): five papers (by Czech and German authors, published in a journal, field: linguistics)
- Corpus 4b (C4b): five papers (by Czech and Slovak authors, published in conference proceedings, fields: linguistics, methodology of language teaching).

4. CLASSIFICATIONS OF ADVERBIALS

Adverbials, which are followed in this research as the principal explicit linking devices, can be classified according to several criteria:

1. grammatical functions – adjuncts, subjuncts, conjuncts, disjuncts (Greenbaum 1969, Greenbaum and Quirk 1990)
Here, the prosodically and syntactically detached adverbials include:
 - conjuncts – listing (enumerative and additive), appositive, summative, contrastive (concessive, antithetic) (cf. Hůlková 2005), resultive, conclusive, transitional;
 - disjuncts – style, content (certainty-related and evaluation-related)
2. orientation within a sentence – “VP-oriented and clause-oriented AdvP adjuncts” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002)
 - clause oriented adjuncts (this category corresponds to the adverbials this research focuses on) – domain, modality, evaluation, speech act-related, connective
3. semantic roles, formal realisation, position (initial – I, medial – M, end / final – E).

The sequential adverbials, classed by their semantico-grammatical role as conjuncts, can be divided by their function into (Greenbaum and Quirk 1990, 185):

- listing
 - enumerative (*to start with, firstly, secondly, next, then, finally, . . .*)
 - additive (*moreover, furthermore, in addition, above all, similarly, also, . . .*)
- summative (*therefore, all in all, to sum up, in sum, . . .*)

5. DISTRIBUTION OF SENTENCE ADVERBIALS IN PAPERS WRITTEN BY ENGLISH NATIVE WRITERS

5.1 EXAMPLES OF DISTRIBUTION (NATIVE WRITERS)

The following two examples (Table 1) illustrate the distribution of sentence adverbials as they are used by native writers. They manifest the heterogeneous nature of the

selected adverbials in the two sample papers (although some favourite adverbials, such as *thus* and *however*, are shared), but also their relatively frequent occurrence and typically initial position in sentences. The notes on the position within a sentence and a paragraph are included for greater plasticity, but the position has not been analysed as a relevant variable in this research.

TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF SENTENCE ADVERBIALS IN ACADEMIC PAPERS PRODUCED BY NATIVE ENGLISH WRITERS – EXAMPLES (2 PAPERS)

	CORPUS 1, PAPER P3 (G. KITZMILLER) Source type: conference proceedings Field: teaching methodology		CORPUS 2, PAPER P6 (W. S. ALLEN) Source type: anthology Field: linguistics	
Paragraph	Sentence adverbials	Position within a sentence / paragraph	Sentence adverbials	Position within a sentence / paragraph
Pi	0	-	0	-
Pi+1	Indeed	SI / PI	for example	SM / PM
	However	SI / PM	Thus	SI / PM
	In addition	SI / PM	thus	SM / PF
Pi+2	However	SI / PF	on the other hand	SM / PM
			But	SI / PM
			Thus	SI / PF
Pi+3	0	-	Thus	SI / PF
Pi+4	0	-	for instance	SM / PM
Pi+5	Thus	SI / PM	for example	SI / PM
			however	SM / PF
Pf-5	0	-	Thus	SI / PF
			But	SI / PM
Pf-4	Thus	SI / PM	but	SM / PM
	Thus	SI / PF		
Pf-3	Thus	SI / PF	And	SI / PM
			Thus	SI / PM
Pf-2	0	-	Thus	SI / PI
			therefore	SM / PF
Pf-1	Generally	SI / PM	however	SM / PF
Pf	However	SI / PM	0	-

Notes: Pi = initial paragraph; Pi+1 = paragraph after the initial paragraph (i.e. 2nd paragraph), Pi+2 = second paragraph after the initial paragraph (i.e. 3rd paragraph), etc.

Pf = final paragraph; Pf-1 = the paragraph before the final paragraph, Pf-2 = second paragraph before the final paragraph; etc.

SI = sentence-initial, SM = sentence-medial, SF = sentence-final position

PI = paragraph-initial, PM = paragraph-medial, PF = paragraph-final position

5.2 FINDINGS OF THE ANALYSIS – ADVERBIALS USED BY NATIVE WRITERS OF EAP TEXTS

The analysis carried out on texts included in the two corpora C1 and C2 reveals some properties describing the distribution of sentence adverbials in EAP texts produced by native users of English (the results are presented in Table 3). It has been established that 52% of the paragraphs in papers in C1 (proceedings) and 60% in C2 (anthology) contain sentence adverbials. As far as the proportion of sequential (enumerative, additive and summative) to other adverbials (contrastive, resultive, adverbial disjuncts, etc.) is concerned, the lowest share of sequential adverbials in all sentence adverbials has been identified in corpus C1 (5%), compared with 17% in C2 (sequential adverbials in this analysis also include summatives in other than final paragraphs, used sequentially and contributing thus to explicit signalling of the micro-structure of a given paragraph, not only as markers of the macro-structure of the whole paper).

In terms of distributional patterns of sentence adverbials within individual papers, 20% of initial paragraphs include sentence adverbials in C1 (i.e., occurring in a single paper only), but 60% in C2; the figures are just reversed for final paragraphs: 60% of them include sentence adverbials in C1 and 20% in C2.

Most frequent sentence adverbials are *however* (37% of all sentence adverbials in C1, 9% in C2), *but* used in the sentence-initial (SI) position (17% in C2, 8% in C1), *thus* (17% in C2, 8% in C1). Sequential adverbials are not numerous, except for *therefore* (3% in C2); however, it is used in the resultive rather than in the potentially summative function here. The analysed texts were not particularly rich in adverbial disjuncts, which is in fact contrary to hypothesis No 4, but one exceptional article in C1 partly compensates for the deficit as it contains the disjuncts *interestingly*, *specifically*, *additionally* (though the last adverb was not used as a disjunct here).

6. DISTRIBUTION OF SENTENCE ADVERBIALS IN ACADEMIC PAPERS WRITTEN BY NON-NATIVE WRITERS

6.1 EXAMPLES OF DISTRIBUTION (NON-NATIVE WRITERS)

Table 2 provides three examples illustrating the distribution of sentence adverbials in academic texts written by non-native authors. Similarly to Table 1, the usually initial or medial position in sentences is marked, but this variable along with the position in a paragraph have not been analysed.

6.2 FINDINGS – PREFERENCES OF NON-NATIVE WRITERS OF EAP TEXTS

Analogously to the two corpora consisting of texts by native writers (C1 and C2), the distribution of sentence adverbials within texts and paragraphs was examined in the NNW corpora (C3, C4a and C4b). The findings (for a comparison of the following findings from all corpora, see Table 3) are that 81% of the paragraphs in non-native corpus C3 (essays), 50% in C4a and 43% in C4b (papers) contain sentence adverbials. The very high figure in Czech students' essays indicates an overuse of this device in the

TABLE 2: DISTRIBUTION OF SENTENCE ADVERBIALS IN ACADEMIC PAPERS PRODUCED BY NON-NATIVE (INEXPERIENCED CZECH; EXPERT CZECH, SLOVAK AND GERMAN) WRITERS – EXAMPLES (3 PAPERS/ESSAYS)

	Corpus 3, essay E6 (K. Roszak) Type: seminar essay Field: ELT methodology		Corpus 4a, paper P11 (Ch. Haase) Type: journal Field: linguistics		Corpus 4b, paper P18 (V. Ježdíková) Type: proceedings Field: linguistics / ELT methodology	
Paragraph	Sentence adverbials	Position within a sentence / paragraph	Sentence adverbials	Position within a sentence / paragraph	Sentence adverbials	Position within a sentence / paragraph
Pi	To start with	SI / PM	however	SM / PM	0	-
			However	SI / PM		
			In fact	SI / PF		
Pi+1	Moreover	SI / PM	0	-	0	-
	For example	SI / PM				
Pi+2	Secondly	SI / PI	As a consequence	SI / PM 0	-	
	therefore	SM / PM	thus	SM / PF		
Pi+3	in other words	SM / PM	0	-	0	-
Pi+4	N/A	N/A	0	-	0	-
Pi+5	N/A	N/A	0	-	0	-
Pf-5	N/A	N/A	0	-	In contrast	SI / PF
					hence	SM / PF
Pf-4	N/A	N/A	0	-	0	-
Pf-3	N/A	N/A	0	-	0	-
Pf-2	0	-	Interestingly	SI / PM	However	SI / PF
			Overall	SI / PM		
Pf-1	so	SM / PM	0	-	0	0
Pf	Finally	SI / PI	Thus	SI / PI	Contrary	SI / PM
	Overall	SI / PF			Analogically	SI / PM
					However	SI / PF

Notes: Pi = initial paragraph; Pi+1 = paragraph after the initial paragraph (i.e. 2nd paragraph), Pi+2 = second paragraph after the initial paragraph (i.e. 3rd paragraph), etc.

Pf = final paragraph; Pf-1 = the paragraph before the final paragraph, Pf-2 = second paragraph before the final paragraph; etc.

SI = sentence-initial, SM = sentence-medial, SF = sentence-final position

PI = paragraph-initial, PM- paragraph-medial, PF = paragraph-final position

academic writing of inexperienced NNWs, contrasted by lower than native occurrence in texts written by expert non-native authors.

Sequential (enumerative, additive and summative) adverbials account for 49% in corpus C3, whereas in C4a (papers in a journal) their share is 12% and in C4b

(proceedings) they make up 25% (including summatives in other than final paragraphs). The distinctive occurrence of sequential adverbials in the novice NNW corpus can be illustrated by example E6 from C3 quoted in Table 2; nevertheless, the selected essay is not the one with the highest occurrence of sequential adverbials in the given corpus. As corpus C3 is composed of texts produced by novice non-native writers, whereas corpora C4a+b were written by expert academic writers, these findings again seem to reveal a strong tendency to overuse sequential adverbials by less experienced writers (probably because they prefer marking the structure of their texts in a more explicit way, creating a sort of outline or scaffolding mentioned previously; because they have been taught about the usefulness of explicit discourse markers and readily implement this knowledge, etc.). On the other hand, a very low occurrence of sequential adverbials in non-native expert writing (even lower in comparison with texts written by native writers, viz. C4a vs. C2) may be interpreted as an intentional avoidance of this device as too explicit and formulaic, and their elimination or replacement by more implicit and diverse markers may be seen as a proof of the writers' expertise in EAP.

70% of initial paragraphs include sentence adverbials in C3, and still others are usually shifted further, to paragraphs Pi+1 or Pi+2 (especially sequential adverbials), so their final occurrence is considerably higher. Also, in corpus C3 as many as 70% of the final paragraphs contain a sentence adverbial (60% of these are sequential adverbials), compared with usually lower figures for both variables in corpora C4a and C4b.

The most frequent sentence adverbials in the non-native corpora are *however* (12% in C3, 16% in C4a and 18% in C4b) and *thus* (25% in C4a, 18% in C4b, but only 2% in the essay-based corpus C3). The most frequent sequential adverbial is *firstly/first of all* (7% in C3), followed by *further(more)* (4% in C3, 11% in C4b), *moreover* (4% in C4a) and *finally* and *to sum up* (3% each in C3) (see Table 3). Also, *therefore* is quite often represented in C3 (7%), but its sequential role, being a summative adverbial (as mentioned in Greenbaum and Quirk 1990, 185) is dubious.

7. CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the academic texts in all four corpora has confirmed the previously-mentioned three (out of four) hypotheses derived from my previous research (2008) (the size of two NW corpora does not adequately prove hypothesis No. 4).

As far as sentence adverbials are concerned, their surprisingly high occurrence (except for non-native "novice" texts) has been identified in native writers' texts, namely in papers in an anthology (C2). Papers in the anthology of texts by expert native authors and essays written by non-native novice authors, teacher trainees, reveal a markedly higher occurrence of sentence adverbials, both calculated per paragraph (always exceeding one) and in terms of their equal distribution throughout the texts (i.e., in the majority of paragraphs). This might be interpreted as a result of a more essayistic and didactic approach employed in these two text types.

The research has also revealed a clear tendency to overuse sequential adverbials in "novice" non-native writers' texts (totalling a half out of all sentence adverbials), as

TABLE 3: SUMMARY - DISTRIBUTION OF SENTENCE ADVERBIALS IN ACADEMIC PAPERS PRODUCED BY NATIVE VS. NON-NATIVE WRITERS

	Sentence adverbials per paragraph (average)	Paragraphs with sentence adverbial(s)	Sentence adverbial(s) in the initial paragraph	Sentence adverbial(s) in the final paragraph	Share of sequential adverbials	Most frequent adverbials (in % of the total sentence adverbials in the corpus)
PAPERS BY NATIVE WRITERS						
Corpus 1 (proc.)	0.63	52%	20%	60%	5%	however (37%), thus, but, for example (8% each), consequently, as a result (5% each)
Corpus 2 (anthology)	1.1	60%	60%	20%	17%	but (SI) (17%), thus (17%), however (9%), for example (8%)
PAPERS BY NON-NATIVE WRITERS						
Corpus 3 (essays)	1.3	81%	70%	70%	49%	however (12%), therefore (7%), firstly / first of all (7%), further(more) (4%), to sum up, finally (3% each)
Corpus 4a (journal)	0.85	50%	40%	80%	12%	thus (25%), however (16%), therefore, moreover, as a result, as a consequence / consequently (4% each)
Corpus 4b (proc.)	0.73	43%	60%	40%	25%	however (18%), thus (18%), furthermore (11%)

well as an almost complete avoidance or low occurrence of sequential adverbials in texts by expert native writers (C1 – proceedings) and experienced non-native writers (C2 – journal). Sequential adverbials explicitly marking the location within the whole text (particularly adverbials referring to the initial and final position of respective paragraphs) are used very rarely in texts by expert writers (see the corpora C1 and C2 in Table 3). Specifically, none sequential adverbials were found in the initial paragraphs in the text-organizing function (one paper in corpus C2 included *first* and *second* for listing of arguments within a sentence, though) and just one exception (*finally* in the corpus C2 again) in the final paragraphs.

Papers written by non-native experts resemble those written by expert native users of English, particularly in the lower use of sentence adverbials (when compared with

non-native novice writers' texts) and avoidance of sequential adverbials, preferring other cohesive devices instead.

Obviously the presented findings (and especially the percentages of calculated occurrences) cannot be interpreted as an ultimate picture describing the use of sentence adverbials in English academic texts. The lists of sentence adverbials, their frequencies and mutual ratios within and between individual corpora are likely to change with every addition of new materials into the corpora. The results would certainly differ with inclusion of texts from other scientific disciplines or by expanding the corpora to other academic genres. Nevertheless, it seems that the established results illustrate quite aptly the main tendencies in the application of sentence adverbials in academic papers and essays in the humanities generally, or in linguistics and language teaching methodology specifically. As the differences revealed between native and non-native writers and between novice and expert writers are quite significant and can be logically explained, it may be reasonably assumed that they have more general validity and that they apply even beyond the limits of the disciplines in question.

A global question suggested in this paper remains to be answered: How important is the difference between the usage of otherwise appropriate linguistic devices preferred by English native vs. non-native writers in a discourse situation where English is no longer the domain of its native speakers? It seems that in the present-day world where English is used as the lingua franca in so many different areas (including academic discourse) there is a tendency to create discipline-specific vocabularies and even distributional patterns of lexical and grammatical devices. For this reason, deviations from the native norm, as long as they are within a norm of grammatical and lexical correctness (or appropriacy), are fully acceptable. The newly emerging regular usages thus contribute to forming a style of a fully functional non-native EAP.

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SYNTACTIC DEVIATIONS AND MISTAKES IN LEARNERS' SPOKEN ENGLISH LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT: This paper presents findings on the language produced by English language learners when starting the programme, Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL). About forty students were interviewed at the beginning of the first year of their university studies as a part of the course of language development. These interviews were then transcribed. The analysis of the corpus, consisting of oral and written versions of each interview, is focused mainly on the use of typically spoken structures, learners' frequent grammatical mistakes in relation to the structure of the English sentence, the complexity of their expressions and the potential negative influence of their first language, Czech. The findings are assessed in the context of second and foreign language acquisition, with emphasis on linguistics, specifically some typical features of spoken language grammar.

KEYWORDS: grammar of spoken language; face-to-face communication; dialogue; word order deviations; discourse markers; non-canonical structures; vagueness hedges; non-finite verb forms

1. GRAMMAR OF SPOKEN AND WRITTEN LANGUAGE

Descriptions of the structure of the English sentence in most reference grammar books (except Biber et al. 1999) are usually based on analysis of written texts only. Thus, students working with such sources quite frequently do not realize that the syntax of spoken discourse can differ significantly from that described in their study materials. Even though there does not exist any sharp border between written and spoken discourse (McCarthy and Carter 1994, 8–9), there are certain areas where remarkable differences are noticeable. Although Biber admits that there is no absolute distinction between speech and writing since “the relations are complex and associated with a variety of different situational, functional, and processing considerations” (1988, 24), he suggests that for the purposes of focusing on “how the grammar of conversational English is constructed, it may be useful to see the grammar of conversation as to some extent a different system with different rules from the grammar of written English” (Biber et al. 1999, 1066).

Widdowson distinguishes a strict difference between speech and writing mainly regarding the processes of mediating a message and interpreting meaning (2007, 7). The most significant differences between these two systems are derived through the fundamental principles of online¹ production of language, which could be grouped into three main tendencies: firstly, all the participants of a conversation feel the necessity

1. “Online production” is understood as spontaneous and totally unprepared.

to keep the talk moving forward without longer and unjustified pauses; secondly, there is a limited time for planning because there are certain limitations of human memory² (also the interrelation must be considered with the first principle, where the participants must pay attention to the contributions of the others in a group); finally, the participants permanently attempt to qualify what has been said and try to modify or reformulate it if there is danger of misinterpretation. The combination of these three principles results in a type of discourse based on a dynamic grammar (in contrast to the static character of the grammar of writing), which is typical of construction and interpretation under real-time pressure (Biber et al. 1999). As Ward and Birner note, “in addition to deciding what to say, speakers must decide how to say it” (2008, 119). Moreover, the overall structure is also influenced by the distribution of the communicative roles of the participants (communicator vs. receiver) and their modifications during the process of communication (Schiffrin 2008, 391–405).

The above mentioned specific features of spoken discourse production significantly influence some syntactic features of texts. Primarily, unlike in written language, it is frequently difficult to identify basic units of conversational syntax and the boundaries between them. Due to production under the real-time pressure, quite often utterances are incomplete, there are many inserts in them, and the relations are not always clearly expressed. For the purposes of this study, the independent basic unit is defined by the criteria adopted by Biber et al. (1999, 1069); i.e., such a unit cannot be syntactically integrated with the preceding or following elements. Another supportive criterion for identifying boundaries between the units is the use of prosodic means, especially the type of intonation and pauses used by a participant in the dialogue. Since the corpus for analysis is available both in spoken and written form, this criterion is easily applicable.

On the basis of the interrelated principles of online discourse production, speakers in conversation apply the add-on strategy and produce composite utterances that can be labelled either clausal or non-clausal and that can play different functions depending on where in the discourse structure they occur: i.e., preface, body, or tag (Biber et al. 1999, 1068–73). This strategy mainly influences the word order in all the parts of discourse and makes some non-canonical structures rather common in speech (e.g., topicalization or fronting, co-referential preface, noun phrase tag). The typical structures in prefaces are utterance launchers³; specific constructions in extending the body are multiple use of coordination, juxtaposition and embedding; for tags, speakers often use comment clauses and vagueness hedges.

Due to the frequent lack of expressing clearly the relationship between individual units, some expressions typical of spoken discourse, e.g., the verbs *mean*, *think*, *know* and *guess*, can have ambivalent grammatical status and can be identified as discourse markers in prefaces or tags, comment clauses or main clauses with post-verbal complement. Besides the syntactic criteria for distinguishing between individual

2. Usually seven words.

3. They include discourse markers, i.e., one word expressions (*well*), and overtures, i.e., longer expressions (*I'll tell you what*).

categories applied by Biber et al. (1999, 1076), intonation is used to identify the particular categories in the following analysis.

2. ANALYSIS OF THE STUDENTS' PERFORMANCES

The language corpus includes thirty-six interviews of students, studying in the TEFL Programme, at the beginning of their first year at university. The interviews were recorded in October 2010 and transcribed in November 2010. The average level of their English language communicative competence was B2 according to the Common European Framework of Reference, the officially-declared level of secondary school graduates. The interview consisted of three parts: (a) introducing themselves⁴ – structured and quite short; (b) discussing their English language learning experience – structured, the longest and most important part; (c) picture description – semi-structured and of medium length. The overall size of the corpus is 13,984 words in 858 sentences (i.e., basic conversational units) and 2,504 clauses. There are 5.58 words per clause, which is very similar to the findings of the length of a conversational unit in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (LGSWE) – 5.37 words per clause – and which also corresponds to the capacity of working memory during speech processing.

Due to the extent of the study, the analysis of the students' performances necessitated restriction to a limited number of syntactic features, where the criteria of selection were, (a) relevance of particular features to the grammar of spoken language, (b) potential negative transfer from the mother tongue. Another question is to what extent the use of deviant and incorrect structures were influenced by the failure to observe four conversational maxims⁵ (Thomas 1995, 64). Thus, the final set of structures included in the analysis are word order deviations (both incorrect and systemic caused by the nature of conversation), distribution of verbs typical of spoken discourse (functioning as discourse markers, main clauses or comment clauses), structures with non-finite verb complementation and the use of vagueness hedges. Intentionally, these structures were selected from all three conversational discourse composites.

2.1 WORD ORDER

Word order in any language is influenced by many factors, sometimes rather contradictory. In English the following principles are mostly involved: grammatical, functional sentence perspective or end-focus, end-weight, rhythmical, and emphasis, even though various authors may use different terms for similar phenomena (Quirk et al. 1985, 1355–419; Huddleston and Pullum 2002, 1363–447; Biber et al. 1999, 896–964; Mathesius 1975, 153–60). The strength and power of individual principles depend, first of all, on the typology of a language and on the type of discourse, where the primary distinction is the mode (i.e., written or spoken). As the research of texts of both types

4. Since the interviews took place during their first week of school, it was a necessary part.

5. Maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner

reveals, there are quite significant differences between element ordering in speech and writing (Firbas 2006).

The typological differences between English and Czech are reflected also in the word order. While in English the grammatical principle is the most powerful (due to the analytical character of the system), in Czech the functional sentence perspective has the biggest influence since the particular grammatical functions of individual words are signalled by inflections and thus are not dependent on position in a sentence and can be moved according to the degree of their communicative dynamism. Discussing the features of spoken discourse, however, even in English many divergences from the SVOMPT order are noticeable, and Biber et al. (1999) consider them to be typical features of the grammar of conversation.

The analysis of the given corpus yields rather surprising findings, for only in seven sentences out of 858 did students use the structures typically considered spoken-like: preposing, postposing, left-dislocation, right-dislocation, preface, noun phrase tag, inversion, fronting, topicalization. Even though the summary of occurrences published in LGSWE shows that quite a frequent device used to modify the canonical word order in a sentence is left and right dislocation, the students did not use this structure at all. The only types of non-canonical order found in the corpus were fronting, in example (1), and subject-verb inversion after the initial adverbial, in example (2).

- (1) I listen to music and I try to understand, ehm, the lyrics and then I watch TV series without subtitles so I, ehm, try to understand and then films, but films I watch with subtitles. [14.KB.14]
- (2) And in TV was only six seasons. [5.DP.11]

There might be a two-part reason for the deficiency in the above structures. Since non-canonical sentences do not follow the typical word-order pattern, they may be more difficult for non-native speakers. Further, during language production under real time pressure, when students concentrate more on content, they tend to use more familiar structures. This factor may be supported by the fact that in speech they can rhematize a certain chosen element very easily by intonation and they do not have to use special rhematizing structures.

Much more frequent deviations from the grammatical order were probably influenced by Czech word order, in example (3), or were just mistakes – most of them in indirect questions, in sentence (4).

- (3) For me is better electro music. [1.AD.3]
- (4) It was the only way how could I communicate with other students. [8.JK.20]

The findings show that Czech students of English at this level (B2) have acquired the grammatical principle of word order quite successfully and the negative transfer from their first language is rather rare. On the other hand, it seems that the level of language competence they have achieved is not high enough for distinguishing between ordering

units in written and spoken discourse, and thus they use typical conversation non-canonical structures only exceptionally.

2.2 VERBS OF SPOKEN DISCOURSE

The distribution of verbs typically used in conversation is summarized in Table 1, which shows a very high preference for *I think* in general. It should be noted that quite frequently this expression is used as the main clause introducing an object nominal clause, in sentences (5) and (6). Kaltenböck suggests that the criteria distinguishing between the function of main clause or parenthetical supplement of initial *I think* include the presence / absence of *that* and special prosody (2009, 50). The relatively high frequency of main clauses was definitely influenced by the character of the core part of the interview – a discussion on the English language learning experience.

(5) I think it is probably pronunciation of English. [1.AD.8]

(6) I think that it is important at these . . . at this time. [11.JS.9]

The following criteria were used to distinguish between the function of discourse marker and comment clause: in both cases the primary role is to signal an interactive relationship between the participants of the conversation, however, a discourse marker also has the role of signalling a transition in the progress of the conversation, which means that it stands at the beginning of a turn or utterance (Carter and McCarthy 1995, 149). The sentences (7)–(10) thus represent typical uses of verbal discourse markers.

(7) No, I mean, all of them. [11.JS.14]

(8) I think, it's be- . . . because of my sister, older sister. [7.IR.9]

(9) I guess, it is some kind of race. [12.JŠ.24]

(10) Just, you know, no matter what age. [36.ZP.46]

Attention is paid mostly to those discourse markers that include a verb, because here the most significant discrepancies between the LGSWE findings and the distribution of the structures in the examined corpus appear; other – mostly one-word – discourse launchers seem to be used by students in a similar way as by native speakers (*well* – forty-eight occurrences, *OK* – twenty-one occurrences, *of course* – twelve occurrences).

On the other hand, sentences (11) and (12) illustrate the use of comment clauses in the interviews.

(11) Five or six years ago, I think. [5.DP.16]

(12) So it really improved my English, I think. [8.JK.22]

In accordance with use by English native speakers, the most frequent discourse marker is *well*, equally in BrE and AmE. However, the most favoured expressions are *you know* (almost three-times more frequent in AmE), *I mean* (roughly equal use in BrE and AmE), *you see* (six-times more frequent in BrE), and *I guess* as a typical AmE expression (as stated in LGSWE – based on the corpus findings). So, the most surprising result here is

TABLE 1: VERBS TYPICAL OF SPOKEN DISCOURSE

VERB	DISCOURSE MARKER		COMMENT CLAUSE		MAIN CLAUSE		TOTAL	
I think	22	52%	21	100%	76	100%	119	71%
I mean	3	7%	0	0%	0	0%	3	4%
I guess	4	10%	0	0%	0	0%	4	6%
you know	13	31%	0	0%	0	0%	13	19%

the extremely low or zero frequency of all the typical discourse markers⁶ used by native speakers. One of the possible explanations could be that students are not very familiar with these typically spoken-like structures, and that they are not used to paying much attention to building up a contact during conversation, since in Czech they are not used.

2.3 NON-FINITE COMPLEMENTATION OF VERBS

Another aspect in focus was the use of verbs typically followed by non-finite verb complementation. As summarized in Table 2, the distribution of the most frequently used verbs is probably also affected by the topic of the interview, and that is why the verb *like* shows such a considerable prevalence. On the other hand, if the results of the analysis are compared to the LGSWE findings, interesting disproportions are identified. The most common verbs (with frequency more than one hundred occurrences per million words) controlling infinitive clauses in conversation are *want* (almost 1,000 occurrences), *try*, *like* (about 150 occurrences) and *seem*; the most common verbs controlling -ing clauses are *keep*, *start*, *stop*, *go*, *see* (*keep* – again almost 1,000 occurrences) – LGSWE.

TABLE 2: VERBS WITH NON-FINITE COMPLEMENTATION⁷

VERB	NON-FINITE VERB PHRASE	NOUN PHRASE / INTRANSITIVE	OVERALL USE
like	85	80	159
start	34	15	49
want	39	2	43
try	21	6	27
enjoy	5	16	21

Since the verb *like* is so prominent in the corpus, the distribution of various types of complementation is commented on separately in Table 3 (including not only verb forms, but also the use of *like* as any other word class or discourse word). What this more detailed analysis shows is that students are not much sensitive to subtle differences in meaning when *like* is used either with an infinitive or gerund. In 2% of the cases,

6. The results of the distribution of *you know* are distorted because all thirteen occurrences came from a single student.
7. Incorrect structures with the verb *like* are also included.

they even used incorrect structures mostly caused by the confusion of the two forms, illustrated in sentences (13) and (14).

(13) I like communicate with people from other countries. [12.JŠ.19]

(14) I like to cycling. [12.JŠ.29]

As suggested by Carter and McCarthy, a gerundial non-finite complementation of *like* implies enjoyment and emphasizes the action itself, while infinitival non-finite complementation rather expresses preference and emphasizes the result of the action (2006, 515). The infinitival structures used by the students in the interviews, however, overwhelmingly expressed enjoyment.

TABLE 3: DISTRIBUTION OF THE WORD *LIKE*

	OCCURRENCE	%
verb: I like + NP	80	32%
verb: I like + to infinitive	22	9%
verb: I would like + to infinitive	23	9%
verb: I like + -ing	34	14%
verb: I like + wrong verb form	6	2%
preposition: is like, looks like	39	16%
vagueness hedge: (some)thing like that / this	18	7%
discourse filler: (24 occurrences in 1 interview)	27	11%

2.4 VAGUENESS STRATEGIES

The last feature studied in this analysis is the use of vagueness hedges because it is one of the intentional strategies in communication, it is reflected in the distribution of certain structures that help to avoid precision of expression, and it is quite often conventional (Urbanová 2003, 74–82). It should be noted that for the purpose of this study only specific vagueness hedges are discussed, and some other means like the use of modal adverbs are left aside, mainly because their function can be multiple, not only expressing vagueness. The results summarized in Table 4 demonstrate that the range of hedges used by students is rather limited, with the prevailing structure *something like this / that*, in sentences (15) and (16).

(15) It's maybe New York or London or something like this. [15.KČ.16]

(16) It could be students because I see bags and things like that. [1.AD.10]

It seems that the use of the typical English hedges *sort of* and *kind of*, as in sentence (17), requires a higher level of proficiency and students are most often not able to use it spontaneously.

(17) It's uhh kind of interesting for them I think . . . [29.SJ.24]

TABLE 4: VAGUENESS HEDGES

PHRASE	OCCURRENCE	%
something like that / this	18	67%
kind of	7	26%
sort of	2	7%

As suggested by the two examples, the overall results in such a corpus might be distorted by salient divergences in idiolects. Examples (18a)–(18c) show the use of the discourse marker *you know*.

- (18) a. Ehh My starts were very crazy. You know, I wasn’t really good at it. [36.ZP.10]
- b. Maybe you know visit a new places eh Niagara Falls and so on. [36.ZP.12]
- c. And eh eh you know they were Russians. [36.ZP.27]

The examples (19a) and (19b) demonstrate the use of the discourse filler *like*. Only one student used the discourse marker *you know*, and almost 90% of *like* used as a discourse filler occurred in one interview.

- (19) a. And then I came to high school and like after my hm second year at high school, I went to U.S. for one year and I studied at high school, like at their high school and I lived there with like my host family. [31.TŠ.8]
- b. Well, a little bit, I like I kind of like . . . I wouldn’t call it teaching experiences, but like last year, hm my last year at high school I taught hm like little kids English. I just helped them like with their knowledge and stuff. [31.TŠ.11]

The use of vagueness hedges is also a feature of conversation grammar that has for the most part not been acquired by the interviewed students. Moreover, if they use these hedges, they do not employ the whole variety but a single form repeatedly.

3. CONCLUSION

To conclude, not all structures commonly used in an English native speaker’s conversation (according to LGSWE) can be found in the English learner’s conversation. As to the sentences with deviated word order, it has been proven that students very rarely emphasize the focus of an utterance by devices like topicalization or left or right dislocation, and thus their performance lacks one of the very characteristic features of native-like conversation. On the other hand, more frequently they alter the word order incorrectly, mostly under the influence of Czech sentence structure. Quite a high frequency of discourse markers corresponds to the character of the conversation; however, the distribution of individual types of markers again is not native-like. Especially the use of verb discourse markers shows a remarkable preference for structures with the first person pronoun and a neglect of structures with the second person pronouns, which are in fact much more common in both BrE and AmE. Thus, the analyzed discourse is much less interactive. It seems that special non-canonical word order structures and a wide range of common discourse markers are not constituents of

students' active English language use, and that is why special attention should be paid to these structures in courses of language development and linguistics.

The ratio of finite vs. non-finite verb forms is not exceptional: 85% vs. 15%. As expected, the majority of non-finite verb phrases occur post-predicatively, but the distribution of verbs controlling dependent infinitive and gerund clauses is low. The extremely low occurrence of the verbs *seem* and *see* is striking because the topics discussed in the interviews encouraged the expression of personal opinions and attitudes, which could be supported by the use of these verbs.

The last feature focused on was the strategy of expressing vagueness conventionally with the effect of verbalizing a certain degree of detachment or negative politeness. Although the range of such expressions is very limited and a majority of the students did not use the most common expressions, quite a lot of them applied the strategy of expressing vagueness as a signal of detachment.

All the students interviewed were just beginning their university studies, and that is why the results of this analysis should suggest some alterations and modifications of language and linguistics courses in order to help students to achieve a higher level of accuracy and proficiency in English. Among the parameters of successful language learning, two aspects should be noted: making an appropriate selection from a wide range of linguistic means (by teachers and students) and constructing appropriate relations between the participants of communication (McCarthy and Carter 1994, 20).

For acquiring these skills, students need to know the structures and their functions (based on this analysis: non-canonical word-order structures, specific discourse markers and vagueness hedges), they need to be aware of the differences between the grammatical systems of writing and speech in order not to apply the written grammar principles while speaking. At the same time, it is important to always bear in mind Housen's argument that students "come to the acquisition of the grammar of their second language predisposed by the basic grammatical distinctions of their mother tongue so that they will look in the input language for similar distinctions" (2002, 107). Moreover, it is believed that for the proper second / foreign language acquisition it is highly important to explain the distribution of grammatical features across registers (Meunier 2002, 127). Thus, in the courses of the TEFL study programme, the following approaches are desirable – those based on comparisons of the grammar of writing with the grammar of speech, and those based on comparisons of the grammar of the second language with the grammar of the first language.

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LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER AND THE BEGINNINGS OF ESPIONAGE FICTION

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ABSTRACT: James Fenimore Cooper's *The Spy: A Tale of the Neutral Ground*, is the first recognized espionage novel. The author had no similar works to rely on and instead took examples from other genres, mainly the historical romances of Sir Walter Scott. The novel is set during the American Revolution and the spy is Harvey Birch, an ordinary man following dangerous paths against the background of revolutionary events in New York State. Since the novel takes place during the war, Cooper deals with espionage in strictly military terms. The present article examines the historical background of *The Spy* and the role Cooper's novel played in the development of the espionage genre.

KEYWORDS: historical novel; espionage; James Fenimore Cooper; American Revolution; neutral ground; spy

James Bond and James Fenimore Cooper share more in common than just a first name. It would be exaggerating to say that Cooper's work led directly to the creation of the most famous secret agent, but as the author of the first ever espionage novel, Cooper did lay the foundations for the creation of espionage fiction, including Ian Fleming's Bond stories.

Cooper's second novel, *The Spy: A Tale of the Neutral Ground* (1821) became an immediate success. During the 1820s and 1830s, when everything concerning the Revolution and George Washington was regarded as sacred, the American public appreciated the attempt of the innovative writer. In the novel, Cooper introduced new settings and new types of characters to American readers. His pioneering qualities are demonstrated in the fact that within a decade following the publication of *The Spy*, Cooper published novels that, in American literature, established the subtypes of historical romance, frontier novel and sea novel respectively.

The Spy is interesting because no genre yet focused on espionage when Cooper wrote it. When writing, he relied on conventions of other genres – mainly domestic romance and historical adventure. According to McTiernan, domestic romance offered an opportunity to depict social manners, and the historical adventure provided machinery to celebrate nationalism.¹ *The Spy* was a literary gamble. Before Cooper, writers, the military and people in general, simply did not admit that spies existed or that they were beneficial in any way to the aims of their nations. In their minds, spies and their activities were dangerous, morally stained and prone to scandal or illegality. Spying

1. Dave McTiernan, "The Novel as 'Neutral Ground': Genre and Ideology in Cooper's *The Spy*," *Studies in American Fiction* 25, no. 1 (1997): 5.

was regarded as something despicable, and no spy could be considered a hero. Nor was it even considered desirable that the chief villain of a story should be a spy. A spy was the nineteenth-century equivalent of a sexually perverted hero.²

Cooper's major influence was Sir Walter Scott's Waverley novels, published from 1814 on. Instead of the Jacobite rebellion that inspired Scott, Cooper focuses on the American Revolution; the setting, however, is similar. Scott's novels are situated in the border region between England and Scotland, Cooper places his characters in Westchester County, New York. As the subtitle of the novel suggests, Westchester is a "neutral ground." The term is Cooper's, adapted from Scott, and, in Ringe's words, "is a moral wasteland where conflicting principles are at war and the only law is might."³

In the novel, the British are referred to as "the party below" and the Americans as "the party above."⁴ The whole territory is predominantly Loyalist, and, besides the armies of the opposing sides, only groups of irregular troops operate in the area. These groups are licensed by both sides to prey on enemy civilian supplies. The "Cow-boys" (because they foraged for American beef) are British partisans, and the "Skinners" (because they would steal the skin off anybody and anything) sympathize with the Patriots, but both are nothing but organized bandits. In the War of Independence, these irregular units consisted largely of floaters and freebooters who, first and foremost, served their own material interests. They were the scourge of the countryside, hated by everyone for foraging on the stores of friendly civilians as on those of their opponents.

The neutral ground of Westchester, between New York City and the American military headquarters on the Hudson River, was also a setting for one of the earliest documented cases of espionage in American history. On an autumn morning in 1780, Major John André, adjutant general of the royal forces in New York, was stopped by three Skinners when approaching a bridge over a small brook. André, wearing civilian garments and travelling as an American agent, supposed that he was already behind British lines. He informed the men that he was a British officer and was not to be detained. The three Skinners saw him as a plausible victim and an opportunity for booty, especially after seeing his officer's watch. They ordered him to dismount. Seeing that the men were neither British nor Loyalist, André panicked and came up with the story that he was a Patriot travelling under an American general's pass. The men asked him for his money. When he claimed to have none they searched him, and in his boots they found the papers that brought him his damnation.

For some time prior to his journey, Major André had been corresponding (in code, with special inks) with an American general about the latter's offer to betray America for cash and a suitable British commission. The general's name was Benedict Arnold, and he was a commander of the vital stronghold of West Point overlooking the Hudson

2. Donald McCormick and Katy Fletcher, *Spy Fiction: A Connoisseur's Guide* (New York: Facts on File, 1990), 3.

3. Donald A. Ringe, *James Fenimore Cooper* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1988), 12.

4. James Fenimore Cooper, *The Spy: A Tale of the Neutral Ground* (1821; New York: Penguin, 1997), 296. Hereafter cited in text.

River. He could offer Britain his military talents as well as his crucial stronghold. The papers concealed in André's boots described American positions on the Hudson. The three Skinners resisted André's offer of a bribe for bringing him to the British lines and instead handed him over to the Patriots. Within two weeks, André was convicted of espionage and hanged. Benedict Arnold escaped and became one of the best known traitors in American history.⁵ André's case is frequently mentioned in the novel, and it may have inspired Cooper in writing *The Spy*.

As a setting for a novel, Westchester County, with its rich Revolutionary history, exuded romance. Cooper's hero is Harvey Birch, a spy for George Washington. He is a peddler, and since his trade is an itinerant one, it is an appropriate cover for continual movement across the Neutral Ground. Although only hinted at, among the subjects of his espionage are British troop movements, shipping in the Long Island Sound or the civilian morale in the area. As a result of circumstances, Birch is suspected by his fellow Patriots to be a spy for the British. Because of his involvement in the personal affairs of his friends, he frequently puts his true identity at risk. He is hunted by Americans as well as by the British, however, it is the Skinners that pose the greatest threat: not only do they rob him of all his savings, they also capture him as a British spy and hand him over to the Continentals. Only George Washington (who appears in the novel several times in a disguise) and his staff trust him completely. At the end of the novel, even Washington himself misreads his agent. He offers him money for information vital to American interests. Birch idealistically refuses the gold, claiming that his activities were not motivated by financial reward but by his dedication to the cause of independence. His espionage activities are so delicate that his role may never be revealed and he "must descend into the grave with the reputation of a foe to his native land" and "remember that the veil which conceals his true character cannot be raised in years – perhaps never" (398). Thus, he spends the rest of his life under the stigma of suspicion of being a British spy.

Harvey Birch possesses traits of which a twentieth-century spy would not have been ashamed. He takes advantage of his excellent knowledge of the terrain of the neutral ground and often appears out of the blue, usually to save one of the minor characters. He uses disguise and his cunning wits to trick his opponents who, ironically, are his fellow Patriots. After his capture by the Skinners, he escapes the gallows disguised as an inebriated washerwoman. Even Captain Lawton, a trooper from Virginia, is deceived by Birch's female appearance. Birch uses another disguise when he attempts to save his friend, Captain Wharton, of the British army, who is wrongfully suspected of being a British spy and an associate of Birch. Birch appears in the middle of the Continental garrison disguised as an overzealous preacher and successfully leads Captain Wharton to safety.

The general attitude of the Continental regulars toward Birch is expressed by Captain Lawton's commands during one of the frequent pursuits to "take him dead or alive!"

5. Wayne Franklin, introduction to *The Spy: A Tale of the Neutral Ground*, by James Fenimore Cooper (New York: Penguin, 1997), viii-x.

(114). Birch feels that it is his duty to hide his identity even from the Continental regulars and even though George Washington had issued him a pass for emergencies; it is his fate to be “hunted like a beast in the forest” (115). The theme of pursuit and escape is exploited frequently in the novel.

The social and cultural prohibitions against espionage are discussed repeatedly in *The Spy*. Cooper deals with espionage in strictly military terms and thus camouflages the moral dilemmas of spying. Despite the prejudices against spies, Harvey Birch receives sympathetic handling. To counterbalance the early nineteenth-century perception of spies as inglorious creatures, Cooper tries to portray Birch as an icon of American patriotism. He has morally unwavering characters such as Captain Lawton, Birch’s main adversary, compare the spy favorably to soldiers, saying “he may be a spy . . . but he has a heart above enmity, and a soul that would honor a gallant soldier” (233). In the novel, spies are compared to soldiers, which is a new concept. According to Brett Woods, when a soldier breaks moral laws by killing he is excused by his country, and Cooper tries to place Birch into the same category.⁶

However, the disgrace attached to spies was real, and Cooper was well aware of this fact. Despite the efforts to present Harvey Birch as a positive character, other characters in the novel regularly speak against Cooper’s purification of espionage. Traditional prejudice is expressed by an American judge presiding over Captain Wharton’s espionage trial: “A soldier . . . should never meet his enemy but openly, and with arms in his hands. I have served two kings of England, as I now serve my native land; but never did I approach a foe, unless under the light of the sun, and with honest notice that an enemy was nigh” (302). Cooper repeatedly offers similar accusations from other characters, and the period’s aversion to spies is further articulated in Birch’s lamentation over the reality of being a spy toward the end of the novel: “Yes, such are their laws; the man who fights and kills, and plunders, is honored; but he who serves his country as a spy, no matter how faithfully, no matter how honestly, lives to be reviled, or dies like the vilest criminal” (331).

Almost immediately after the publication of the novel, the character of Harvey Birch became the subject of controversy, with readers puzzling over his real identity. Cooper, in his 1849 introduction to the novel, noticed that since the original publication of *The Spy*, several accounts of people who claimed to be real life models for Harvey Birch had appeared. When taking into consideration the popularity of the novel, this fact should not be surprising. Probably the best-known of these claimants was one Enoch Crosby, a resident of Hudson Valley. In 1829, New Yorker H. L. Barnum (no relation to the famous showman P.T. Barnum) published a biography of Enoch Crosby, named *The Spy Unmasked; or, Memoirs of Enoch Crosby, alias Harvey Birch, the Hero of The Spy, A Tale of the Neutral Ground*. After the publication, Crosby became a kind of a local celebrity. If Cooper knew the identity of the agent, he carefully guarded his anonymity. Until his death, Cooper strictly refused to admit that the story of Harvey Birch was based

6. Brett F. Woods, *Neutral Ground: A Political History of Espionage Fiction* (New York: Algora, 2008), 19.

upon the life of Crosby. Only in the twentieth century, through thorough scholarly investigation, was it proved that Crosby was indeed an impostor.⁷

The reactions among twentieth-century critics were mixed. Some of the critics dismissed Cooper's novel as unreadable and mainly concerned with conflicting loyalties during the War of Independence. Another commended it as "the real tap-root of the modern story of espionage."⁸ Nevertheless, Cooper's contribution to the development of the espionage genre is undeniable. *The Spy* is an early example of the way in which a spy in war could be used as a fictional hero. And, since Harvey Birch acts as a double-agent for George Washington, the novel is also the earliest example of the use of a double-agent in spy fiction.

The links between literature and espionage were considerable, especially in the War of Independence. A surprising fact is that, despite its success, *The Spy* did not herald a surge of spy fiction from other American authors. There were very few American writers of spy fiction before the 1940s, because it was still believed that the spy did not possess the same qualities and attributes of a true hero. Another reason was that the political context of the spy novel held no interest in a nation that had embraced its geographical isolation since the turn of the century. The international intrigue dominating the colonial empires of European powers did not inspire the USA to follow suit.⁹

As far as the nineteenth-century followers of James Fenimore Cooper and espionage genre are concerned, there are two authors that touched some of the themes later exploited in spy novels. Edgar Allan Poe wrote two stories which could loosely be defined as spy stories. "The Gold Bug" (1843), which was inspired by Poe's interest in cryptography, may have encouraged future practitioners of spy fiction, and "The Purloined Letter" (1845), which contained many elements of classic espionage fiction such as a search for a document containing government secrets and the intervention of an intelligence expert. Henry James might also be considered an author who ventured into espionage fiction. His late novel *Princess Casamassima* (1885) is not what would now be regarded as a classic spy story but is rather a narrative concerned with international intrigue, secret societies and political assassination.

Although some of the most acclaimed nineteenth-century American writers chose the subject of the spy for some of their stories, the espionage novel did not again become popular until the world wars changed social attitudes towards the spy and made him an acceptable hero for an adventure novel.

7. See Warren S. Walker, "The Prototype of Harvey Birch," *New York History* 27, no. 3 (1956): 399.

8. McCormick and Fletcher, *Spy Fiction*, 266.

9. See McCormick and Fletcher, *Spy Fiction*, 266.

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THE POWER OF THEORY: DAVID MAMET'S *OLEANNA*

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ABSTRACT: This paper attempts to explore how the inability to understand the meaning and purpose of theoretical concepts can lead to misunderstanding and erupt in an uncontrollable display of power. Both characters in David Mamet's theater play *Oleanna*, though seemingly stuck in their predefined linguistic, social and intellectual structures, crawl out of their shells to affect each other to a degree that questions the validity and meaning of these structures. Their conflict is one in which theories and concepts constantly rise and fall, mirroring the victories and failures of both characters and making theory a powerful, if often detrimental, tool in identifying human behavior.

KEYWORDS: American literature; personal politics; power; communication; social structures; David Mamet; *Oleanna*

David Mamet's 1992 play *Oleanna* is a two-character drama revolving around issues of power, language and the devastating consequences of a strict application of theory to deeply personal experience. The play's title – an allusion to Ole Bull's nineteenth-century utopian community established in New Norway, Pennsylvania – reflects the impossibility to theoretically comprehend the complexity of human relations, in particular with regards to any truly comprehensive understanding of inherent power struggles. Just as Ole Bull's community fell apart, as a fool's paradise inevitably would when put in practice, so does the interaction between John and Carol in *Oleanna* as they find themselves unable to deal with their uneven relationship.

In this paper, I will attempt to show how both John's and Carol's personal experience, family histories, and socially constructed realities generate sets of theoretical notions that both characters stick to with fervor, thus negating the other person's understanding of reality. John and Carol come from different social, linguistic and intellectual backgrounds, and even though they both venture to leave these backgrounds behind and communicate with each other, their interaction is doomed to fail because the structures they abandoned at the start had been defective in the first place. In order to examine the complexity of John and Carol's relationship, I will explore the three previously mentioned personality backgrounds in more detail.

John's social position is that of a nearly stereotypical university professor – he has written and published a book that he assigns to his students, he is about to be granted tenure, and he is buying a house with the aims to have not only more space and to live in a nicer neighborhood, but also to be closer to a private school where he intends to enroll his son. Carol, on the other hand, is a student whose somewhat fragmented and indiscriminate utterances indicate that she comes from disadvantaged conditions. She repeatedly states that she has “problems,” comes from “a different social” and “a

different economic"¹ background, and that she "worked to get to this school" (OLN, 45) because, like many other students, in order to "gain admittance" (OLN, 45) she was among those who had to "[overcome] prejudices. Economic, sexual, you cannot begin to imagine" as well as "[endure] humiliations I pray that you and those you love never will encounter" (OLN, 45).

The linguistic gap between John and Carol is even wider than the social one. As a university professor, John frequently uses words like "predilection," "heterodoxy," "transpire," or "indictment" most of which are totally lost on Carol. When John uses the term "paradigm," Carol urges him to explain what it means and, upon learning that it means the same as "model," implores: "Then why can't you use that word?" (OLN, 30). The reason why John does not use words that Carol would understand straightaway seems to be obvious: to keep an upper hand intellectually. He may not be doing this consciously, but rather instinctively; however, his linguistic superiority is what lies at the heart of their conflict. Carol repeatedly asserts that she wants to be able to fathom his book, even though she does not understand "[a]ny of it. What you're trying to say" (OLN, 9).

Carol's initial linguistic inferiority is reflected also in the intellectual differences between John and herself. To start with, their relationship is modeled on the teacher-student pattern, a convention which John believes to be "[a]rtificial" (OLN, 16). He makes several references to the exploitative nature of "the notion of 'I know and you do not'" (OLN, 16). Carol, on the other hand, is driven by a strong impulse to pass, to get a good grade, to prove her worth, as if she had been denied any chance to assert herself before. John's book, which causes so much confusion for Carol, refers to education as "hazing" (OLN, 20), and he himself elaborates on this idea further, dubbing it "ritualized annoyance" (OLN, 20).

The short exchange between John and Carol in which they discuss the principles and theories of university education is a prototype of how their social, linguistic and intellectual differences create the central conflict in *Oleanna*. It is a model for the way theories, notions and paradigms are misconstrued and emptied of their conceptual meaning by both John, who presents these theories to his students, and Carol, who senses a whole series of paradoxes, even contradictions in John's conjectures. This is already foreshadowed in the opening scene in which John cannot satisfactorily explain to Carol what a "term of art" is (OLN, 4).

While the first act mostly concerns John's ramblings about education, or as he refers to it, the "virtual warehousing of the young" (OLN, 9), in the second and third acts the roles seem to be reversed. The more Carol uses the quasi-legal jargon of her group, the less real communication takes place, and it is John who no longer understands. In other words, theoretical concepts have taken over basic patterns of human communication, or, as Brenda Murphy posits, "[the] tragedy results from the fundamental failure of John

1. David Mamet, *Oleanna*, in *Plays 4: The Cryptogram, Oleanna, The Old Neighborhood* (London: Methuen, 2002), 7. Hereafter cited in text as OLN.

and Carol to meet as human beings at any point in the three conversations that make up the three acts of the play.”²

Besides the characters’ inability to get through to each other, the tragedy that ensues is also related to their apparently subconscious desire for power. The powerless Carol comes to understand (and / or is persuaded by an activist group) that the power John appears to have is based on words, concepts and theory. And John himself offers an intriguing insight into how power is exercised in academia:

We shove this book at you, we say read it. Now, you say you’ve read it? I think that you’re *lying*. I’ll *grill* you, and when I find you’ve lied, you’ll be disgraced, and your life will be ruined. It’s a sick game. Why do we do it? Does it educate? In no sense. Well, then, what is higher education? It is something other-than-useful. (OLN, 20)

The power is there, no doubt, and it is exercised regularly and unflinchingly. However, according to John, it has no substance, no point; it is morbid and useless. It corresponds with what modern sociology would refer to as a social construction of reality: “Much of the reality we live in today is in fact ‘socially constructed’ and constructed out of random scraps of myth, propaganda, wishful thinking, prejudice, and fear.”³ Indeed, wishful thinking, prejudice and fear all seem to contribute equally to the conflict in *Oleanna*. But David Mamet’s characters go beyond just fighting for their respective ostensible causes. Their motivation to be engaged in power struggles is deeply ingrained in their psychological and social constitution, and as such interacts with outer structures like community, class, personal pursuits and so on. John’s tenured position, for example, has no significance until compared with colleagues who are not on tenure track, other professions, the members of the tenure committee or students like Carol. Only in interaction with other elements of the social and professional structure does John’s position bear any remarkable attributes of power.

As Joe Kelleher puts it, “power – or powerlessness – is nothing in itself and only ever meaningful in terms of the distribution of power across social relations, among different groups or classes or interests that make up, however momentarily, a social body.”⁴ For Carol, her social body is her “group,” and it is through this group that she wields her ultimate power over John. She comes to recognize power roles when she sees them and appears to be aware of her own strength, regardless of the fact that most of it may be fabricated.

However, Carol is hiding some kind of secret from her past, possibly from her childhood, and possibly one that has to do with abuse. This is implicit in the text of the play itself, and has been discussed by several critics, most prominently by Thomas Goggans, who suggests that Carol’s political group substitutes her experience with John for her past experience of sexual abuse and / or incest.⁵ According to this reading, Carol

2. Brenda Murphy, “*Oleanna*: Language and Power,” in *The Cambridge Companion to David Mamet*, ed. Christopher Bigsby (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 129.

3. Barry Glassner, “Where Meanings Get Constructed,” *Contemporary Sociology* 29, no. 4 (2000): 591.

4. Joe Kelleher, *Theatre and Politics* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2009), 3.

5. See Thomas H. Goggans, “Laying Blame: Gender and Subtext in David Mamet’s *Oleanna*,” *Modern Drama* 40, no. 4 (1997), 436.

is exposed to a strikingly similar set of expressions of power, condescending language, and ultimately also physical mistreatment. She is thus more vulnerable and susceptible to fully internalizing the conceptual strategy presented to her by the activist group of which she becomes part.

What is problematic in her action – and also in the action taken by her group – is that it insists on naming, criticizing and repairing injustices, though at the same time the motivation of both Carol and her group remains unrevealed. Carol rushes to admonish John for referring to the tenure committee as “Good Men and True” (*OLN*, 33) because it is, according to Carol, “a demeaning remark” which is not only “sexist” but also of essential importance for her case, because, as she claims, “to overlook it is to countenance continuation of that method of thought” (*OLN*, 34). But, the audience never learns what drives either Carol or the group to fight for political correctness in the first place. In the entire play, background stories are only hinted at and the concern of the parties involved is solely implied. This, contends Glassner, echoes sociological theories dealing with activism wherein “[g]roups and individuals overtly promote their preferred meanings, but only rarely do they publicize their stake in those meanings.”⁶

In *Oleanna* both characters engage in action that springs from the dialectical encounter of their personal politics and their psychological setup, or, in the words of Tony Kushner:

a character's politics have to live in the same sort of relationship to the character's psyche that people's politics live in relationship to their own psyches. People are never consistent. People will always do surprising things, both good and bad, and the way that people surprise themselves and their audience are the most interesting moments of human behavior. The space between what we'd like to be and what we actually are is where you find out the most interesting things.⁷

But, while a person's political engagement seems to reflect deep psychological and perhaps even subconscious needs, it often remains the product of a reality that appears natural and regular, although it is to a great degree constructed – socially, historically, and politically. The inconsistency in people mentioned by Kushner reflects a tendency to resort to illusory conditions, social spaces generated by an activist agenda that – though initially justified – becomes pure ideology. Terry Eagleton argues that “[a]s long as we remain in an imaginary realm of being we misrecognize our own identities, seeing them as fixed and rounded, and misrecognize reality as something immutable.”⁸ For Eagleton, this is a state which, not just in art, but more broadly also in society, makes people fall under the spell of “ideology, conforming to social reality as ‘natural’ rather than critically questioning how it, and ourselves, came to be constructed, and so could possibly be transformed.”⁹

Issues of political correctness, feminism and academic freedom, and their applicability and feasibility as elements of human interaction thus become a battleground for the

6. Glassner, “Where Meanings Get Constructed,” 592.

7. Andrea Bernstein, “Tony Kushner,” *Mother Jones Magazine* 20, no. 4 (1995): 59.

8. Terry Eagleton, *Literary Theory: An Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 162.

9. Eagleton, *Literary Theory*, 162.

characters, an arena in which they project a reflection of the audience's own dialectics. For Carol, political correctness comes to be a tool to achieve the theoretical goals set by her group. On the other hand, John's subversive ideas about education, social relationships and individual motivation to get an education are part of his intellectual deconstruction of the very institution by which he is employed. When he questions the foundations of modern-day education, Carol is quick to oppose:

No. No. There are *people* out there. People who came *here*. To know something they didn't *know*. Who *came* here. To be *helped*. To be *helped*. So someone would *help* them. To *do* something. To *know* something. To get, what do they say? "To get on in the world." How can I do that if I don't, if I fail? But I don't *understand*. I don't *understand*. I don't understand what anything means . . . and I walk around. From morning 'til night: with this one thought in my head. I'm *stupid*. (OLN, 10)

But while Carol initially displays a genuine interest in learning, John's repeated refutation of academic rules and Carol's group's insubordinate agenda transform her concern and curiosity into an eagerness to counterattack. But, this is no longer in the name of feminism as the theory which, as Terry Eagleton notes, "provided that precious link between academia and society, as well as between problems of identity and those of political organization."¹⁰ On the contrary, feminist thought and theory is, in Carol's action, confined to retaliating rage. This fury comes from deep inside Carol's insecure self. When she expresses it, Carol is calm and controlled. Ahmed S. M. Mohammed posits that "Carol's power gives her license to express the suppressed feelings she could not previously reveal to John,"¹¹ suggesting that the relationship between John and Carol is tangled in a web of feelings of injustice and inequality on Carol's part, and a keen understanding of these feelings on John's part.

It seems that both John and Carol are quite innocently drawn into a series of exchanges, in which they inadvertently do two things at the same time – they play their socially assigned roles *and* try to step out of them. David Mamet said that each of the characters, "the man and the woman, is saying something absolutely true at every moment and absolutely constructive at most moments in the play, and yet at the end of the play they're tearing each other's throats out."¹² Indeed, as the author notes elsewhere, the entire point of good drama is to attempt to "[depict] human interaction in which both antagonists are, arguably, in the right."¹³

Indeed, John and Carol appear to be both (and simultaneously) right and wrong. But there is also a third person who is, though perhaps very arguably, in the right – the author himself. *Oleanna*, and in particular its insistence on the very fragile nature of theories and concepts, reflects the notion that theater is not only an imitation of life but also a rendering of what the spectators contribute to the interpretation of this

10. Eagleton, *Literary Theory*, 193.

11. Ahmed S. M. Mohammed, "Dialogic Problems and Miscommunication: a Study of David Mamet's *Oleanna*," *Journal of American Drama and Theatre* 21, no. 3 (2009): <http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=5044908239>.

12. Charlie Rose, "On Theater, Politics, and Tragedy," in *David Mamet in Conversation*, ed. Leslie Kane (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 164.

13. David Mamet, *The Secret Knowledge: On the Dismantling of American Culture* (New York: Sentinel, 2011), 7.

imitation. This is visible, for example, in how Carol considers John a representative of a social phenomenon, rather than a person, a human being, with faults and follies. John finds it difficult to explain: "This is my *life*. I'm not a *bogeyman*. I don't 'stand' for something . . ." (OLN, 33). For Mamet, neither John nor Carol stand for anything – but their conflict does. It echoes the audience's (and people's) tendency to categorize, to theorize, to stereotype. Neither character can be pigeonholed, but if they are, their subsequent actions and casual interrelation with each other seriously question that categorization.

However, the play displays one other dimension, a further facet of ambiguity. The conflict in *Oleanna* does not take place only between the two characters – it is flamboyantly transmitted onto the audience as well, who, as a result, are drawn into it. The ostentatious way in which the clash and tension reaches out to the spectators watching *Oleanna* confirms Joe Kelleher's view that theater is distinctive for its "inescapable aboutness," and that it is "always representing, always standing in for something."¹⁴ Similarly, David Kennedy Sauer argues that the point of *Oleanna* "is to bring the audience to the recognition that it is, in fact (mis)reading – interpreting based on what the audience brings to the theatre itself, its own mental baggage."¹⁵ The presumption that the audience is somehow expected to carry their "mental baggage" when they go to see a play is predominantly a projection of a postmodern interpretation of *Oleanna*. Or, as Sauer notes, "the postmodern point of the play [is] that it is our own stereotypes we see on stage, not what is really there."¹⁶

The disturbing nature of a conflict that lacks elementary opposites and displays a great deal of ambivalence instead is likely to subvert our stereotypes, even to challenge our way of understanding reality. I could speculate and suggest that a play like *Oleanna* undermines the way human relations are named and classified, or, in other words, how theories are applied (however socially constructed) to everyday situations, to conflicts of gender, power, class and race. Or, in the words of David Mamet: "We live in an extraordinarily debauched, interesting, savage world, where things really don't come out even. The purpose of true drama is to help remind us of that. Perhaps this does have an accidental, a cumulative social effect – to remind us to be a little more humble or a little more grateful or a little more ruminative."¹⁷

14. Kelleher, *Theatre and Politics*, 63.

15. David Kennedy Sauer, "Oleanna and *The Children's Hour*: Misreading Sexuality on the Post / Modern Realistic Stage," in David Mamet, ed. Harold Bloom, (Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2004), 220.

16. Sauer, "Oleanna and *The Children's Hour*," 220.

17. David Mamet, "The Problem Play," in *The American Stage: Writing on Theater from Washington Irving to Tony Kushner*, ed. Laurence Senelick (New York: Library of America, 2010), 811.

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AUTUMN AND GARDEN IN THE POETRY OF STANLEY KUNITZ

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines the themes of vision and transformation in selected poems on autumn and gardening by American poet Stanley Kunitz (1905–2006) whose writing career spanned eight decades. A selection of early to late poems from his *Collected Poems* (2000) serves as the basis for a detailed analysis of his use of form and language. Another important aspect under review is the poet's voice, which developed from the metaphysical impersonality of the early poems to the humanist immediacy of his later works. An analysis of these selections also leads to the identification of the general thematic framework of his poetry as an exploration of the self and a celebration of life. Finally, the poetry of Kunitz is contextualized as a major contribution to the tradition of American transcendentalist, visionary, and metaphysical poetry.

KEYWORDS: Stanley Kunitz; American poetry; lyric; autumn; garden; vision; transformation; self

"I am not done with my changes," wrote Stanley Kunitz (1905–2006) in "The Layers," a poem which serves as his poetry manifesto.¹ Inspired by John Donne, William Blake, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, Kunitz became a major twentieth-century practitioner of the metaphysical, transcendentalist and visionary modes in American poetry. His publication career began with the first volume of poetry, *Intellectual Things* (1930) and lasted until the mid-2000s when his last book of poetry and essays on gardening, *The Wild Braid* (2005), was published. The staple themes of his work include self exploration, a search for the missing father,² a celebration of simple life in harmony with the natural world, and of the holiness seen in the everyday. This article will analyze a less well known side of Kunitz – poems on autumn and gardening.

As a young poet, Kunitz was notable for his adherence to traditional forms, complex metaphors, ironic tone, metaphysical subject matter, and for the use of an oblique, impersonal voice that enabled him to maintain a distance from the subject matter of his poetry.³ In an early poem, "Approach of Autumn," Kunitz explores the seasonal passage from autumn to winter. Unlike Keats in "To Autumn," Kunitz does not celebrate the voluptuous abundance of autumnal ripeness but prefers to mourn the inevitable

1. Stanley Kunitz, *The Collected Poems* (New York: Norton, 2000), 218.

2. The father of Kunitz committed suicide shortly before the poet was born. This traumatic experience is reflected in many poems (in "Father and Son," for example) that communicate an uneasiness of the speaker-poet in personal relationships and, consequently, closer contact of the lyric self with animals and plants.

3. The dominant stanza of the early poetry of Kunitz is the rhymed quatrain (in tetrameter or pentameter), typically following the *abab* rhyme pattern. Such a style reflects the formal mainstream in American poetry of the early twentieth century and obviously goes against the avantgarde free verse directions pioneered by modernist innovators like Pound, Eliot, and Williams.

decay of plants that naturally follows their ripeness at this time of the year: "The early violets we saw together, / Lifting their delicate swift heads / As if to dip them in the water, now wither, / Arching no more like thoroughbreds."⁴ The energy of the horses is contrasted with the flowers that have reached the end of their existence. The poem employs a conventional metaphysical logic of a late 1920s formalist poet who honours the form yet fails to render the autumn in the garden relevant to his melancholic vision of the world.⁵ Fred Moramarco and William Sullivan explain the strategy of Kunitz as an effort of the poet to "treat his personal experience as myth,"⁶ which would represent the anguished self of the poet who tries to rise beyond his environment. In the second and third stanza of "Approach of Autumn," Kunitz develops the image of autumn as a life-sapping season in which "time / Decays, green goes, and the eye forgets" about the optimism and growth of the earlier seasons of the year. The melancholy becomes localized as "deathless violets in the skull" of the beholder. These symbolize the conscious intelligence of the writer who builds up the imagery in the autumnal poem toward a transcendental celebration of "reason," the usage of which, even when applied to haunted and melancholic autumnal landscapes, makes "thinking beautiful" as a rational end in itself.

In "Nature," Ralph Waldo Emerson advocates a return to the simple pleasures of gardening and nature-observation that might bring one closer to the earth, flora, and fauna: "He who knows the most, he who knows what sweets and virtues are in the ground, the waters, the plants, the heavens, and how to come at these enchantments, is the rich and royal man."⁷ If "Approach of Autumn" seems a step towards embracing the Emersonian vision of simple, pastoral existence, the poem remains marred by the ostentatious display of the intelligence of the poet who cannot help using the intellectual language of metaphysical poetry. Kunitz was well aware of the limits that such a mode meant for the expression of personal, even traumatic, content. As he explains, even as a young poet he was "a subjective poet in contradiction to the dogma propounded by Eliot and his disciples that objectivity, impersonality, was the goal of art."⁸ The later poems of Kunitz testify to a gradual development toward a more liberal form that would better accommodate the visionary experience of the nature poet in the twentieth century history of war and trauma. In "The Harsh Judgment," a poem from *Passport to the War* (1944), life becomes a metaphorical prison that offers "a hundred doors by which to leave" yet once outside, "you never can come in again."⁹ The inexorable progression of time towards the end of being becomes, in the second

4. Kunitz, *The Collected Poems*, 28.

5. The early poetry of Kunitz suffers from complexity that makes some passages obscure. Kunitz worked hard to make his poems reflect his personal vision of the self in constant transformation, for example by embracing a poetics of less formal expression by the 1950s. See also Fred Moramarco and William Sullivan, *Containing Multitudes: Poetry in the United States Since 1950* (New York: Twayne, 1998), 28.

6. Moramarco and Sullivan, *Containing Multitudes*, 27.

7. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Essays and English Traits* (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1909), 236.

8. Stanley Kunitz, *Next-to-Last Things: New Poems and Essays* (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1985), 89.

9. Kunitz, *The Collected Poems*, 66.

stanza, “the burden of the personal, the life / by profit plowed” that makes the task of the lyric poet to sing of autumn in the impersonal world of commerce both futile and important. Yet there is a redeeming virtue in the following image of a tumbling leaf, an iconic sign with which “the autumn came.” Kunitz adds more layers to the leaf image – on internalizing its falling action the poet gains access to the hidden history of sin: “Dark leaf from a darker tower / Falls miles, deeper than coals, and still goes down,”¹⁰ resembling the slow, gradual fall of people whose corrupt actions in the modern times have made their “hearts unclean.”

A sense of foreboding also permeates “End of Summer.” The poet evokes the atmosphere of a special “agitation of the air” that promises to break up “the unloved year” and predicts that the weather would “turn on its hinge that night.”¹¹ The second stanza explores an autumnal landscape in which the poet tries to establish close contact with diminutive fauna by letting it merge with his body and mind: “I stood in the disenchanted field / Amid the stubble and the stones, / Amazed, while a small worm lisped to me / The song of my marrow bones.” In the vast desolation of a drowsy, harvested field, a sense of winter approaching in the air, the speaker reaches out to touch and caress a little creature of the earth whose agility stands in contrast to the desolation internalized by the speaker.

In his later career – from the 1970s through the 2000s, Kunitz abandoned the metaphysical difficulty of earlier poems in favour of a more direct, personal expression. His favourite setting in these late lyrics became the garden. Kunitz views encounters with garden animals such as hornworms and snakes as keys to understanding the miracle of existence, occasions for purification of the rational self that burdened his early writings. A central autumn poem from this late period is “The Snakes of September,” a free verse narrative marked by a quiet tone that corresponds to the poet’s vision of autumnal transformation in the garden. In the beginning the poet introduces the snakes as an elusive, yet palpable presence: “All summer I heard them / rustling in the shrubbery, / outracing me from tier / to tier in my garden.”¹² The agility of the snakes that give “a signal flashed from the hedgerow” or disappear as “a shadow pulsing / in the barberry thicket” stands in contrast to the slowness of the aging speaker who perceives the snakes as fast tricksters who keep just out of reach.¹³ After wondering about the snakes as living creatures that braved the onslaught of frost at night, the animals

10. The falling leaf section suggests a strategy of descending into the unconscious, archetypal depths of the self that were fully developed as the sole subject of poems by American deep image poets in the early 1960s. In this light, Kunitz is an unrecognized pioneer of the confessional and deep image styles in American poetry.

11. Kunitz, *The Collected Poems*, 108.

12. Kunitz, *The Collected Poems*, 221. The garden being portrayed is located in Provincetown, Massachusetts, where Kunitz spent the “gardening” part of each year since the 1960s (the winters being spent in New York City). The “tiers” mentioned in the poem are the separate cascading sections and levels of his seaside garden that was the location of much horticultural experimentation.

13. This poem was first published in a 1985 collection, *Next-to-Last Things*.

are found one day to be “dangling head-down, entwined / in a brazen love-knot.”¹⁴ In the final section of the poem, Kunitz describes a gesture of the gardener who gently touches the snakes to feel “the fine, dry grit of their skins. / After all, / we are partners in this land, / co-signers of a covenant.” Kunitz goes beyond the negative biblical stereotypization of the snake as the evil creature that caused the downfall of man, for the snakes partner in his sudden vision of ultimate happiness: “At my touch the wild / braid of creation trembles.” The snakes may still be wild animals, yet the shared trembling with defiant life comes as something of a positive, epiphanic surprise.

Kunitz admits that adopting the stance of physical touching little animals in his garden is no poetic ploy used for the sake of inspiration since

there is something very important to me about having a kind of relationship with plants and animals, that can be transacted wholly without language. The warmth of one's body is a form of communication. The stroke of one's hand is a means of communication. In the garden those forms are heightened.¹⁵

Hyatt H. Waggoner explains the visionary impulse in American poetry as attempts of “perceiving in depths what is ‘out there,’ beyond the conscious mind and the self, but also in the body and brain, using the senses and imaginative intelligence as a means of discovery.”¹⁶ In “The Snakes of September,” the mind and the self of the beholder achieve transcendental unity with the snakes being observed, via the agency of touch and due to the poet's mental identification with their liveliness.

Reflecting on the motives for lyric poetry, Kunitz claims that he “came to the realization that the most poignant of all lyric tensions stems from the awareness that we are living and dying at once.”¹⁷ It is the very coexistence of life and death in all beings that Kunitz utilizes in the late garden poems. Another example is “Hornworm: Autumn Lamentation.”¹⁸ The poem explores a typical Kunitz theme – a caterpillar who waits to be transformed into an adult moth serves as a metaphor for the poet who keeps changing and transforming in order to fit the changing subject matter of his poems: “when I crawled / into the world, a naked grubby thing, / and found the world unkind, / my dearest faith has been that this / is but a trial: I shall be changed.” With a knowledge of things to come, the personified caterpillar addresses the human observer who is about to kill it: “But tell me, / before you choose to slice me in two: / Who can understand the ways / of the Great Worm in the Sky?” The humorous question emphasizes the fact that there are serious, metaphysical issues at stake – the identity of the poet, his style, subject matter, and how these all work together.

14. Garden snakes normally mate in mid-spring, which explains the poet's sense of wonder at their tardiness in coming together.

15. See Stanley Kunitz, *The Wild Braid: A Poet Reflects on a Century in the Garden* (New York: Norton, 2005), 53.

16. See Hyatt H. Waggoner, *American Visionary Poetry* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 23.

17. Kunitz, *The Collected Poems*, 13.

18. See Kunitz, *The Collected Poems*, 259–60.

In "Circles," Emerson claims: "I am God in nature; I am a weed by the wall."¹⁹ That is, the human individual, or the poet-gardener becomes a godlike presence in his garden, a supreme authority. Yet, one should never forget that the natural world takes its course in the garden in a constant cycle of growth, decay and renewal. This knowledge has to be negotiated with the ambition of the poet and gardener. "My garden, my life, my poems – a planned disorder," wrote Kunitz in a journal.²⁰ The awareness of being a mere short-lived "weed by the wall", or an earthworm crawling out, is part of the poet's humble approach to gardening, art, and poetry – these activities may reward the modest, hard-working, passionate seer with visionary experiences, provided one is receptive to particulars, such as when "every stone on the road" becomes "precious to me."²¹ Ultimately, the Kunitzian "wild braid" of creation that is celebrated in his late autumnal garden poems ranks among the most overlooked cultural treasures of the present age.

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19. Emerson, *Essays and English Traits*, 158.

20. Kunitz, *The Wild Braid*, 89.

21. Stanley Kunitz, *The Collected Poems*, 218.

YOUNG ADULT LITERATURE AS A TOOL FOR SURVIVAL: ALEX SANCHEZ'S *RAINBOW BOYS* SERIES

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ABSTRACT: This paper explores the use of literature as a tool for survival in the context of gay young adult literature, focusing on Alex Sanchez's series of novels, *Rainbow Boys* (2001), *Rainbow High* (2003), and *Rainbow Road* (2005). It argues that the didactic function, which is frowned upon in literature for adults, is not only accepted in literature for young adults but may even overshadow doubts about the literary quality of the works in question. This argument is further supported by an analysis of paratextual information, namely by a resource kit included in the novels. In order to understand the effect of such books on readers, interdisciplinary methods should be used.

KEYWORDS: American literature; gay literature; young adult literature; homosexuality; didacticism; paratexts; Alex Sanchez; *Rainbow Boys*; *Rainbow High*; *Rainbow Road*

When Josef Jařab delivered his keynote address at this conference last year, he called it simply "Poetry as a Source for Survival."¹ In this thought-provoking piece, he gave many apt examples from his life as well as from the lives of others of how poetry, acting through the power of language, had helped them live and in many cases, indeed, survive. Jařab, as a professor who has spent his life exploring literature,² primarily looks upon language as something that makes our experience meaningful, and upon poetry as something that gives rhythm to our lives. Yet, all the examples Jařab gives share one common denominator: they were not intended by their authors as a source for the readers' survival; they simply happened to be used in that way. However, somewhere in the recesses of my mind, a number of related questions arose: is the power of poetry and literature indeed so strong? Or, even more blasphemously, what does Jařab mean by "survival"? It is meant metaphorically, but can it be taken literally? And do some authors *intend* to help the readers survive in the literal sense? Moreover, these seem to be different questions when asked in a different context. In this paper, I would like to explore some of these issues in the context of American gay fiction for young adults.

In spite of the current positive images of young gays and lesbians, American gay youth seem to be indeed an extremely vulnerable demographic: data from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention shows that between 1997 and 2007, suicide was the

1. See Josef Jařab, "Poetry as a Source for Survival," in *Theories and Practice: Proceedings of the Second International Conference on English and American Studies, September 7–8, 2010*, ed. Roman Trušník, Katarína Nemčoková, and Gregory Jason Bell (Zlín: Univerzita Tomáše Bati ve Zlíně, 2011), 157–65.

2. For a bibliography of Jařab's writings on literature up to 2009, see Marcel Arbeit, "Josef Jařab: A Comprehensive Bibliography, 1966–2009," *Moravian Journal of Literature and Film* 1, no. 1 (Fall 2009): 15–47.

third leading cause of death in people aged 15 to 24.³ In 2009, the largest percentage of new diagnoses of HIV infection was in the 20 to 24 age range.⁴ Indeed, much research shows that gay youth are a group in danger, and often their survival is threatened in the literal sense of the word.⁵ Some related events even shook America: the murder of Matthew Shepard in 1998 in Laramie, Wyoming, recorded a nationwide response, both artistic and political, ranging from Moisés Kaufman's play *The Laramie Project* (2000; HBO movie 2002) to the passing in 2009 of a national Hate Crimes Prevention Act in Shepard's honor.

While coming-of-age is one of the fundamental rites of passage of *all* young people, marking the transition from adolescence to adulthood, the situation of gays and lesbians is a bit more complicated: they usually have to account for the newly discovered difference in sexual orientation, a process usually known as coming out.⁶ Literary critic David Bergman notes that coming-of-age of gay people is rather unique:

The child who will become gay conceives his sexual self in isolation. I cannot think of another minority that is without cultural support in childhood. Jewish children, for example, from infancy are brought up with a looming sense of their religious identity just as black children from birth develop a sense of racial identity, or baby girls soon find what it means to be female. But gay children – who have a keen sense of being different – often have nothing and no one to show them what that difference consists of, or how one might integrate that difference into a way of life.⁷

These young people may search for positive images in media (indeed, there seems to be no TV series nowadays without a gay character), on the Internet, in peer groups, from their elders, and many other sources.

Yet, they will soon feel the power of language Jařab was referencing in his address, as they are likely to absorb much of the wisdom and life experience from coming-out stories. This comes as no surprise because, as Robert Friedman notes, “our coming-out stories are our creation myths, the places in our life-narratives where we begin re-inventing ourselves as modern homosexuals.”⁸ While many coming-out stories are shared orally, many gay men describe how they, during their coming of age and coming out, looked for support as well as information in books of both fiction and non-fiction. In addition to many other anthologies and collections, an anthology of coming-out stories by writers of American literature, *Boys Like Us: Gay Writers Tell Their Coming Out Stories*, was published in 1996.

3. See Jiaquan Xu, Kenneth D. Kochanek, Sherry L. Murphy, and Betzaida Tejada-Vera, “Deaths: Final Data for 2007,” *National Vital Statistics Reports* 58, no. 19 (2010): http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr58/nvsr58_19.pdf.

4. See Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, *HIV Surveillance Report*, 2009 21 (2011): 17.

5. For a list of references to research articles, see, e.g., “Statistics,” in *Youth Pride* (Providence, RI: Youth Pride, 2012), <http://www.youthprideri.org/Resources/Statistics/tabid/227/Default.aspx>.

6. As my focus in this paper is on young adult literature, I disregard a substantial portion of gay people who come to recognize their homosexuality later in life.

7. David Bergman, *Gaiety Transfigured: Gay Self-Representation in American Literature* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 5.

8. Robert Friedman, “Creation Myth (First-Husband Story),” in *Revelations: Gay Men's Coming-Out Stories*, 2nd ed., ed. Adrien Saks and Wayne Curtis (Boston: Alyson, 1994), 33.

However, the omnipresence of coming out as a theme in gay literature is double-edged: because of the fact that coming out usually takes place during the teenage years, many commentators have wrongly concluded that gay literature should primarily cater to the needs of teenagers. The ability of gay literature to serve young readers has been the subject of long and often fierce discussions among authors as well as critics. One of the best known skirmishes in gay literary criticism took place in 1994 when David Leavitt criticized a cult novel by Andrew Holleran, *Dancer from the Dance* (1978), as unsuitable or even harmful for young readers. Holleran's novel is set primarily in the New York gay ghetto of the 1970s, and it documents the delayed coming out of Anthony Malone, who comes to New York as a virgin at the end of the 1960s at the age of thirty, his total immersion into the homosexual ghetto, and, in 1977, his attempt to escape New York at any cost. Leavitt viewed the novel from the perspective of a young gay man; when he confided to a twenty-one-year-old friend of his that in his introduction to *The Penguin Book of Gay Short Stories* (1994) he was "planning to take on some sacred cows . . . – most notably *Dancer from the Dance* – his response was swift and unhesitant: 'Thank God someone's doing it,' he said; 'it's the first gay book most young American gay men read, and I can't think of another that's done as much damage.'"⁹

Leavitt's criticism was, among many others, repudiated by David Bergman in *The Violet Hour: The Violet Quill and the Making of Gay Culture* (2004). According to Bergman, Leavitt requires literature to be a guide to young men going through their own coming out, but this requirement is immature and shows a misunderstanding of the goals of gay literature. Bergman succinctly dismisses Leavitt's objections in the following words: "Criticizing *Dancer from the Dance* as unsuitable for those coming out is like damning James Joyce's *Ulysses* as a terrible guidebook for the Dublin tourist."¹⁰

Bergman, along with many other critics, was right that gay literature does not have to cater to the needs of young readers, yet as a person who ran into *Dancer from the Dance* at nineteen (a random catch in a store flooded with a post-Velvet Revolution influx of used books), I fully agree that the novel's portrayal of the libertine New York ghetto of the 1970s may be puzzling, to say the least, to searching teenagers; so Leavitt's position is not unfounded.¹¹

However, what can act, and I would argue is meant to act, as a tool for survival of young gays and lesbians is the realm of young adult literature, the kind of literature that appeared soon after the Civil War as a category of books aimed at readers who are no longer children and not yet adults. Michael Cart, a renowned expert in the field, for example, considers Jo, Beth, Meg, and Amy March "America's first 'official' young

9. See David Leavitt, "Introduction," in *The Penguin Book of Gay Short Stories*, ed. David Leavitt and Mark Mitchell (New York: Viking, 1994), xix.

10. David Bergman, *The Violet Hour: The Violet Quill and the Making of Gay Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 23.

11. For a more detailed analysis of the novel and the development of its reception in the course of time, see, e.g., Roman Trušník, "Dreams of the Past Gone: Andrew Holleran's *Dancer from the Dance* Revisited," in *Cult Fiction & Cult Film: Multiple Perspectives*, ed. Marcel Arbeit and Roman Trušník, (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2008), 87–98.

adults,” making Louise May Alcott’s *Little Women* (1868) the first young adult title.¹² From the very beginning, there is a perceivable inclination of these books towards didacticism. Hana Štráchalová and Šárka Bubíková readily comment on the mechanism in which didacticism works in *Little Women*: “the moral lessons have the form of an advice from a wise woman, a mother who once had to win against her own flaws and temper.”¹³ Since then, however, the ways in which the young adult books provide support have been extended.

While fiction for young adults has appeared since then, a greater *production* of books focused on teenage readers was initiated by librarians in the late 1960s, and the first young adult title dealing with homosexuality, John Donovan’s *I’ll Get There, It Better Be Worth the Trip*, appeared in 1969. The didactic intent of young adult literature is visible in the fact that YA literature is explored and discussed primarily by educators and librarians, a fact revealed by the results of a search in any major scholarly database. And, a perfunctory look at the articles found will reveal that most of these authors are interested in the roles YA books can play in the education of high-school students. Scholars, teachers, as well as librarians interested in these books are organized in organizations such as the Assembly on Literature for Adolescents (ALAN) of the National Council of Teachers and the Young Adult Library Services Association (YALSA) of the American Library Association, both of which Michael Cart has been president.

Michael Cart and Christine A. Jenkins define young adult literature as “books that are published for readers age twelve to eighteen, have a young adult protagonist, are told from a young adult perspective, and feature coming-of-age or other issues and concerns of interest to YAs.”¹⁴ Even though Cart and Jenkins argue that didacticism was primarily a characteristic of the 1970s fiction,¹⁵ it is an inherent feature more or less present in all YA books. When seen in this way, the goal to educate and inform the readers often spans over a reasonable portion of the story and is seamlessly incorporated into the plot. Yet, sometimes the presence of didactic elements backfires, and this is what happened in Alex Sanchez’s series of three novels: *Rainbow Boys* (2001), *Rainbow High* (2003), and *Rainbow Road* (2005).

The author has become quite a celebrity in YA gay literature. He tours schools to speak about the issues of homosexuality, homophobia, and straight-gay relationships. His views are also recorded in the articles and interviews he has published, and his remarks on the needs of teenagers are very close to those made by David Leavitt:

I can remember when I was as a teen how desperate I was to find a book that showed at least one other person on earth who was feeling my feelings. But when I was growing up, there were no such books.

12. See Michael Cart, *From Romance to Realism: 50 Years of Growth and Change in Young Adult Literature* (New York: HarperCollins, 1996), 4.

13. Hana Štráchalová and Šárka Bubíková, “Becoming Little Women,” in *Literary Childhoods: Growing Up in British and American Literature*, ed. Šárka Bubíková (Červený Kostelec: Pavel Mervart; Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, 2008), 91.

14. Michael Cart and Christine A. Jenkins, *The Heart Has Its Reasons: Young Adult Literature with Gay/Lesbian/Queer Content, 1969–2004* (Lanhan, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2006), 1.

15. See Cart and Jenkins, *The Heart Has Its Reasons*, 17.

Gay boys and girls, like any others, need positive images and affirming stories to help guide them through the often painful and confusing terrain of childhood and adolescence, to glimpse a world in which they're not bad or shameful but in which they're part of the good world. Books can provide a moral compass, a system of values, a way to understand feelings.¹⁶

And Sanchez's answer to the issue of literature being a source or tool for survival is also unambiguous, when he says: "For gay kids, books that address issues of sexuality and homophobia can, quite literally, save lives – by helping them understand their emotional and sexual feelings."¹⁷

His *Rainbow* series is written (or should we say "designed") to achieve this goal. As the author works within the framework of YA literature, he certainly has more maneuvering space than Leavitt in the field of literature for adults. This can be seen in the choice of protagonists and the narrative technique: The series covers events in the lives of three high-school students, and it is seen through the perspective of each of them, rotating in the role of the reflector. The three protagonists are a bisexual high-school athlete of Hispanic origin (Jason), a quiet nerd standing outside the crowd, yet a good sportsman (Kyle), and an archetypal flamboyant queen with dyed hair (Nelson). Even this choice is perceptibly kowtowing to the readers, as almost any gay, bisexual or questioning reader can easily identify with one of the protagonists. The series is thus a good example of the use of what Gregory Woods calls "stock characters whose individuality was secondary to their social role."¹⁸ Indeed, in his detailed analysis Thomas Crisp identifies stereotypes being used in the series. He goes as far as to call Jason "Tragic Closet Jock,"¹⁹ while Kyle becomes "Sympathetic, Understanding Doormat,"²⁰ and Nelson, the only "queer and proud" character, is viewed as a "Sexually Insatiable Target."²¹ In all, he argues that "the contributions made by the series may be overshadowed by its reliance on heteronormative gender stereotypes that may actually work to perpetuate homophobic attitudes toward gay sexuality."²²

Another major problem of the series is that while other books try to address *some* of the issues of interest to young readers, in this series the author tries to address them *all*. Not only are the questions of AIDS and safer sex explored (Nelson fails to use a condom in sex with a random man he met on the Internet), but the novels also attend to the issues of smoking, racism, the role of support groups, the marginalization of gays, the herd behavior at American high schools, the influence of media and of political declarations, ghettoization, suicides of young gays, and many, many other "queer" issues – you name it, it's in there.

16. Alex Sanchez, "Open Eyes and Change Lives: Narrative Resources Addressing Gay-Straight Themes," *English Journal* 94, no. 3 (2005): 47.

17. Sanchez, "Open Eyes and Change Lives," 47.

18. Gregory Woods, *A History of Gay Literature: The Male Tradition* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 1998), 342.

19. Thomas Crisp, "The Trouble with *Rainbow Boys*," *Children's Literature in Education* 39 (2008): 245.

20. Crisp, "The Trouble with *Rainbow Boys*," 246.

21. Crisp, "The Trouble with *Rainbow Boys*," 250.

22. Crisp, "The Trouble with *Rainbow Boys*," 237.

Such overloading goes so far that even the reviewers commented on them. Nancy Garden in her review of *Rainbow High* says that “well-intentioned discussions about HIV occasionally seem more like thinly disguised warnings to young readers than like real conversations between friends.”²³ Michael Cart comments on the didacticism of *Rainbow Road*: “Along the way, the young men encounter a variety of people and situations that occasionally seem clearly designed to educate the reader.” The character of Nelson is described as “annoyingly predictable.”²⁴ However, what makes this criticism especially significant is that it comes not from someone like David Bergman criticizing David Leavitt’s intention to serve young readers in the field of literature for adults, but from critics who are accustomed to the rules of YA literature and who are judging Sanchez’s books from this perspective.

In spite of its shortcomings, the Rainbow series seems to have been extremely popular since the publication of *Rainbow Boys* in 2001. Crisp provides an overview of reviews of the series, including some of the reactions on Amazon.com. A quick look at the website in August 2012 reveals that the readers’ reactions remain quite positive, even though there’s a slight drop from “a nearly unprecedented ‘five stars’”²⁵ to 4.5 stars for *Rainbow Boys* (with four stars for *Rainbow High* and five stars for *Rainbow Road*), with a few comments pointing out the novel’s shortcomings. The website also reveals that not only are the paperback editions of all three books (released regularly two years after the hardcover edition) still in print, but the novels were also released in electronic format for Kindle readers in 2011 (the Barnes and Noble website shows that the series was released for their Nook readers as well).

Yet another proof of the social work these books set to carry out can be seen outside the actual text, in the paratextual information surrounding it. Gérard Genette uses the term *paratext* for all textual information surrounding the actual text of a work.²⁶ In addition to previews from next novels by Sanchez, all three books include a resource pack, providing contact information to the organizations dealing with the issues addressed in the novels. *Rainbow Road* thus lists contact information for the organizations that will help the reader deal with organizing a peer group (referring them to the Gay, Lesbian and Straight Education Network); violence and hate crimes against gays and lesbians (New York City Gay & Lesbian Anti-Violence Project and the National Coalition of Anti-Violence Projects); human rights campaigns (Human Rights Campaign); issues with parents (PFLAG: Parents, Families and Friends of Lesbians and Gays); HIV and AIDS (Centers for Disease Control); teen sexuality (Advocates for Youth); gay and lesbian teen suicides (The Trevor Helpline); and gay and lesbian teen services on the Internet (Youth Guardian Services).

23. Nancy Garden, “Boys Grow Up,” review of *Rainbow High*, by Alex Sanchez, *Lambda Book Report* May 2004: 31.

24. Michael Cart, review of *Rainbow Road*, by Alex Sanchez, *Booklist*, Sept. 1, 2005: 113.

25. Crisp, “The Trouble with *Rainbow Boys*,” 241.

26. See Gérard Genette, *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

It is significant that, even after a decade, these organizations are still in operation, and with the exception of the Centers for Disease Control, all links are functional as of April 2012.²⁷ While it is difficult to gain any data on the actual numbers of readers who made use of these resources, Sanchez's help is acknowledged on the title webpage of Youth Guardian Services:

Alex Sanchez, long time friend of YGS, has just released *The God Box*, a novel about a teen's struggle to be Christian and gay. By tackling this issue in *The God Box*, Sanchez hopes to provide readers – teen and adult, gay and straight – with a thought-provoking exploration of what it means to be both religious and gay.

Many of our listees found YGS through Alex's books and his website, and we're thankful for his continued support! For more information, please see AlexSanchez.com.²⁸

These observations lead to a rather paradoxical conclusion: not only good books can be a source for survival, but, depending on the context, also not-so-good books from the literary perspective can serve the very same purpose. Moreover, some of them are designed to work as tools for survival, which I believe is the case for Alex Sanchez's Rainbow series. Their life-saving potential makes them worth studying, perhaps not only as works of art, but as cultural phenomena in the broadest sense of the word, with appropriate methods going beyond those of literary criticism.

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27. The link to the CDC refers not to the main page of the site but to a particular page on HIV / AIDS. Yet it is easy to navigate to the HIV / AIDS page from the main page.

28. *Youth Guardian Services* (Ithaca, NY: Youth Guardian Services, 2012), <http://www.youth-guard.org>.

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NARRATING AS A CHILD, READING AS AN ADULT: WAYS OF EMPLOYING A CHILD NARRATOR IN THE AMERICAN NOVEL

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ABSTRACT: The article provides a brief overview of the research in childhood studies in context of American culture and literature. In the history of American literature, the connection between the figure of a child, the trope of innocence and the American character or identity has often been made resulting in a rather frequent employment of children as literary characters. The article thus focuses on a very specific aspect of the literary presentation of childhood – on the use of a child's voice or perspective as a narrative strategy, discussing child perspective both as a narrative technique and as a way of subverting traditional "adult" views on many issues. Outlining some of the narrative theory concerning the child narrative voice, the paper refers to examples from American fiction to illustrate its points.

KEYWORDS: American literature; childhood; child narrator; focalizer; narrative perspective

"Every child begins the world again."
– D. H. Thoreau

In recent decades, there has been an increasing interest in the history, experiences and concepts of childhood, an interest usually associated with the groundbreaking book *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime* by the French cultural historian Philippe Ariès (1960, translated into English as *Centuries of Childhood* in 1962). Ariès documented how ideas about and experiences of childhood have undergone historical changes. His book inspired a large body of scholarly research, most of which focuses on the way children experienced childhood in particular historical eras. These works serve as a basis for cultural and literary studies in which scholars analyze cultural functions of the figure of a child, or the use of a child as a cultural metaphor, or the implications and influences of the changing concepts of childhood on literary production for children as well as on the literary depiction of children in general. As Mária Kiššová aptly summarizes, currently "there is an attempt *to know* the child more (a child as a scientific object of study) and . . . an obvious attempt *to approach* a child / young adult through a literary text which includes the process of the fictionalizing of childhood."¹

A very specific aspect of the fictionalization of childhood is the use of a child's voice or perspective as a way of narrating a story. Although interesting both as a

1. Mária Kiššová, "Children's Literature in English after the Millennium: Trends and Perspectives," in *Beyond 2000: The Recent Novel in English*, ed. Ewa Rychter (Wałbrzych: Wydawnictwo PWSZ AS, 2011), 35.

narrative technique and as a way of subverting traditional “adult” views on many issues, it has been given only scarce critical attention. In 1994, a collection of essays was published entitled *Infant Tongues: The Voice of the Child in Literature*, edited by Elizabeth Goodenough, Mark A. Heberle, and Naomi Sokoloff. The essays discuss the use of adult construction and mediation of a child’s voice in written texts of several literary traditions at various time periods (exploring texts of English, American, Russian and French literature from Shakespeare’s time to the present) suggesting a variety of topics and approaches to this topic rather than providing a comprehensive and unified analysis. From a linguistic point of view, the topic was dealt with by Mary Jane Hurst in *The Voice of the Child in American Literature: Linguistic Approaches to Fictional Child Language* (1990), who applied linguistic methods as well as John Austin’s and John Searle’s theories of speech acts to analyze the representation of child speech in American literature. In addition, Alicia Otano explores the use of child perspective in several selected Asian American novels of development (or Bildungsromane) in her *Speaking the Past: Child Perspective in the Asian American Bildungsroman* (2004). Her book uncovers ways in which the perspective of a child protagonist and / or narrator subverts the traditional (i.e., adult) views on race and ethnicity. Otano reads selected Asian American Bildungsromane “through the lens of their narrators . . . in order to examine how narrative point of view nuances and shapes issues of personal, ethnic, and national positioning.” Her approach “privileges the authors’ narrative choices and engagement with genre” and thus reveals “how these crucial writerly decisions construct texts that signify on multiple levels.”²

In the history of American literature, the connection between American identity and the perceived “newness” of American character has often been metaphorically represented by the figure of an innocent child. In a way, there exists a confluence of the national narrative with a narrative of childhood and youth, or, in the words of Kenneth Millard, “the individual new citizen’s drive towards new forms of independence is coterminous with that of burgeoning nation.”³ Caroline Levander and Carol Singley similarly claim that “the American nation, since its inception, has been identified with and imagined as a child.”⁴ This may well explain why the figure of a child is so often a motif in American narrative and possibly even why the child’s perspective is employed relatively frequently. One of the reasons for such a frequent connection of childhood and the American national narrative might be the fact that theories on American character and on the nature of American history came into existence at a time when childhood became glorified as an age of purity, innocence and closeness to the spiritual fundaments of life.

2. Alicia Otano, *Speaking the Past: Child Perspective in the Asian American Bildungsroman* (Münster: Lit, 2004), 9.

3. Kenneth Millard, *Coming of Age in Contemporary American Fiction* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 5.

4. Caroline F. Levander and Carol J. Singley, Introduction to *The American Child: A Cultural Studies Reader*, ed. Caroline F. Levander and Carol J. Singley (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2003), 4.

The literary connection of American identity and childhood innocence as part of American mythology is well expressed for example in R. W. B. Lewis's analysis of the typical American literary protagonist, *The American Adam* (1955). The modern era (here, the period from Industrialization until World War II) saw children as innocent and thus somehow better suited for a truer insight into the nature of things. Although children might not rationally fully understand the world around them, they have the capability to reflect it without mediation, illusions or pretense. As Henry David Thoreau stated in *Walden*, "Children, who play life, discern its true law and relations more clearly than men, who fail to live it worthily."⁵

The belief that children can see the world in a strikingly clear-eyed manner is well expressed in the famous fairy-tale *The Emperor's New Clothes* (1837) by Hans Christian Andersen, built on the contrast between the adult's vanity, collective hypocrisy and snobbery and the child's truthfulness and simplicity. Although Andersen's story was published in 1837, it draws on a Spanish medieval cautionary tale with roots as deep as Aesop and other ancient authors. Nevertheless, what is of importance in Andersen's tale is that he, as Maria Tatar notes, romanticized children by "investing them with the courage to challenge authority and to speak truth to power."⁶ Although in a more complex manner, many American writers employ the child's voice precisely in order to challenge authority.

The child's voice seems to be particularly suited for such a task because a "child's disarming vision and voice [can] serve to successfully unmask ambivalent aspects of an idealized society hitherto unquestioned."⁷ Similarly, Darrell Lockhart claims that "although a child's voice commands less authority," at the same time it "enjoys more freedom of expression" and thus can be employed "as a subversive means of criticism."⁸

However, American writers did not use the voice of a child narrator only in this simple and straightforward manner exemplified by Andersen's tale, which is more suitable for children. Instead, their texts, including those explored here, were aimed either at adult readers only or, in many cases, were designed for double audience.

The first example comes from a novel, Mark Twain's 1885 classic *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, that should be viewed both as a milestone in the development of American literature and as an original text of the narrative strategy in question. Told from the boy's point of view, the narrative, despite the sustained claims of Huck's lack of eloquence and of (naturally) limited knowledge, provides a "shrewd and discerning"⁹ vision of racial issues and power structures. Mark Twain's use of the child voice

5. Henry D. Thoreau, *Walden: An Annotated Edition* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1995), 92. Also quoted in R. W. B. Lewis, *The American Adam: Innocence, Tragedy, and Tradition in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), 26.

6. Maria Tatar, "Denmark's Perfect Wizard," in *The Annotated Hans Christian Andersen*, by Hans Christian Andersen, ed. Maria Tatar (New York: Norton, 2008), xxiii.

7. Otano, *Speaking the Past*, 9.

8. Darrell B. Lockhart, "Growing Up Jewish in Mexico: Sabina Berman's *La bobbe* and Rosa Nissán's *Novia que te vea*," in *The Other Mirror: Women's Narrative in Mexico, 1980–1995*, ed. Kristine Ibsen (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1997), 166.

9. Millard, *Coming of Age in Contemporary American Fiction*, 16.

managed to combine both the sense of narrative authenticity and the urgency of its social and political critique. Huckleberry Finn's narrative authenticity partly stems from the fact that he is, in Gerard Genette's classification, an extradiegetic narrator directly involved with his readers who exist outside of the narrative. As Roberta Seelinger Trites concludes, Huckleberry Finn can only report what he has epistemological access to, and he shares his knowledge directly as the narrative unfolds.¹⁰ All these authorial narrative choices contribute to the authenticity of the narrative.

In the selected excerpt, however, the child naively repeats the stereotypes with which he was infused and does not see for himself the contrast between reality and his conclusions. When Huck gives an example of French language to Jim, Jim refuses it as a means of communication. Masterfully, Mark Twain presents the most common first reaction to otherness – suspicion and rejection.

"S'pose a man was to come to you and say Polly-voo-franzy – what would you think?"
 "I wouldn't think nuff'n; I'd take en bust him over de head – dat is, if he warn't white. I wouldn't 'low no nigger to call me dat."
 "Shucks, it ain't calling you anything. It's only saying, do you know how to talk French?"
 "Well, den, why couldn't he SAY it?"
 "Why, he IS a-saying it. That's a Frenchman's WAY of saying it."
 "Well, it's a blame ridicklous way, en I doan' want to hear no mo' 'bout it. Dey ain' no sense in it."¹¹

Assuming the role of the mentor, Huck tries to introduce to Jim the idea that different people use different languages.

"Looky here, Jim; does a cat talk like we do?"
 "No, a cat don't."
 "Well, does a cow?"
 "No, a cow don't, nuther."
 "Does a cat talk like a cow, or a cow talk like a cat?"
 "No, dey don't." . . .
 "And ain't it natural and right for a cat and a cow to talk different from US?"
 "Why, mos' sholy it is."
 "Well, then, why ain't it natural and right for a FRENCHMAN to talk different from us? You answer me that." (AHF, 89)

But what Huck believes to be the triumph of his rational reasoning turns out differently:

"Is a cat a man, Huck?"
 "No."
 "Well, den, dey ain't no sense in a cat talkin' like a man. . . . Is a Frenchman a man?"
 "Yes."
 "WELL, den! Dad blame it, why doan' he TALK like a man? You answer me DAT!" (AHF, 99)

However, Huck does not draw a logical conclusion from the conversation but says instead: "I see it warn't no use wasting words – you can't learn a nigger to argue. So I quit" (AHF, 99). In this ironically written conversation between Huckleberry Finn and Jim, it is thus left up to the reader to see the discrepancy between the racial prejudice

10. Roberta Seelinger Trites, *Disturbing the Universe: Power and Repression in Adolescent Literature* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000), 71–72.

11. Mark Twain, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn: An Authoritative Text, Contexts and Sources, Criticism*, ed. Thomas Cooley (New York: Norton, 1999), 89. Hereafter cited in text as AHF.

(about black people's lack of ability for rational argumentation) and the reality of the conversation in which the logical flaws are made by the white child.

Huckleberry Finn is still an innocent child when it comes to his acts, but often when he speaks his words reflect some corruption by the prejudiced, racist society. When Huck sees Jim desperate, he comments:

When I waked up . . . he was setting there with his head down betwixt his knees, moaning and mourning to himself. . . . I knowed what it was about. He was thinking about his wife and his children, away up yonder, and he was low and homesick . . . and I do believe he cared just as much for his people as white folks does for theirn. It don't seem natural, but I reckon it's so. (AHF, 170)

His perception is accurate and his explanation likewise correct. However, his last sentence reveals that Huck knows well what he *should* think, what the society wants him to think – i.e., that black people naturally do not have the same deep feelings as white people. In this particular instance, Huck opposes the generally accepted views as they contradict his own observations.

Huck is not always able to challenge authority verbally – as he does in this case – but unmasks society's troublesome aspects in his deeds. This unmasking, nevertheless, requires the reader's participation. Twain employs the child narrator as part of his strategy of subversion. With it he attacks the concept of race. David L. Smith describes Twain's method: "[H]e focuses on a number of commonplaces associated with 'the Negro' and then systematically dramatizes their inadequacy."¹² This dramatization is all the more effective as it involves the opposition between the adult view (the stereotypes) and the child's individual vision.

The second textual example taken from Forrest Carter's *The Education of Little Tree* (1976)¹³ uses the child voice of inexperience to narrate a story of racial assault. The child protagonist is boarding a bus with his Cherokee grandfather to whom the bus driver issues a ticket:

The bus driver told Granpa how much it was and while Granpa counted out the money real careful – for the light wasn't good to count by – the bus driver turned around to the crowd in the bus and lifted his right hand and said: "How!" and laughed, and all the people laughed. I felt better about it, knowing they was friendly and didn't take offense because we didn't have a ticket.¹⁴

As Little Tree and his grandfather move toward their seats in the back of the bus, Little Tree encounters another assault that he is again unable to interpret in its true meaning:

Then we walked to the back of the bus, and I noticed a sick lady. She was unnatural black all around her eyes and her mouth was red all over from blood; but as we passed, she put a hand over her mouth and took it off and hollered real loud, "Wa. . . hooo!" But I figured the pain must have passed

12. David L. Smith, "Huck, Jim and American Racial Discourse," in *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn: An Authoritative Text, Contexts and Sources, Criticism*, by Mark Twain, ed. Thomas Cooley (New York: Norton, 1999), 364.

13. The controversy that surrounds the author of the book is beyond the scope and focus of the current paper. For more about the issue see for example: Shari M. Huhndorf, "The Making of an Indian: 'Forrest' Carter's Literary Inventions," in *Going Native: Indians in the American Cultural Imagination* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 129–61; or Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "'Authenticity' or the Lesson of Little Tree," *New York Times Book Review*, November 24, 1991.

14. Forrest Carter, *The Education of Little Tree* (1976; Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1986), 2.

right quick, because she laughed, and everybody laughed. The man sitting beside her was laughing too and he slapped his leg. He had a big shiny pin on his tie, so I knew they was rich and could get a doctor if they needed one.¹⁵

The technique used results in a tension between what the child narrator tells and what the adult reader reads, most likely making the reader feel a sad relief that the child's innocence and kindness protected him from full realization of the meaning of the encounter in the bus and arousing pity for any child ridiculed just for their ethnicity.

In her critical study of narrativity, *Narrative Fiction* (1983), Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan makes the distinction between the focalizer as "the center of consciousness" and the narrator, or "the user of the third [or first] person,"¹⁶ a distinction useful for this analysis of the use of child voice in literature. For Rimmon-Kenan, "focalization and narration are distinct activities"¹⁷ both in first-person as well as in third-person narratives. Twain's novel is an example of text where the child is both the narrator and the focalizer, i.e., Huck both tells the story by using first person narrative and is the "agent whose perception orients the presentation."¹⁸ In contemporary literature, this method is used for example in Mildred Taylor's *Roll of Thunder, Hear My Cry* (1976) or Dori Sanders's *Clover* (1990).¹⁹

On the other hand, many literary texts such as *To Kill a Mockingbird* (1960) by Harper Lee or Gus Lee's *China Boy* (1994) deploy dual perspective where the child is the narrator and one of the focalizers, the adult perspective is present in the second focalizer. The following excerpt from Sandra Cisneros's *The House on Mango Street* (1984) serves as an example of the dual perspective. The text contains both the child's narration – the repetition of the adult's explanation of what happened to the baby – as well as the adult narrator's self adding the poetic, metaphorical opening of the chapter. The adult narrator accurately transmits the child's perspective of the strangeness of the three aunts and the lack of full understanding of death:

They came with the wind that blows in August, thin as a spider web and barely noticed. Three who did not seem to be related to anything but the moon. One with laughter like tin and one with eyes of a cat and one with hands like porcelain. The aunts, the three sisters, las comandres, they said.

The baby died. Lucy and Rachel's sister. One night a dog cried, and the next day a yellow bird flew in through an open window. Before the week was over, the baby's fever was worse. Then Jesus came and took the baby with him far away. That's what their mother said.²⁰

A similar technique is used throughout Philip Roth's novel *The Plot Against America* (2004), where the story is narrated by a boy but often an adult perspective is added. Thus, there are again two focalizers, the second one providing the adult interpretation of events. For example when the boy Phil sees his mother frightened, he feels that "it had

15. Carter, *The Education of Little Tree*, 2.

16. Shlomith Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction: Contemporary Poetics* (New York: Routledge, 1983), 73.

17. Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 73.

18. Rimmon-Kenan, *Narrative Fiction*, 74.

19. More on the use of child narrative voice in Dori Sanders's novel see Karla Kovalová, "A scared little girl, all alone with a scared woman: 'Clover's (Not)Telling Secrets,'" *American and British Studies Annual* 4 (2011): 104–15.

20. Sandra Cisneros, *The House on Mango Street* (1984; New York: Vintage Books, 2009), 103.

fallen to [him] to hold her together, to become all at once a courageous new creature with something of Lincoln himself clinging to him." At the same time, though, he is forced to admit in his adult voice: "all I could do when she offered me a hand was to take it and clutch it like the unripened being I was."²¹ Another illustrative instance is Phil's cousin's return from war, in which he lost a leg. Phil's father cries over the loss: "It was the first time I saw my father cry," narrates young Phil, and the adult focalizer comments on the importance of the moment, seeing it as a "childhood milestone, when another's tears are more unbearable than one's own."²²

These are examples of the dual perspective (i.e., a narrative situation engaged usually in retrospectively narrated texts where the child's voice is mediated or complemented by that of his / her adult self). The child's perspective is used in conjunction with the adult self voice, resulting in a dual perspective or even "an oppositional situation in texts that posits the voice of the child as the 'Other.'"²³ Although this narrative method appears in American literature in general, it is especially pronounced in the corpus of multiethnic literature. As Alicia Otano claims, "child perspective becomes a symbolic narrative strategy that designs multilayered possibilities for meaning [especially] in ethnic writing."²⁴ By deploying the literary device of a child's perspective, certain works of American fiction intertwine the childhood-related tropes of naivety and innocence with the trope of "otherness" (defined generally as the Other or more specifically as ethnic / racial otherness).

Interestingly though, while the child narrator is often used to subvert racial prejudices and undermine the notion of racial / ethnic otherness, Marcel Arbeit claims that contemporary Southern writers often employ child perspective to safely address and even challenge the superficiality of political correctness and the notion that race, gender and ecology are untouchable, un-discussable issues of our current world.²⁵ As in the case of Andersen's fairy tale, the child can challenge issues an adult would not dare to.

To conclude, studying the way childhood is imagined and voiced in literary works by adults can have important cultural and social implications, as it can provide information about relevant power relationships, behavioral patterns and cultural significations. Karen Sánchez-Eppler goes even as far as to suggest that "children's dependent state embodies a mode of identity, of relation to family, institution, or nation, that may indeed offer a more accurate and productive model for social interaction than the ideal autonomous individual of liberalism's rights discourse ever has."²⁶ The frequent use of the child's voice as a means of subverting the accepted *status quo* seems to support her argument.

21. Philip Roth, *The Plot against America* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2004), 66–67.

22. Roth, *The Plot against America*, 113.

23. Lockhart, "Growing Up Jewish in Mexico," 166.

24. Otano, *Speaking the Past*, 9.

25. See Marcel Arbeit, "Vypravěči amerického Jihu," in *Vypravěči amerického Jihu*, ed. Marcel Arbeit and Jakub Guziur (Praha: Ladislav Horáček – Paseka, 2006), 20.

26. Karen Sánchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), xxv.

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FROM SUPERMAN TO MAUS: JEWS IN AMERICAN COMICS

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ABSTRACT: This paper analyzes the presentation of Jewish characters in American Jewish comics. Even though until the 1970s most artists tried to conceal the ethnic origin of their characters, there is a considerable amount of allusion to their Jewishness. One of the earliest examples is Superman, created by Jerry Siegel and Joe Shuster in the late 1930s. A major turning point in the development of American comics came in 1978 when Will Eisner published the graphic novel, *A Contract with God and Other Tenement Stories*. His open and realistic treatment of Jewish characters has become an important aspect of American Jewish comics, mainly Art Spiegelman's *Maus*. In contrast with Jewish heroes and superheroes as presented in, e.g., *X-Men*, the characters in *Maus* are often portrayed as unheroic and neurotic. Only in the last decades are the American Jewish artists using comics to promote Jewishness and heighten cultural awareness.

KEYWORDS: Jewish American comics; superhero comics; comix; graphic novel; Superman; *X-Men*; *Maus*; Art Spiegelman

In the last decades there has been a heightened interest in minority studies and in the presentation of ethnicity or group identity in art, including popular culture. The Jewish influence and presence in American comics has attracted considerable critical attention. From the early emergence of comic strips in America, the contribution of Jewish immigrants has been undeniable and has considerably shaped the development of the media.

The comic strip, together with pulp fiction emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century, replacing the popular dime novel. With an increase in postal rates and subsequent increase in prices, the publishers had to find new and inexpensive ways to provide cheap adventure stories to a mass audience. The main difference lay in the employment of previously neglected genres, such as horror or science fiction. Moreover, the pulp magazines used illustrations to increase their attractiveness.¹ The emphasis on serialization and graphic design was also influenced by the rapid growth of sensation novels in Britain since the 1860s, which dealt with crimes, mysteries and violence in the domestic sphere. Deborah Wynne claims that this "conjunction of cheap magazine and exciting serial novel based on the themes of crime, imposture, and false incarceration in a madhouse, [was] presented in weekly instalments designed to keep readers at a fever-pitch of suspense."² The popularity of these stories corresponded to the rise of

1. See Daniel Wülner, "Suspended in Mid-Month: Serialized Storytelling in Comics," in *The Rise and Reason of Comics and Graphic Literature: Critical Essays on the Form*, ed. Joyce Goggin and Dan Hassler-Forest (Jefferson: McFarland, 2010), 45.

2. Deborah Wynne, *The Sensation Novel and the Victorian Family Magazine* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 2.

Post-Romantic fiction in the works of Mary Shelley, Robert Louis Stevenson or Arthur Conan Doyle.

In America, the sensation novels and pulp stories partially inspired another successor of the dime novel: the comic strip. The illustrators were mostly recruited from second generation Jewish immigrants, whose cartoons later became the basis of the American comics industry. These early cartoons were originally published in Yiddish newspapers, which is one of the reasons why this new popular form received similar treatment as Yiddish culture. According to Paul Buhle:

Hostility toward the comic strip ran parallel, during a crucial phase, to the contempt of Jewish elites for Yiddish: disdain for the comic strip as a “bastard form” merging picture and word was not so far from the charge of *jhargon*, a language neither Hebrew nor German nor Russian but something in between, levelled against Yiddish That both comics strip and Yiddish literature were deeply vernacular, appearing (in Yiddish theatre, books, and the daily or weekly press) around the same historical moment is arguably no coincidence. A buyer had been created for the seller.³

With the rapid development of the print industry and magazines, comic strips soon found their way to the English audience and developed into comic books, consisting mainly of collected popular strips of uneven quality.

The early best-selling stories were populated by superheroes. Although it seemed that their sole purpose was to provide entertainment for children and adolescents, they did, in a “masked” way, reflect the social and political situation of their time. As Douglas Wolk explains: “Superhero comics are, by their nature, larger than life, and what’s useful and interesting about their characters is that they provide bold metaphors for discussing ideas or reifying abstractions into narrative fiction.”⁴ The questions are, what allegorical meanings do early superheroes convey, From which culture do they come and why were they so popular? Did they express only “the lust for power and the gaudy sartorial taste of a race of powerless people with no leave to dress themselves”⁵ as contemporary American Jewish writer and critic Michael Chabon suggests?

The first major success came with the adventures of Superman created by teenage second generation Jewish immigrants Jerry Siegel (1914–1996) and Joe Shuster (1914–1992). When “The Reign of the Superman” (1933) appeared under pen name Herbert S. Fine in their self-published magazine *Science Fiction: The Advance Guard of Future Civilization*,⁶ the character and form largely differed from the famous Clark Kent. It was written as a short story with illustrations, being closer to the popular pulp format than to comics. The Superman here is originally a homeless man called Dunn who is taken into the home of a mad professor who slips a strange substance from a meteorite into his coffee. Dunn wakes up with superhero powers and decides to rule the world. When he disrupts a world peace conference, his powers wear off and he runs away

3. Paul Buhle, ed., *Jews and American Comics: An Illustrated History of an American Form* (New York: New Press, 2008), 5.

4. Douglas Wolk, *Reading Comics: How Graphic Novels Work and What They Mean* (Cambridge, MA: Da Capo, 2007), 92.

5. Michael Chabon, *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier & Klay* (London: Harper Perennial, 2008), 77.

6. Herbert S. Fine, “The Reign of the Superman,” *Science Fiction: The Advance Guard of Future Civilization* 1, no. 3 (January 1933): 4–14.

as a homeless man again. It was not until 1938 when their first Superman comic story appeared.

Their immense success was followed, and to a large degree imitated, by other Jewish American artists, such as Bill Finger (1914–1974) and Bob Kane (1915–1998), who came up with Batman, or Jack Kirby (born as Jacob Kurtzberg, 1917–1994) and his Captain America. The main cartoon artists were still mainly Jewish immigrants, who represented cheap labour as the publishers wanted to avoid copyrights payments. Paul Buhle even calls it “a sweatshop industry of Greater New York.”⁷ Moreover, unlike in other areas, there were no ethnic restrictions in the fledgling comics business. As American Jewish artist Will Eisner (1917–2005) put it, “There were Jews in the medium because it was a crap medium. And in a marketplace that still had racial overtones, it was an easy medium to get into.”⁸ Even when comics were seen as an inartistic form of entertainment for adolescents, there were certain restrictions. Nobody could expect America of that time to accept a Jewish superhero. That is why the superheroes’ ethnicity was as well masked as the characters themselves. Superman may not be explicitly Jewish, yet there are more or less subtle hints pointing to his “otherness.” As Chabon reflects in *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier & Clay*,

“Jewish superheroes?”

“What, they’re all Jewish, superheroes. Superman, you don’t think he’s Jewish? Coming over from the old country, changing his name like that. Clark Kent, only a Jew would pick a name like that for himself.”⁹

Superman’s real name is Kal L (“The Light of God” in Hebrew) and he is the son of Jor L (“The Awe of God”). He is different from others and has to hide his identity under the mask of white middle class American Clark Kent, who is a passive introvert, and “the classic Jewish nebbish,”¹⁰ as Simcha Weinstein calls him.¹¹ Yet, behind his glasses and conservative appearance hides a powerful body and determined mind. His real figure corresponds to the image of a “Muskeljudentum” (muscular Jewry) as advocated by influential Zionist Max Nordau (1849–1923),¹² who believed that physical exercise could serve as a basis for a new, modern Jew.¹³

Superman is the only survivor of his home planet Krypton. As he lost his parents and his people as a child (similarly to Batman), he has an over-developed sense of moral duty to save and protect those who are in danger. For this reason, the Superman series can be

7. Buhle, *Jews and American Comics*, 55.

8. Charles Brownstein and Diana Schutz, eds., *Eisner/Miller: A One-on-One Interview Conducted by Charles Brownstein* (Milwaukee: Dark Horse, 2005), 211.

9. Chabon, *The Amazing Adventures of Kavalier & Clay*, 583.

10. Nebbish: Originally “nebekh” in Yiddish. The term describes an unlucky person who often inspires pity or contempt. See Leo Rosten, *The New Joys of Yiddish*, rev. ed. (London: Arrow, 2003), 387–89.

11. Simcha Weinstein. *Up, Up, and Oy Vey!: How Jewish History, Culture, and Values Shaped the Comic Book Superhero* (Baltimore, MD: Leviathan, 2006), 24.

12. Nordau proposed a new ideal of healthy and strong Jewry mainly in his essays “Muskeljudentum” (1900) and “Was bedeutet Turnen fuer uns Juden?” (1902).

13. See Michael Berkowitz, *Zionist Culture and West European Jewry before the First World War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 105–7.

also read as the Holocaust story. This interpretation is exploited mainly in three issues of *Superman: The Man of Steel* by Louise Simonson and Jon Bogdanove.¹⁴ However, both the artists and publisher faced severe criticism, mainly from Jewish commentators who faulted them for omitting the words “Jew” and “German.”

This controversial decision made by the editors of DC Comics was intended to make the story more universal, as they did not want to present negative stereotypes to young readers.¹⁵ The result may be politically correct, yet it covers up the obvious connections. In issue 80, Superman deals with the Nazis and their supporters in Metropolis, whereas in issue 81 Superman and Lois Lane fly together to occupied Poland as reporters. They meet two young Jewish boys who draw images of Golem in the hope he would come and save them (alluding to Siegel and Schuster). Simonson thus links the legends of Golem, the Jewish superhero, and his American counterpart.

The preoccupation of comics with the Holocaust and Hitler is not reflected only in Superman stories, but also in other superhero series created by Jewish American cartoonists, such as Captain America. The protagonist Steve Rogers is a physically weak artist with glasses. Yet, his rather obsessive wish is to fight Hitler. After several failed attempts to enlist, he gets his chance from a Nazi refugee Doctor Abraham Erskine (based on Albert Einstein). He enrolls in a U.S. Army experiment to create super-soldiers. Rogers is the first one to take the special serum that would turn him into a muscular warrior. He was chosen by Erskine because of his mental qualities, mainly strong determination and compassion, as the serum can only strengthen inherent traits, not create a better person. This story line is followed also in the Marvel superhero movie *Captain America: The First Avenger* (dir. Joe Johnston, 2011). Rogers becomes a soldier with a perfect body. He can lift twice his bodyweight; he is a military expert, gymnast and is resistant to disease and fatigue. He wears a star-spangled costume and uses an unbreakable red, white and blue shield, which is a product of a metallurgical accident.¹⁶ He gets a new name: Captain America. As it is clear from the cover of the first issue published in 1941, his main targets are Hitler and Nazi sympathizers.

With so many criminal and war stories being served to the American youth, it is no surprise that comics became a major concern of various parental organizations and church groups.¹⁷ A German Jewish psychiatrist, Fredric Wertham (originally Fredric J. Wertheimer), became the spokesman for these groups. He launched a crusade against

14. See Louise Simonson and Jon Bogdanove, *Superman: The Man of Steel*, 1, nos. 80–82 (New York: DC Comics, 1998). These issues had no other title.

15. See Eric J. Greenberg, “Superman Editors Sorry about Omission: Comic Erases Jews from Holocaust,” review of *Superman: Man of Steel*, by Jon Bogdanove and Louise Simonson, *New York Jewish Week*, July 10, 1998.

16. See Alastair Dougall, ed., *The Marvel Comics Encyclopedia: A Complete Guide to the Characters of the Marvel Universe* (New York: DK Publishing, 2008), 54.

17. The main organizations concerned with the potential harmful content of comics were the National Office for Decent Literature and the Committee on Evaluation of Comic Books in Cincinnati. See Amy Kiste Nyberg, *Seal of Approval: The History of the Comics Code* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), 23.

comics (and the cartoonists of mainly East-European Jewish origin) and summarized his findings in his study *Seduction of the Innocent* (1953). He firmly believed that this medium has a direct influence on the rise of juvenile delinquency. In 1954 *Disneyland* and one year later *Mickey Mouse* (in cartoon since 1928) became the most popular children programs. But according to Wertham, comics caused the greatest harm. In Senate hearings he called for censorship that would ban all violent or “graphic” scenes from the media. As Douglas Wolk observed, “Every formal convention of superheroes can be read as something on the continuum between amusingly pervy and genuinely sick: the skintight outfit, the mask, the double life, the incident in which one’s true identity was formed, the way first interaction with everyone of one’s kind is a physical tussle, the kid sidekick.”¹⁸ Wertham even accused many of the superhero characters of promoting homosexuality, which went hand in hand with the portrayal of violent and aggressive female characters. Especially the physically attractive duo Batman and Robin, wearing their tight superhero costumes constantly saving each other’s lives, were accused of providing false and dangerous models to children and adolescents, who were the target audience of comics. According to Wertham,

They live in sumptuous quarters, with beautiful flowers in large vases, and have a butler, Alfred. Batman is sometimes shown in a dressing gown. As they sit by the fireplace the young boy sometimes worries about his partner: “Something’s wrong with Bruce. He hasn’t been himself these past few days.” It is like a wish dream of two homosexuals living together. Sometimes they are shown on a couch, Bruce reclining and Dick sitting next to him, jacket off, collar open, and his hand on his friend’s arm. Like the girls in other stories, Robin is sometimes held captive by the villains and Batman has to give in or “Robin gets killed.”¹⁹

Yet, the effect of his findings was not so far-reaching as he had hoped. The responsibility for politically correct content was shifted to the comics publishers. They were not allowed to present violence and sex. Even though the U.S. Senate found Wertham’s arguments unscientific and unsystematic,²⁰ his views largely reflected the view of popular culture of that time. Although Wertham felt he had lost, the development of the media towards more mature and sophisticated themes was significantly retarded.

Yet, as all attempts at censorship, Wertham’s crusade created great resentment and lead to the founding of an underground movement. Comics became part of the counter-culture of the 1950s and 1960s. As Roger Sabin remarked, “Produced outside the commercial mainstream, they were often called ‘comix’ (sometimes ‘komix’) both in contra-distinction to their straight counterpart and to denote their ‘x-rated’ content.”²¹ This movement was forwarded by many American Jewish writers such as Harvey Kurtzman (1923–1993), Robert Crumb (b. 1943), a Jewish convert, and Art Spiegelman (b. 1948). These writers largely ignored the censorship and under the influence of the Jewish Beat Generation movement filled their work with sex, violence and drug usage.

18. Wolk, *Reading Comics*, 101.

19. Fredric Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent* (Mattituck, NY: Amereon, 1996), 190.

20. See Nyberg, *Seal of Approval*, 85.

21. Roger Sabin, *Adult Comics: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 1993), 36.

The 1960s with the Civil Rights Movement and protests against the Vietnam War and later the 1970s with its Black is Beautiful Movement brought minorities to the centre of attention. Being ethnic or different was the motto of the day. The emphasis on cultural diversity found its way first into American fiction and also comics. Portrayals of different races and nationalities became a politically correct way to avoid criticism. This social climate together with the tendencies of underground comix to bring the medium back to adult readers resulted in rethinking of comics strategies. Yet, it posed another problem: how to present ethnic groups without stereotyping, especially since the comics medium is largely based on stereotypes.

With the publication of Will Eisner's graphic novel *A Contract with God and Other Tenement Stories* (1978), the representation of Jews and Jewish topics in comics considerably changed. By creating comics stories with openly Jewish characters, recognizable by their accent, appearance and common, everyday hardships, he introduced realistic stories and everyday heroism to the media. His direct and culturally-based ethnic representation prepared the ground for comics to find their way from the underground to the cultural mainstream: Art Spiegelman's *Maus*.

This Holocaust graphic novel was innovative in many ways. Firstly, the characters are portrayed as animals, and Jews are presented as unheroic, including the survivors, which was quite unusual even for the American Jewish Holocaust fiction of that time.

Maus consists of two parts presented by Art Spiegelman who is interviewing his father, Vladek. *Maus: A Survivor's Tale; I: My Father Bleeds History* (1986) depicts the struggle to survive in occupied Poland. Even though it is clear that Vladek and his family are Jewish, they are assimilated and not observant Jews. Moreover, the relationship between Vladek and his son is rather complex. It is considerably marked not only by Holocaust, but also by the death of Vladek's first son, Richieu, who was poisoned by his aunt to escape deportation to Auschwitz, and by the suicide of his first wife, Anja, in 1968.

The second volume, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale; II: And Here My Troubles Began* (1991) does not concentrate only on historical events but also depicts Art's doubts and insecurities about his identity and the appropriateness of the comics medium to represent the Holocaust. It starts with a quotation from a newspaper article published in Germany in the mid 1930s, on which Spiegelman based his metaphor:

Mickey Mouse is the most miserable ideal ever revealed Healthy emotions tell every independent young man and every honourable youth that the dirty and filth-covered vermin, the greatest bacteria carrier in the animal kingdom, cannot be the ideal type of animal Away with Jewish brutalization of the people! Down with Mickey Mouse! Wear the Swastika Cross!²²

In *Maus*, each nationality is metaphorically portrayed as one animal species. Moreover, the individual members look alike, without any facial expression. The only thing that differentiates them on the external level are glasses or clothes. Yet, they still have their individual voices and characters. Spiegelman thus manages to show this group

22. Art Spiegelman, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale; II: And Here My Troubles Began* (New York: Pantheon, 1991), [3].

division as absurd and ill-grounded. And more importantly, he does not sentimentalize or romanticize the Jews, even when he describes his own father. Vladek Spiegelman and many other Jewish characters are not portrayed as moral, strong or even likeable. At one point Art feels that the way he presents his father is almost racist: "It's something that worries me about the book I'm doing about him In some ways he's just like the racist caricature of the miserly old Jew."²³

Moreover, Vladek is also presented as a racist. His prejudice is shown mainly in one scene when Art's wife Françoise decides to give a lift to an African-American hitchhiker, or a 'shvartser' as Vladek calls him. When he gets in the car, Vladek says in Polish: "Oh my God. What happened to his wife? She's lost her head!" Françoise asserts that Vladek behaves to him in the same way as the Germans towards the Jews. When Vladek cannot prevent the black man from riding with them in one car, he at least protects his shopping bag as if it could be stolen.

Even if his behaviour could be partly explained as the consequence of his past trauma, Art is aware that it is not only history that shaped his father's character. Vladek's second wife Mala is also a Holocaust survivor, but she is not embittered and wants to enjoy her life. For her, the past is a closed chapter. Vladek is pedantic and economizing. He is preparing himself for another war, not realizing he is creating another battlefield within his family and transferring his trauma on his son. As a result, Art feels guilty and inadequate, not only because he was not there, but also because of his work. As Stanislav Kolář noted, Art's insecurity about his Holocaust comics "raises the moral question of who has the right to represent [the] Holocaust."²⁴

The representation of Jews in comics thus changed from hidden ethnic features of seemingly white American middle-class superheroes to unheroic victims of history. Only in this way was it possible for (American Jewish) comics, after initial controversy over the medium, to be accepted into the cultural mainstream. As Paul Buhle observes, "During the decades to follow, careful readers could cite more than forty outright Jewish characters, including Holocaust survivors, an occasional Jewish lesbian, and even an Israeli ambassador!"²⁵ The graphic novels dealing with the Holocaust or Jewish history tend to be separated from the superhero comics, and in many bookshops they even occupy different shelves.

Ethnic representation in comics has become fashionable, yet without sufficient depth. One of the possible solutions was suggested in a new Marvel Comics superhero series, *X-Men*.²⁶ This series told stories of genetic evolution. Selected humans started to feel unusual super powers. Each of them was a member of some ethnic or national group. As for the Jewish characters, the most powerful was Magneto, the main villain of

23. Art Spiegelman, *Maus: A Survivor's Tale; I: My Father Bleeds History* (New York: Pantheon, 1986), 131.

24. Stanislav Kolář, "Trauma and the Holocaust in the American Novel," in *Reflections of Trauma in Selected Works of Postwar American and British Literature*, by Stanislav Kolář, Zuzana Buráková, and Katarína Šandorová (Košice: Univerzita Pavla Jozefa Šafárika v Košiciach, 2010), 43.

25. Buhle, *Jews and American Comics*, 120.

26. Created by Stan Lee and Jack Kirby. The first issue appeared in 1963.

the series. His simple opposing function is made more complex by presenting him as an Auschwitz survivor who lost his entire family. He experienced hatred towards nations and ethnic groups and is determined to get his revenge. Unwittingly, he behaves like his original adversaries, trying to discriminate and overpower humans. He also sees mutants as a higher evolutionary stage of the human race. Ethnicity was used to make the story more appealing to a variety of readers and follow the dominant cultural trend.

However, in the last decade, the creators of *X-Men* tried to highlight the ethnic features of the individual characters and give more insight into their histories to provide sufficient motives for their actions. The origin of Magneto (born Max Eisenstadt, later called Eric Lehnsherr) is dealt with in more detail in the 2011 film *X-Men: First Class*.²⁷ His story starts at the gates of a concentration camp where he is marched along with his mother. When he is separated from his family, his anger and frustration starts moving the barb wired fences. This is noticed by officers who try to manipulate him into doing it again. When he fails, they shoot his mother in front of his eyes. That frustration and helplessness unleashes his powers. As the Nazis partly fear but mainly admire his powers, which could be used for military purposes, he survives the war.

After the war ends and Eric gets his freedom, he is determined to get his revenge and find the German officer whom he blames for his mother's death. On his search he meets professor Xavier, a mind reader, and they both start working for CIA. Idealistic Xavier believes that humans can peacefully coexist with mutants. Eric, remembering the persecution of minorities in Germany, is not so optimistic. When the mutants divert the Russian and American potential clash in Cuba and stop the threat of a nuclear war, all armies turn against them, as Eric expected. He separates from Xavier and under the name Magneto is ready to confront the human attacks.

Yet, even though Magneto is presented as Jewish, his speech and appearance is ethnically unmarked. He is not even culturally close to the Jewish tradition. His ethnicity is thus used only as a tool for achieving greater character complexity without making a cultural point, avoiding potential criticism of stereotyping. Jewishness was thus in this and many other cases portrayed as a group feature, usually connected with trauma, yet the culture and spirit were missing.

There is another character in *X-Men*, a teenage girl named Kitty Pryde, who is not only presented as openly Jewish (to a larger extent than Magneto) but who also observes Jewish cultural and religious customs. Her faith proves to be lifesaving. She wears the Star of David around her neck, even though she is not Orthodox. When she is trying to defeat Dracula, she uses a cross. However, that has no effect on the vampire as she is not a Christian. He gets hold of her neck, when suddenly his hand starts burning. It is the Star of David that saves her life.²⁸ Kitty also resorts to faith and religious customs after her boyfriend Colossus (Peter Rasputin) dies. She lights a "Yartzeit," a Jewish memorial

27. Matthew Vaughn, dir., *X-Men: First Class*, DVD, Twentieth Century Fox, 2011.

28. See Chris Claremont, "Night Screams!," in *The Uncanny X-Men*, 1, no. 159 (New York: Marvel Comics, 1982).

candle for him, even though this is traditionally done only for family members of Jewish faith whereas he was a Russian atheist.²⁹

A similar tendency towards cultural specification of ethnic characters can be observed in contemporary comics written and published by American Jewish artists. As the interest in Judaism has been increasing, new Jewish publishing houses are being founded. They promote comics, and mainly superhero comics, devoted to the spreading and appreciation of the Jewish culture and religion.³⁰ As Laurence Roth comments, "Making use of their super-powers, set off the mainstream society, devoted to justice, and operating in mythic and supernatural realms, these heroes defend Judaism as the source of Jewish cultural power, even as comic books about abject Jewish pasts concomitantly unmoor American Jewish culture from religious practice."³¹ This emphasis on full cultural representation could determine the future of American Jewish comics, one rooted in culture and religion. By presenting Jewish history as heroic and even superheroic, they can contribute to a higher cultural awareness and recognition among the steadily growing numbers of comics readers.

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29. See Greg Rucka and Darick Robertson, "Yartzeit," in *X-Men Unlimited*, 1, no. 38 (New York: Marvel Comics, 2002).

30. See, e.g., Al Weisner *Shaloman* (1988–2004), Berel Wein and Robert J. Avrech *Rambam: The Story of Maimonides* (2005), or J. T. Waldman *Megillat Esther* (2005).

31. Laurence Roth, "Contemporary American Jewish Comic Books: Abject Pasts, Heroic Futures," in *The Jewish Graphic Novel: Critical Approaches*, ed. Samantha Baskind and Ranen Omer-Sherman. (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2010), 16.

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THE BRITISH INFLUENCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF FLORIDA, 1763–1783

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ABSTRACT: This article begins by documenting the main reasons the Spanish failed to establish a self-sustaining colony in Florida during the First Spanish Period, 1513–1763. It then documents the steps Great Britain took during its short-lived possession of Florida (1763–1783) to occupy, govern and repopulate the territory with the ultimate goal of transforming it from an unproductive Spanish backwater into a civilized and profitable British colony, centered on the plantation system and black chattel slavery. Ultimately, this article contends, contrary to what some historians have argued, that the British, despite the brevity of their rule, greatly influenced the social, political and economic development of Florida.

KEYWORDS: Florida; Spain; Great Britain; St. Augustine; Native Americans; First Spanish Period; Seven Years' War; American Revolutionary War; Treaty of Paris; colonization

The sestercentennial anniversary of the beginning of the British Period in Florida (1763–1783) will go largely unrecognized by the vast majority of Floridians, the general consensus being that little of note happened at that time. This view has been fueled in part by historians, whose appraisals of British Florida have generally been unflattering. Charles Arnade argued that Britain's twenty-year rule of Florida was not enough to accomplish lasting change, while Gloria Jahoda, even more critical, termed British sovereignty in Florida "almost an irrelevancy."¹ These historians, however, greatly underestimated the lasting British influence on Florida's development. In fact, in comparison with the First Spanish Period in Florida (1513–1763), the British efforts should be viewed as both remarkable and progressive.

The Spanish first arrived in Florida in 1513 via the West Indies, bringing with them racist attitudes towards the dark-skinned natives and an intense desire for transportable wealth – namely gold. As a result, the early conquistadors felt little moral compunction against cutting a swath through the Florida peninsula, enslaving natives and killing them when they resisted. After all, the natives in their minds were barely (if at all) human and thus hardly worthy of humane treatment.² In 1537, however, the pope decided for several reasons, not altogether altruistic, that the Native Americans were in fact human and should be treated as such.³ This led to a gradual shift in Spanish

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1. See Charles W. Arnade, "Cycles of Conquest in Florida," *Tequesta* 23 (1963): 28–29; Gloria Jahoda, *River of the Golden Ibis* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), 80–81.
 2. See Michael Gannon, "The Coming of the Judeo-Christian Religions to the Caribbean and Florida," in *Myths and Dreams: Exploring the Cultural Legacies of Florida and the Caribbean* (Miami Lakes, FL: Jay I. Kislak Foundation, 1999), <http://www.kislakfoundation.org/millennium-exhibit/gannon1.htm>.
 3. See Paul III, "Sublimus Dei (On Slavery in the New World)," May 29, 1537, *EWTN* (Irondale, AL: Eternal Word Television Network, 2012), <http://www.ewtn.com/library/papaldoc/p3subli.htm>.

attitudes toward native Floridians. Instead of killing them, the Spanish determined to Christianize and civilize them. They established St. Augustine on the northeast coast of Florida in 1565 and then worked in conjunction first with the Jesuits and then with the Franciscans to build a mission system throughout northern Florida.

Despite these efforts, several factors led to the failure of the Spanish colonization of Florida during the First Spanish Period. First, Florida lacked transportable wealth and as a result was relegated to the periphery of Spain's New World plans. For this reason, Spain did not adequately support the colony financially, and much of the royal funding earmarked for the Florida mission system and natives was siphoned off by corrupt Spanish officials in Cuba and St. Augustine.⁴ Second, European diseases took a drastic toll on the native population, making the mission system untenable.⁵ Furthermore, those natives who survived the biological onslaught often rejected the Spanish god for not protecting them, thereby rejecting the central purpose of the missions. Third, the English encroached on Florida and sent other natives south from South Carolina and later Georgia to attack Spanish Florida and its mission system, in large part because Spanish Florida had made a policy of harboring English runaway slaves.⁶ Finally, the mission system failed because the Spanish, being ethnocentric, tried to force the Native Americans to adopt Spanish ways and assimilate, which met resistance from the natives. Furthermore, the Spanish tended to lump all the native Floridians together as Indians, and this despite the fact that there were vast differences between the different tribes of Florida. Failure to recognize these differences hindered the Spanish in their efforts to civilize and Christianize the natives.

For all of these reasons, the Spanish failed in their efforts to colonize Florida and transform it into a self-sustaining, if not profitable, New World colony. In the end, all Spain really had to show for its efforts were a presidio in Pensacola in the west, and the town of St. Augustine with its nearby fortress, Castillo de San Marcos, in the east. Furthermore, the population of the colony had been greatly reduced by disease, warfare, and emigration.

Florida ceased to be Spanish, at least for the time being, in 1763 when Great Britain took possession of the colony, a result of the Treaty of Paris that officially ended the Seven Years' War. When Britain made Florida its fourteenth North American colony, it immediately began instituting changes. Britain already had a decades-old mercantile connection with Florida, and it used this connection as its beachhead in conquering the new frontier. Even so, the British faced the daunting tasks of occupying the colony, establishing a government, re-populating the colony and making it profitable.

Florida's size and frontier status made it too difficult to effectively administer. To make Florida more manageable, it was divided by royal proclamation into two parts:

4. See Charles W. Arnade, "The Failure of Spanish Florida," *The Americas* 16, no. 3 (1960): 279.

5. See Paul E. Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 125–33.

6. See Gannon, "The Coming of the Judeo-Christian Religions to the Caribbean and Florida." See also Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers*, Chapter 8. See also Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida's Indians from Ancient Times to the Present* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 171–76.

East Florida with its capital in St. Augustine, and West Florida with its capital in Pensacola. All of peninsular Florida ended up in the East, while what was then an extended panhandle became the West.⁷ British officials then threw out a whole slew of fraudulent land claims stemming from unscrupulous deals, most of which were made between Spanish and British land agents right before the changeover. Invalidating these claims opened the Floridas to British settlement.⁸ Then, at the Picolata Conference in November, 1765, some Lower Creek Indians, chosen by British officials to represent all Florida natives, ceded most of the peninsula to the British in exchange for gifts, thus giving the British legal title to most of the Floridas.⁹ Once the British held legal title to the land, they sent surveyors throughout Florida to measure and map exactly of what they had gained possession, something that the Spanish were never really able to achieve, especially in the interior. Many modern-day Florida place names originated with these British surveyors. Once the surveys were completed, the land could be partitioned and transformed into private property. British land grant policies were fair and lenient and did not discourage settlement. Any head of household, regardless of race, could apply to the Councils of East or West Florida for one hundred acres for himself and fifty more for each additional family member. Between 1765 and 1775, the Council of East Florida made 576 grants, totaling more than 210,000 acres. Furthermore, over 1.4 million acres were doled out to British nobility and investment firms on the stipulation that they would find settlers for the land within a certain time period.¹⁰ Land grants were also offered to soldiers of the Seven Years' War. Such policies encouraged settlement.

Nor did the British waste time proselytizing to the natives. Instead, they substituted the Spanish priest with the English trader and included the natives in the global trade network. To win the favor of the natives, the British started out by gift giving, but they soon de-emphasized gifting and instead catered to the Indians' material desires, even allowing the natives to purchase on credit.¹¹ And, whereas the Spanish panicked every time a British ship was seen off the coast of Florida, the British somewhat begrudgingly allowed Spanish fishermen to continue to ply their trade all along the Florida coast, recognizing the mutual benefit of their efforts. The British then established a plantation system in the most fertile part of Florida – the northern midlands. In doing so, they brought black chattel slavery to Florida, resulting in a sizeable demographic shift in the colony. The Spanish and even the Indians had previously owned slaves in Florida, but their breed of slavery was kinder and gentler in the sense that upward mobility was still

7. See Janet Snyder Matthews, *Edge of Wilderness: A Settlement History of Manatee River and Sarasota Bay, 1528–1885* (Sarasota, FL: Coastal Press, 1983), 64.

8. See Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers*, 211–14. See also James W. Covington, *The British Meet the Seminoles: Negotiations between British Authorities in East Florida and the Indians, 1763–68* (Gainesville: University of Florida, 1961), 5–16.

9. See James W. Covington, *The Seminoles of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), 17.

10. See Florida State Library and Archives of Florida, "WPA History of the Spanish Land Grants," 2012, xv–xvi, <http://www.floridamemory.com/collections/spanishlandgrants/wpa.php?page=3>.

11. See John Missall and Mary Lou Missall, *The Seminole Wars: America's Longest Indian Conflict* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 8.

possible.¹² With the British, the racial attitudes in Florida changed, and society included black slaves and white masters but none of the in-between groups that characterized the Spanish period. The Florida natives, who lived closely with runaways and their descendants, were asked by the British to adopt British racial attitudes and take a hard line towards blacks among them, but they would not, a fact which would set the stage for the Seminole Wars in the nineteenth century.¹³

In 1775, the American Revolutionary War began, and in 1776, thirteen American colonies declared independence from Britain. The Floridas, however, whether out of loyalty or apathy, did not. Instead, the Floridas followed the Bahamas in maintaining allegiance to the crown, which led to the Floridas becoming a haven for loyalists, most of British and Irish descent, from other North American British colonies. Many of these loyalists brought their slaves with them, dramatically increasing the black population in the Floridas. By 1783, East Florida's population was lopsided, with only 6,090 whites but 11,285 slaves. This migration into the Floridas during the war also afforded slaves another opportunity to escape, which they did in great numbers with many finding shelter among the Indians. Furthermore, economic activity increased in the Floridas as loyalists, blacks and Indians became important suppliers of agricultural products for the British war effort.¹⁴

With the outbreak of the American Revolutionary War, Spain, sensing an opportunity, began channeling money to the American cause. Then, in 1779, Spain declared war on Great Britain and focused on ejecting the British from the Gulf of Mexico. In 1780, Spain captured Mobile. Then in May 1781, Pensacola fell to Spanish forces, effectively giving Spain possession of West Florida. In October 1781, the British suffered defeat in Virginia, ending the American Revolutionary War. Spain, however, needed another bargaining chip in the upcoming treaty negotiations, so in 1782 a Spanish fleet appeared off the coast of Nassau, the capital of the Bahamas. Nassau surrendered without a fight. In the Treaty of Paris of 1783, the British possession of the Floridas came to an end, as Britain surprised few by trading the Floridas back to Spain in exchange for the Bahamas.

Yet, even in such a brief period, the British managed to make an indelible mark on Florida. First, Britain divided Florida into the Floridas, administratively severing Pensacola from St. Augustine and allowing both sections to develop faster than they would have if administered only from St. Augustine. Second, the British renamed many Florida locations, and many of the names stuck. Third, the British Period witnessed a population influx in the Floridas, and much of the new populace, comprised of British, Irish, Indians, blacks, and others, remained despite the reversion to Spanish rule. Thus, Britain and her policies of colonial development were largely responsible for the formation of a polyglot society in Florida that would dictate its future development.

12. See Patrick Riordan, "Finding Freedom in Florida: Native Peoples, African Americans, and Colonists, 1670–1816," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (1996): 39–40.

13. See Riordan, "Finding Freedom in Florida," 24, 34–36.

14. See Hoffman, *Florida's Frontiers*, 219–30.

Fourth, the British were responsible for introducing the plantation system into north Florida, and they also built upon a livestock industry first instituted by the Spanish. These two industries would also play an important role in Florida's future. Therefore, Arnade and Jahoda were clearly mistaken. The British had a sizeable influence on the development of Florida. Indeed, they accomplished more in Florida in twenty years than the Spanish managed in two and a half centuries.

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A JOY IN FEAR: THE PASSION FOR FEAR IN JOANNA BAILLIE'S PLAYS *ORRA* AND *THE DREAM*

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ABSTRACT: This paper compares two tragedies in the third volume of Joanna Baillie's *Plays on the Passions* in which the playwright explores the workings of fear on the minds of two main protagonists. The title character of *Orra* is a woman driven to madness by her superstitious fear of the supernatural, which is indicative of Baillie's affiliation with the Gothic. In *The Dream*, General Osterloo collapses, terrified of dying with a guilty conscience. This paper discusses a new theory of theatre Baillie herself formulated, and draws connections to Burke's notion of the sublime, stressing the importance of fear and terror for creating an aesthetic experience. The plays also demonstrate a tendency to depict the psychology of characters, namely their suppressed feelings and emotions.

KEYWORDS: Joanna Baillie; *Orra*; *The Dream*; fear; sublime; imagination; madness; theory of theatre; psychology

In 1812, the Scottish playwright and poet Joanna Baillie (1762–1851) published her third volume of *A Series of Plays on the Passions In Which it is Attempted to Delineate the Stronger Passions of the Mind*, containing two tragedies, *Orra* and *The Dream*, a comedy *The Seige*, and a musical *The Beacon*. Apart from the last mentioned work, the principal passion of which is hope, her last volume of plays is entirely devoted to the “passion” of fear.

Passions play an important role in all of the dramas by Baillie, since she is mainly interested in the psychology of her characters, emotions that drive them, and feelings that motivate their actions. Thus the objective is replaced by the subjective, with the characters and their psychologies being more important than the plot. Her view of tragedy as a genre is first presented in the “Introductory Discourse,” which formed a preface to the first volume of the *Plays on the Passions*. In it she wrote:

The task particularly belonging to tragedy is that of unveiling the human mind under the dominion of those strong and fixed passions, which seemingly unprovoked by outward circumstances, will, from small beginnings brood within the breast, till all the better dispositions, all the fair gifts of nature are borne down before them; those passions which conceal themselves from the observation of men, which cannot unbosom themselves even to the dearest friend; and can, oftentimes, only give their fullness vent in the lonely desert, or in the darkness of midnight.¹

Baillie tried to formulate a new theory of theatre, believing that it need not serve merely as an entertainment but could affect people's lives in a positive way. She expected her audience to learn from the experience of her dramatic characters, to be able to control the emotions which may destroy them by recognizing their progress and gradual

1. Joanna Baillie, “Introductory Discourse,” in *The Complete Poetical Works of Joanna Baillie* (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1832), 16.

development. She believed that all people are naturally interested in emotions and what motivates the actions of other people, and that these passions would be more interesting in a dramatic piece than a mere spectacle.

Despite the fact that Baillie intended her plays to be performed on the stage, they were more popular as “closet dramas,” i.e., they were widely read. Not many of her dramas were acted out, partly due to the conditions of the theatres of her time, and also because of hostile reactions of some critics and reviewers.² She was, nevertheless, an important literary figure in the first half of the nineteenth century, and she counted among her friends many famous writers and poets. The recent critical interest in Baillie stresses her importance as a female playwright, one who dealt with issues like gender problems, patriarchal power, the power of imagination, and the importance of psychology.

Orra is the first play in which Baillie explores the emotion of fear, particularly that of the supernatural. This play is also unique among her oeuvre in that it has a female protagonist – she mostly casts male heroes in her plays. *Orra* is a young woman, heiress to a family fortune, whose guardian wants her to marry his son whom she loathes. She is a strong woman able to resist pressures; longing to live independently, she has her own plans and wants to be her own mistress, so that she may enjoy both her power and her wealth. She knows that in the fourteenth century, when the play is set, a marriage of equals is almost impossible. Thus, she chooses spinsterhood over being just “that poor and good-for nothing, helpless being . . . with all my lands and rights in the hands of some proud man.”³ She refuses to obey both her guardian’s demands and her father’s last will. But she has one principal character flaw: like Catherine Morland from Jane Austen’s early novel, *Northanger Abbey* (1818), *Orra* is obsessed with Gothic stories. She reads them often, and she also enjoys her maid telling her supernatural tales. Baillie criticizes the audience response to the Gothic, but compared to Austen’s novel, Baillie’s play lacks the irony of Austen’s narrative. *Orra*’s obsession is taken seriously, and it leads to tragic consequences. When reading or listening to a ghost story, she experiences both mental and physical delight. *Orra* is completely absorbed in her experience, unable to confront reality. She describes her feelings in this way:

When the cold blood shoots through every vein:
When every pore upon my shrunken skin,
A Knotted Knoll becomes, and to mine ears,
Strange inward sounds awake, and to mine eyes,
Rush stranger tears, There is a joy in fear. (*O*, 29)

So for *Orra*, fear is a pleasant sensation. However, such a strong emotion can be easily used to the character’s disadvantage, and that is exactly what happens to *Orra*. To terrorize her into submission, her guardian and one treacherous count, who wants to marry her, decide to confine her to a castle supposedly haunted by a murdered knight.

2. Christine A. Colón, Introduction to *Six Gothic Dramas*, by Joanna Baillie, ed. Christine A. Colón (Chicago: Valancourt, 2007), xv–xxii. Colón mentions especially the critic of the *Edinburgh Review*, Francis Jeffrey.

3. Joanna Baillie, *Orra*, in *A Series of Plays* (New York: Garland, 1977), 3:10. Hereafter cited in text as *O*.

Both conspirators arrange for Orra to hear the story of the knight and learn that she is the murderer's relative. The scheme is seemingly perfect. Orra is confined to the same chamber where the murder is said to have been committed, and even on the same date, St. Michael's Eve.⁴ She spends the critical night incarcerated in the chamber together with her maid, and despite being horrified, she still wants to listen to the stories of the specters, so again, her passion is stronger than reason. She also repeatedly rejects the advances of the treacherous count who tries to use her superstitious fear to force her into marrying him. But, Orra rejects him on the grounds that experiencing a night of terror is better than becoming the wife of a "vile reptile" (*O*, 71), as she calls him.

The situation becomes more complicated when a rescuer appears: Theobald, a nobleman of reduced fortune, enters through an underground passage leading to Orra's chamber. Unfortunately, he enters in the guise of the murdered "spectre-huntsman," which is not a good idea, because upon seeing him, Orra believes that she is being visited by her murdered ancestor. She shrieks and falls senseless to the ground. Orra never recovers – her fright robs her of her sanity. Her madness serves as a liberation from social pressures, which is often the case with Gothic heroines. She escapes matrimony because a mad albeit rich wife is not desirable. Her superstitious fear gave her guardian and other men conspiring against her a certain amount of power over her, which is now lost forever. Mad Orra declares: "I'm strong and terrible now: Mine eyes have looked upon all dreadful things" (*O*, 99). She feels strong, but not strong enough to liberate herself from her paranoia. As William D. Brewer observes, imagination can be both a liberating and debilitating power.⁵

The debilitating power of the imagination can be most strongly observed in the protagonist of the second tragedy on fear, *The Dream*. The principal character of this tragedy is a male, General Osterloo, a brave imperial warrior, whose principal weakness is the fear of death with a guilty conscience. Baillie challenges the traditional view that women are naturally predisposed to succumb to fear, while men are not. In her address "To the Reader," she explains why she wrote a second tragedy on fear with a male hero. Baillie was "unwilling to appropriate this passion in a serious form to her own sex entirely, when the subjects of all other passions hitherto delineated in [*The Plays on the Passions*] are men."⁶ Also in the play, one monk remarks to another, observing the pitiful state of mind of Osterloo while awaiting execution, that "fear will sometimes couch under the brazen helmet as well as the woolen cowl."⁷

4. St. Michael's Eve, also known as Michaelmas Eve, is a Celtic holiday celebrated on the evening of September 28. Bonfires are set and lamb roasted and eaten, traditionally followed by singing and dancing.

5. See William D. Brewer, "The Liberating and Debilitating Imagination in Joanna Baillie's *Orra* and *The Dream*," in *Utopianism and Joanna Baillie*, ed. Regina Hewitt College Park: University of Maryland, 2008), <http://www.rc.umd.edu/praxis/utopia/brewer/brewer.html>.

6. Joanna Baillie, "To the Reader," in *The Complete Poetical Works of Joanna Baillie* (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1832), 240.

7. Joanna Baillie, *The Dream*, in *Six Gothic Dramas*, ed. Christine A. Colón (Chicago: Valancourt, 2007), 193. Hereafter cited in text as *D*.

As in *Orra*, the world of *The Dream* is essentially a dark, Gothic, medieval nightmare. The action takes place in a monastery where two monks are haunted by disturbing dreams in which an opened tomb and a mysterious skeleton appear. In a nearby village, an unknown pestilence is claiming the lives of many peasants. In the dreams it is revealed that a passing knight should be chosen by lot to pay penance for a long-forgotten crime. Osterloo is the chosen knight who is to undergo the test of fear in order to redeem the suffering community. As the play progresses, it turns out that Osterloo is a murderer who treacherously killed his romantic rival who happened to be the brother of the prior of the monastery. The prior now wants to exact revenge and execute the knight. Osterloo is able to withstand physical torture since he is a valiant soldier, but he is not prepared to face the reality of the crime he committed years before, and is horrified of the eternal punishment awaiting him after death.

While awaiting execution, he quickly deteriorates from a macho, dominant warrior into a feeble, ruined man. As one monk remarks, "he seems broken and haggarded with age, and his quenched eyes are fixed in their sockets, like one who walks in sleep . . ." (*D*, 192). Similarly as in *Orra*, there appears a brave rescuer who tries to save him, but this time the gender roles are reversed when his old love, Countess Leonora, enters a secret passage leading to the monastery disguised as a monk. Unlike Osterloo, Leonora feels strong and full of energy, which saves her from fear. But her attempt fails – she has been deceived by a monk loyal to the prior and given the wrong key to the grated gate.

Another chance comes for Osterloo when the king's ambassador enters the execution chamber in the manner of the *deus ex machina* and orders the execution to stop at the very moment the executioner's axe is about to behead the general. But, it is too late, for Osterloo is already dead. The prior tells the ambassador to "return to Lewis of Bavaria your master and tell him that his noble general, free from personal injury of any kind, died, within the walls of this monastery, of fear" (*D*, 197).

Both characters, *Orra* and Osterloo, share the same emotion of fear "intensified to the point of hysteria by their strong imagination."⁸ This character trait is quite symptomatic of the genre and the period, and can be found in many plays and novels. David Punter in his *Literature of Terror* (1996) stresses the importance of fear as "not merely a theme or an attitude, but a factor having its consequences in terms of form, style and social relations of the texts."⁹

Orra's experience of joy linked to fear is reminiscent of the philosophy of Edmund Burke, who believed that "terror is in all cases whatsoever . . . the ruling principle of the sublime," and that "no passion so effectually robs the mind of all its powers of acting and reasoning as fear."¹⁰ Burke also demonstrates the close connection between fear and

8. Brewer, "The Liberating and Debilitating Imagination," 9.

9. David Punter, *The Literature of Terror: A History of Gothic Fictions from 1765 to the Present Day* (London: Longman, 1996), 18.

10. Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, in *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1854), 1:88.

pain in acting on body and mind, and observes that fear causes “unnatural tension of the nerves, alternately accompanied with unnatural strength which suddenly changes into an extraordinary weakness.”¹¹

These sudden changes can be seen both in Orra and Osterloo. Orra, when confined to the haunted chamber, repeatedly and bravely resists the advances of her suitor, but when he finally leaves her, she falls into utter despair. This tendency is more visible in Osterloo, whose transformation from a brave soldier into a helpless miser is even more surprising. When he learns about the fate awaiting him, he desperately tries to free himself, exhibiting courage and strength. Also when Leonora, his former love and present rescuer, enters his prison cell, she hardly recognizes him, so changed is his appearance. But when she communicates to him the chance of a rescue, he regains his old strength, claiming that he is strong enough to liberate himself. When the attempt fails and the prior’s soldiers try to detain them, Osterloo fights as a lion, then, upon being subdued, falls again into his former stupor. A soldier describes the change in Osterloo: “Alas! His face has returned to its former colour, his head sinks on his breast, and his limbs are again feeble and listless. I would rather see him fighting like a fiend than see him thus” (*D*, 189).

Burke mentions other concepts creating the effect of the sublime and affecting the imagination. He concluded his treatise with a chapter on the influence of words on the emotions. He states that eloquence and poetry are in many cases more capable than nature and the other arts of creating deep and lively impressions. This is certainly true for Orra who revels in ghost stories. The influence of words on Orra is clearly visible – she is flushed, then turns deadly pale. And, when she is confined to a supposedly haunted chamber with her maid who tells her one more ghost story, the effects on Orra are clearly visible: “Thy shrunk and sharpened features, are of the corpse’s colour, and thine eyes, are full of tears” (*O*, 74).

Osterloo’s imagination is less vivid because his fear rests mainly on the dread of the unknown realms of the afterlife. This is also a concept Burke mentions when he writes about fear connected to ideas of God, magnificence and infinity. Osterloo tells the prior that anything that can be endured here is mercy compared to the dreadful things that come after death. He is a sinner, so he believes that the dreadful tortures of hell will follow his execution. He even loses his faith, as his imagination overpowers his devotion. He sees a “terrible form that stalks forth to meet me! The stretching out of that hand! The greeting of that horrible smile! And it is thou, who must lead me before the tremendous majesty of my offended Maker!” (*D*, 187).

To conclude, Baillie in both plays depicts the emotion of fear and the power of imagination as strong forces operating on the minds of the characters of Orra and Osterloo. On the one hand, both protagonists experience the sense of the sublime as a strong aesthetic experience, while fear awakens their perceptions and enhances their human qualities, bringing about the voice of conscience in the imperial general.

11. Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry*, 145.

On the other hand, their fearful imaginations make them vulnerable to manipulation, which eventually brings about their destruction. Both plays, and in general most of Baillie's plays, reflect this tendency visible in the literature of the nineteenth century, to depict the psychology of the characters, concentrating on their suppressed feelings and emotions. Another important factor is the relationship between the imagination, reality and otherness, which in this period shifts from readings of otherness as supernatural, which Tzvetan Todorov calls "the marvelous," and otherness as natural and subjectively generated, which is the category of "the uncanny."¹² There is no ghost of the dead knight in *Orra*. Rather, it is a real person, and the ghost exists only in *Orra's* vivid imagination. When encountering him *Orra* sees the image of her dreams, not reality. Also the dreadful scenes of the afterlife are present only in *Osterloo's* visions, but they are so strong that the boundaries of reality and dream, life and death collapse for him. There definitely can be "a joy in fear," but the consequences can be less joyful than the experience itself.

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12. Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fantastic: A Structural Approach to a Literary Genre*, trans. Richard Howard (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1975), 41–57.

IAIN BANKS'S USE OF THE GOTHIC

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ABSTRACT: The paper explores Iain Banks's contribution to contemporary Scottish Gothic. It discusses some of his mainstream fiction (as opposed to his science-fiction novels) and its development over more than a decade, from his cult novel *The Wasp Factory* (1984) to *A Song of Stone* (1997). Banks is one of the most important authors of contemporary Scottish Gothic, and his novels are of exceptional quality. With their focus on dark family secrets and oppressing locales, they resonate with some of the features of the traditional Gothic, but his use of realism ultimately undermines the genre. The purpose of this paper is to situate Banks's work in the context of contemporary Scottish literature and to explain his innovative attitude towards the Gothic tradition.

KEYWORDS: Scotland; Gothic; contemporary literature; Iain Banks; humour; realism

The term "Gothic" is often problematic, so I will start by defining the Gothic for the purpose of this paper. I follow the definition of Martin Gray, who declared that the Gothic "is an approach to specific problems and anxieties," not so much a genre nowadays but "a specific type of literary presentation concentrating on the bizarre, macabre or aberrant psychological states."¹ Similarly, for the contemporary Scottish author Allan Bissett, the Gothic is "a way of seeing the world or rather what's going on beneath it, the hidden, the unspeakable."² It is thus not precise to call a novel Gothic nowadays because the Gothic has been absorbed. It has found its way into nearly all the genres and mainstream literature (I should note that I do not mean "mainstream" as a derogatory term but use it in the "Banksian" sense, which means "serious literature" as opposed to sci-fi in his case).

I do not claim that Iain Banks is a Gothic writer. I even doubt the existence of a category called Gothic writer due to the role that the Gothic plays in contemporary literature as opposed to the literature of the eighteenth century. In that time, the category of a Gothic writer (Horace Walpole, Clara Reeve, Ann Radcliffe) is readily distinguishable. Contemporary authors who want to make use of Gothic tropes will most likely not commit themselves to writing just in the realm of the Gothic. They tend to utilize a lot of Gothic features but not to abandon the specificity of their respective genres or styles of writing. Thus, Iain Banks is not a Gothic writer, but he clearly employs Gothic motifs in his writing.

I will explore the Gothic in Banks but also other elements of his work, which are in fact inseparable from the Gothic he employs. Using several novels of his, among them

1. Martin Gray, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms* (Harlow: Longman, 1992), 129.

2. Allan Bissett, "'The Dead Can Sing': An Introduction," in *Damage Land: New Scottish Gothic Fiction*, ed. Allan Bissett (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2001), 4.

The Wasp Factory (1984), *Complicity* (1993) and *A Song of Stone* (1997), I am going to demonstrate the specificity of his writing and its unique results.

Even though I have tried to focus on other works besides *The Wasp Factory*, everything seems to return to this, his first, novel. For many readers it was a shocking experience when they first read this book, and even today it is still perceived as a very unsettling work of art. The novel has since gained a cult status for more than one generation of readers. In the novel, Frank is a teenager growing up with his father in reclusion. He does not officially exist, he has no birth certificate, the council does not know about his existence and his father is his only teacher. His brother Eric has recently escaped from a mental hospital, where he was placed for setting dogs on fire. Frank's personal history comprises a long list of murders, pain infliction and atrocity. He killed his brother, and his two cousins. He spends his time sacrificing animals and trying to dominate the (is)land around him.

To fully understand his motivation, it is necessary to expose the first important feature of Banks's writing and of the Gothic as well: subverting gender roles and the interrelated sexual transgression or the resulting undermining of hetero-normativity. Transgression, excess and anxiety concerning the female are distinctive tropes of "masculine Gothic," which was used to interrogate heterosexual male identities. Frank (and his macho hyper-masculine behaviour) is depicted in monstrous and grotesque terms and the reader is repulsed by his actions, as well as sometimes being amused. Brutal violence is balanced by a touch of dark humour. Combining horror with the grotesque is a distinctively Gothic trait.

But, there is a clever twist that reverses all the expectations in the end when it is revealed that Frank is in fact a girl. Frank is transgressing genders, which presents a threat to the laws and norms of the society. More than a hundred years ago homosexuality was perceived in Gothic terms, which culminated in the court trial of Oscar Wilde. His accusers were reading aloud parts of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* to prove the monstrosity of his sexuality, which they equated with the sexuality of the main protagonist of the book.³

The Wasp Factory can be situated into the *Frankenstein* tradition as well. The roles there were exchanged: It is not a female author writing about the creation of a masculine monster anymore; Banks – a male – wrote a novel about a feminine monster. Frank, or Frances, which was her original name, is the victim of a terrible scientific experiment by her father. As a result of the father's anger and bitterness towards womankind, the father decided to change her gender and sex by convincing her that her male genitalia were in fact bitten off by the family dog and keeping her away from the world while giving her medication and hormones to keep the femininity in her suppressed. In this case the monstrosity of the creature reflects the monstrosity of the creator.

Banks led the reader to believe that all you need to change a woman into a man is medicine. However, as the plot unravels, the reader can sense the ever-present tension

3. See L. Andrew Cooper, *Gothic Realities: The Impact of Horror Fiction on Modern Culture* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 57–115.

and incongruence in Frank's over-masculine behaviour, resulting from the conflict between his feminine base and his masculine body. His domination of the (is)land is ensured by killing and torturing the weaker (small animals, children). The inner turmoil in Frances resulted in him / her trying to act as man-like as (s)he could which, according to the books and movies (s)he has read or seen, meant becoming a fearless warrior. The protagonist is endlessly consuming popular culture in the form of music, television or literature, and so (s)he internalises the violence contained within the media, and that is partly what makes her / him a monster, created largely by the impression of the world (s)he has seen on TV, not only by the father's experiments. Michael Kimmel states that "violence is often the single most evident marker of manhood,"⁴ and violent behaviour is exactly what Frank pushes into excess.

As Frank states, "Having no purpose in life or procreation, I invested all my worth in that grim opposite . . . and so I became the killer . . ."⁵ As a biological woman, (s)he feels the urge to procreate, but believing that (s)he is in fact a man, (s)he finds it trying to act according to his / her role-models and replaces creation with destruction. And there is also the materialized potential destruction situated in the cellar under Frank's house, which is full of unstable explosive material. This is a metaphor of the constant threat that Frances has become and of the terrible heritage of the past when his / her father decided to change his / her nature.

In general terms the transformation of a feminine nature into the stereotypes of masculine identity is a recurrent theme in Banks's fiction. It can also be found in *A Song of Stone* in the character of the Lieutenant (a man-like leader and cold-blooded character) or in *Canal Dreams* (1989), where the protagonist, like a merciless avenger, is slaughtering those who raped her. One of Banks's novels is called *Inversions* (1998), and that is precisely what he does with stereotypical gender characteristics – he explores the nature of gender roles by reversing them. In *Whit* (1995) and *The Business* (1999) he explores the nature of masculinity through the eyes of a female narrator. The author clearly proves that gender is not biologically given but assigned by society.

The essence of Scottishness goes hand in hand with the Gothic in *The Wasp Factory*. Banks once mentioned that an English reviewer suggested the novel contained something "foreign and nasty."⁶ After all, who should know more about the dualistic Scottish nature than the author who chose to divide his books into two groups, using a different authorial name for each: Iain Banks for "mainstream literature" and Iain M. Banks for science fiction. According to Marshall Walker, Scots are seen as fundamentally dualistic people.⁷ Their inner world is divided in many ways – religion: the problematic heritage of Calvinism and the Protestants versus Catholics, language:

4. Michael S. Kimmel, "Masculinity as Homophobia," in *Theorizing Masculinities*, ed. Harry Brod and Michael Kaufman (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1994), 132.

5. Iain Banks, *The Wasp Factory* (1984; London: Abacus, 1995), 183.

6. James Robertson, "Bridging Styles: A Conversation with Iain Banks," *Radical Scotland* 42 (December 1989 / January 1990): 26.

7. See Marshall Walker, *Scottish Literature since 1707* (London: Longman, 1996), 14–16.

the original Gaelic, the old national language Scots and English as a language artificially imported, and nationality: the conflict between being a Scot and a British citizen at the same time. It is expressed in terms of schizophrenia (e.g., Robert Louis Stevenson's famous novel *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde*, 1886) or the various figures of doubles appearing on pages of Scottish books (as in James Hogg's *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, 1824). The Gothic is thus linked with the Scottish indulgence in disunity, ambivalence and disruption because it is naturally apt for expressing these kinds of ideas.

In Banks's *A Song of Stone*, Abel, the main protagonist, is an old aristocrat and the owner of an old castle. The castle is slowly deteriorating, which underlines Abel's impotent passivity. Castles, traditional Gothic elements, are powerful symbols in Banks's books. A castle can serve both as a shelter or a location of terrible deeds. It can be a place of flourishing culture but it has to defend its prosperity by force. The novel also features alternative forms of sexual expression. First of all, Abel is making love to the earth itself. Secondly, incest is a recurring motif (not only in this novel), as Abel's lover is his sister. Thirdly, there is lesbian love – when the butch Lieutenant seduces Abel's sister.

Gothic is instrumental in defying taboos. The characters are convinced they can define their own morality which is reminiscent of the extreme Calvinism of the above mentioned James Hogg novel where religion enables the protagonist to become an amoral villain – simply by practising his belief that he is the elect one who stands above the others, which gives him the right to do anything. Abel in *A Song of Stone* believes the different lifestyle, mode of dressing and even sexual life (his incestuous relationship) set him apart from, that is higher than, the others. The story is reminiscent of Edgar Allan Poe's Gothic short-story "The Fall of the House of Usher" (1839), in which the relationship between the two main characters is marked by incest, and the protagonists are unable to leave the ancient mansion, their home, which is collapsing.

Abel and the soldiers who come to his castle and destroy it both present extremes in which the human ceases to be human to some extent. The true selves are revealed inside the castle – the barbarity of the soldiers who do not hesitate to descend to a primal level and act like animals and parasites and the decadence and impotence of the aristocracy – Abel just stands aside and watches his old family seat being torn to pieces. In *A Song of Stone* the main protagonist is displaced by a woman who is more capable than him to play the master's role. Even after her death, her legacy lives on. The soldiers christen a stolen piece of artillery "The Lieutenant's Prick," actualizing the Freudian theory of penis envy, and it is strung on this heavy cannon where Abel awaits his death, being ultimately submissive to the Lieutenant's will.

Banks explores the theme of playing games in each of his novels, even naming one of them *The Player of Games* (1988). He does not play games only with characters and plots but also plays games with the reader and with genre possibilities, combining genres generally considered incompatible. *The Wasp Factory* is usually referred to as a Gothic story, but its realistic setting subverts expectations. In a similar vein, in *Walking*

on *Glass* (1985), Banks combines science fiction with the novel of manners. What is interesting is that both levels remain equally important. In the end he incorporates elements of social criticism as well, which is completely unsuitable for a love story but fits perfectly. The love story, according to Cairns Craig, is “reshaped to a critique of inhumanities which can be approached only through an alternative genre.”⁸ *A Song of Stone* is a combination of a Gothic story, science fiction dystopia and a historical novel. *Complicity*, the novel discussed below, is a crime fiction fused with a chilling Gothic atmosphere and a political thriller. The games that Banks plays with the characters and the reader here are especially vicious.

The main protagonist of *Complicity*, Cameron Colley, is addicted to playing computer games, especially the world conquering strategy game “Despot.” His hobbies and actions contradict everything he claims about himself. He has a mental image of himself as a liberal pacifist who fights the wrongs of the world. His deeds, on the other hand, prove he is no better than the Tory politicians he loathes. The game in which he dominates, threatens and executes people is his virtual reality, which he finds fulfilling. Andy, his best friend, and Cameron are in fact two sides of the same personality (a sort of modern day Jekyll and Hyde), Cameron talks about Andy as about his other self. But out of these two, Andy is the one that fights for his ideals and is trying to make the world a better place, even though he does so by killing people. Cameron ends up in self-destructing passivity.

Complicity is a bitter account of a man who just could not sit and watch the corrupted world anymore and decided to get even with the evils of modern liberal individualism and merciless capitalism. Banks started to write the novel at the time when his country was experiencing the consequences of Margaret Thatcher’s omnipresent liberal individualism and the idea that there is no society and everybody should take care just of themselves, the period which saw the fall of heavy industry in Scotland, a huge rise in unemployment, the Falklands War and the Poll Tax introduction (in Scotland from 1990, deeply unpopular, culminating in Poll Tax Riots and Thatcher’s demise). Alan Bissett notes that the Gothic “has always leaned conspicuously to the left, traditionally taken a great delight in tearing to shreds the bourgeoisie, the Church, the patriarchy or any other bastion of power.”⁹ It is thus a perfect tool to show the bleakness of this period and to uncover the reverse side of radical individualism.

In *Complicity* the past and the present coalesce into one as the past events are told in the present tense as if all the things were happening at the same time. The narrative moves forward and backward but all the events seem to merge into one time frame. Disruption of temporality is also a recurring theme in Banks’s novels. It serves to highlight the importance of the past in the shaping of a future that becomes horrific when the secret the two main protagonists share is revealed, a secret which infuses this thriller with its Gothic dimension. The protagonists of Banks’s books have

8. Cairns Craig, *Iain Banks’s Complicity: A Reader’s Guide* (London: Continuum, 2002), 25.

9. Bissett, “The Dead Can Sing,” 6.

to become themselves the sources of fear in order to cease to be fearful. Thus they escape their fears.¹⁰ Andy's anxiety is the foundation of the monster terrorist that Cameron paradoxically released into the world by writing an article in which he was calling for a merciless avenging figure to come and right all the wrongs in the society. Andy decided to fulfil his wish.

The foundation of the violent incidents in the present is rooted in suppressed (Andy) or forgotten (Colley) event of the past, creating a combination of a sense of injustice and guilt. Both characters share the memory of childhood violence, and by juxtaposing both the time frames in the present tense Banks reveals a direct link. Both boys were sexually assaulted by a man in the woods, and the boys were in the end accomplices in this man's murder. Knowing that he had seen them doing something forbidden – a trespass of hetero-normativity – they decided to hide his body in an abandoned tunnel. Banks wrote the book shortly after the Orkney child abuse case, which may have been an inspiration for him, as surely was Operation Desert Storm in Iraq. The memory of his failure as a war correspondent provides another skeleton in the closet for Cameron. For him it is a memento of his cowardice.

In the last chapter Cameron recalls another memory. It was when he, Andy and two girls entered Mary King's Close in Edinburgh – the domestic tomb of those plague infected citizens under the Old Town Area. It is precisely there that Cameron experienced the touch of absolute terror, a kind of primordial fear from something long forgotten. This tomb is reminiscent of the tunnel where they buried the rapist alive. Their descent into Mary King's Close is the descent into the mythic, into the past – it is a meeting with death. The memory of violence or some dreadful deed from the past is Banks's modern-day Gothic ghost that haunts the protagonists of his books. Either physical or emotional violence dominates all kinds of relationships in these novels. Both *The Wasp Factory* and *Complicity* use extreme imagery and improbable situations, featuring protagonists trying to escape some kind of terrible heritage. Banks merges genres in order to approach the inhumanities of the end of the twentieth century.

Gothic as a "genre" is said to be "re-emerging cyclically in periods of cultural stress, to negotiate the anxieties that accompany social and epistemological transformations and crises."¹¹ It is nowadays recognized more as an x-ray of the defects of the human psyche and an expression of its dark side than a literary genre in the sense of sci-fi or thriller. In *The Gothic*, written by David Punter and Glennis Byron, Banks is the only contemporary Scottish author listed.¹² This is evidence of his being one of the best contemporary Scottish authors describing the anxiety of modern man. Banks's Gothic deals with sexual transgressions, the unspeakable and violence that always has a comedic aspect to it. Scottish psyche is not a monolithic creation, and the Gothic

10. For a discussion of the relationship between the fearful and the fearless see Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel: Narrative and the National Imagination* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 37–75.

11. Chris Baldick and Robert Mighall, "Gothic Criticism," in *A Companion to the Gothic*, ed. David Punter (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), 221.

12. See David Punter and Glennis Byron, *The Gothic* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).

emphasizes this disunity of the self. By employing the Gothic, Banks is able to capture the unique and essential fragmentation of the Scottish literary self.

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DIASPORA IN THE POETRY OF FLEUR ADCOCK

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ABSTRACT: The article examines diasporic dilemma in the poetry of Fleur Adcock, an internationally acclaimed poet of New Zealand origin. Based on representative texts from her *Poems 1960–2000* (2000), the article examines the postcolonial fear of losing one's original culture and the process of coming to terms with the isolation that Adcock's relocation to Britain caused. The theme of diaspora in Adcock's work is discussed in the context of the poet's exclusion from both New Zealand and British culture. She describes the panic of not belonging to one's native community and the ambivalent reception in the adopted country. Adcock's poetry provides images of displacement – both mental and geographical – resulting in a quest for identity that may not easily be completed. The article analyzes Adcock's Europeanized view of her native New Zealand as Adcock's poetry is the artistic result of two-way cultural traffic between New Zealand and Britain.

KEYWORDS: Fleur Adcock; New Zealand; United Kingdom; Britain, poetry; diaspora; postcolonial literature; feminism; colonization in reverse

Fleur Adcock (b. 1934 in Papakura, New Zealand) is that rare case of a contemporary New Zealand poet achieving international acclaim. In her poetry, Adcock constantly questions identity. In her poem "Please Identify Yourself" she questions whether she has closer affinity to England or New Zealand: "British, more or less; Anglican of a kind. / . . . / . . . No, I'm from New Zealand."¹ Her career has been shaped by her postcolonial sensibility as well as by her growing attachment to England, her adopted country. At age five she moved with her family to England and remained there for eight years. During this period, she gradually came to see England as her own country, and when her family moved back to New Zealand she reacted with despair. After two failed marriages to fellow New Zealand writers (Alistair Campbell and Barry Crump) Adcock returned to England for good in 1963. As a result of these experiences, Adcock has focused her work on a search for identity and genealogy.

In Britain, Adcock has been linked to the Group poets² with whom she shared a preference for traditional poetry in the mode of Thomas Hardy. Therefore, she rejects the modernist poetics of Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot, especially their use of abrupt changes of logic and syntax, and the difficulty of obscure and idiosyncratic allusions and symbols. Still, Adcock as a poet schooled in the classics utilizes her education to her advantage. Being well read in classical verse forms and rhyme patterns, she employs these to provide a firm framework for her poems; yet the content of her poems is highly contemporary. In her poems, she prefers dialogical form as a means

1. Fleur Adcock, *Poems 1960–2000* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Bloodaxe, 2000), 61. Hereafter cited in text as *P*.

2. For Adcock, especially the influence of Group poets, namely Philip Hobsbaum, Edward Lucie-Smith, Adrian Mitchell, Peter Porter (a fellow New Zealand poet), and George MacBeth, proved to be vital.

of exploring the dilemma of the exiled artist. Adcock at the same time carefully counterweights tenderness and sensitivity with sarcasms, exemplified in the poem "On the Border." There, a woman-speaker transforms her melancholy amidst the tropical "non-silence" into a proclamation of feminist strength with a sardonic twist: "I don't care. / . . . / I [am] writing in English / . . . / Now let me tell you about the elephants" (P, 136). Martin Booth notices that Adcock "often looks at common experience through fresh eyes, always using a language that all can enter."³ The poet does not have the ambition of creating completely new images, describing unusual topoi or delighting in extraordinary situations – she is a poet of commonplace and colloquial speech.

Adcock often makes use of imaginary trips to Northern Ireland, England, and New Zealand.⁴ The voyages of the family members between Europe and New Zealand are transformed in Adcock's poetry into rites of passage. Jules Smith believes that in Adcock's texts, "dialogue between Britain and New Zealand is at work throughout; [and] memory and family history continually negotiate."⁵ Springing from such negotiations, the themes of mental growth and of overcoming obstacles are foregrounded as, for example, in the poem "The Voyage Out" (from *The Scenic Route*, 1974). In this poem, Adcock casts a picture of physical and mental hardship during a voyage to New Zealand undertaken by Martha, a pregnant woman who finds it hard to manage on the weekly limited portions of dried and oversalted food. In addition, there is little comfort in travelling: "Their quarters, also, adequate. / So not the middle passage; no. / But not a pleasure cruise, either" (P, 62–63). The hot weather during the voyage is difficult for Martha to bear. In addition, she must take care of four children, the company of which she should as a mother enjoy because it is "true, the family was together" (P, 62–63). However, in her mind she struggles with the past and the relatives she leaves behind "and no more Ireland that went with her" (P, 62–63). On the one hand, an attractive new life in New Zealand lies ahead, yet it comes at the price of losing her old European self. The dilemma of diaspora typically haunts the protagonists of Adcock's poems for the rest of their relocated lives. The diaspora is here understood in terms defined by Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur as "displaced communities of people who have been dislocated from their native homeland through the movements of migration, immigration, or exile. . . . Diaspora suggests a dislocation from the nation-state or geographical location of origin and a relocation in one or more nations-states, territories, or countries."⁶

Although the theme of migration has often been explored by English-language writers, Adcock's rendering of her experience of a white immigrant to England does not

3. Martin Booth, *British Poetry 1964 to 1984: Driving through the Barricades* (London: Routledge, 1985), 130.

4. The inclusion of Northern Ireland might seem surprising but part of her family is of Northern Irish origin.

5. Jules Smith, "Fleur Adcock," *Contemporary Writers in the UK* (London: BBC, 2011), <http://www.contemporarywriters.com/authors/?p=auth161>.

6. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur, "Nation, Migration, Globalization: Points of Contention in Diaspora Studies," in *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, ed. Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2003), 1.

fit the tradition of colonization-in-reverse,⁷ as is the case with Caribbean immigrants to the United Kingdom. Rather, when she returned to England as an adult she considered it a welcome escape from her New Zealand past. Janet Wilson makes a distinction “between Adcock’s experience of exile, alienation and dispossession, and the experience of writers marginalised by attitudes to different ethnicities.”⁸ Unlike the Caribbean people who arrived in Britain in the 1960s and 1970s, Adcock was not oppressed or marginalised due to her racial, ethnic, and religious affiliation. She chose England as a self-imposed exile in the country of her ancestors, and the position of a cultural outsider in England gave rise to some of her best poetry of identity. R. P. Draper claims that “relationships across the generations are recurrent themes in Adcock’s poetry, giving it a breath and variety which balance the sometimes seemingly cool tautness of her critical spirit.”⁹ However, she does not only celebrate her British heritage. In “A Haunting” (from *Looking Back*, 1997) Adcock imagines an encounter with her great-great-grandfather on an English street. Their meeting is not a pleasant experience since they do not understand each other due to culture and education differences. Ultimately Adcock asks, “Is it compulsory, I wonder / to like one’s ancestors?” (*P*, 243). Searching for her roots thus fails to provide Adcock with a usable past. Emma Neale advocates that “studying Adcock as an example of diaspora writing proves a highly productive way of understanding and interpreting her personal explorations – and partial resolution – of a divided identity. . . . Adcock herself has written that the question of her national identity has influenced, infected, and to some sense distorted the course of [her] adult life.”¹⁰ The uneasy relationship to her ancestors might be understood in the context of diasporic literature that not only celebrates but also questions the identity of the writer in exile.

The Inner Harbour is a 1979 poetry volume that occupies a central position in Adcock’s oeuvre. The book is made up of poems that document the trauma caused by her occasional short-time visits to New Zealand. Smith explains that Adcock dramatizes “a sense of geographical and emotional displacement, with a consequent search for identity.”¹¹ The travels between England and New Zealand are explored in the section of the book symbolically entitled “To and Fro,” in which the feelings of displacement and uprootedness are foregrounded. Adcock does not fully belong to New Zealand anymore, yet in the United Kingdom she is not accepted as British either. The ambivalence regarding her national identity is exemplified in the short poem “Immigrant,” in which

7. The term colonization-in-reverse was coined by Louise Bennett in her 1966 poem “Colonization in Reverse.” In it, she describes how Caribbean people wished to return to their “mother country,” i.e., the United Kingdom, in order to start a better life. Yet, in most cases, they experienced rejection, racial prejudice and were enormously disappointed by the hostile attitude of the British government and public toward coloured immigrants.

8. Emma Neale, review of *Fleur Adcock*, by Janet Wilson, *British Review of New Zealand Studies* 17 (2008): 151. See Janet Wilson, *Fleur Adcock* (Tavistock: Northcote House, 2007).

9. Ronald Philip Draper, *An Introduction to Twentieth-Century Poetry in English* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1999), 154.

10. Neale, review of *Fleur Adcock*, 150.

11. Smith, “Fleur Adcock.”

she gives an autobiographical portrait of a 1963 immigrant to Britain who has lived in London for eight months. The speaker of the poem suffers from cold in spite of the fact that she is wearing a Marks and Spencer jacket, a British product tailored for British weather conditions. Yet, what occupies the mind of the speaker more than the cold is her uneasy assimilation with the British – she wants to fit in and therefore she attempts to use the proper Cockney pronunciation, “[I] secretly test my accent once again: / St James’s Park; St James’s Park; St James’s Park” (P, 111). On the one hand, the speaker dresses as a typical British citizen, yet on the other hand she realizes that her accent still makes her a foreigner. Therefore, the poem is dominated by a feeling of alienation and loss. In “Going Back,” Adcock revisits the once familiar places of her first country but realizes that she cannot relate to her early childhood any longer: “Suddenly no more New Zealand except in receding pictures / for years. And then we had it again, but different. / ‘Do you remember this path?’” (P, 113–14).

A similar nostalgia about a lost past is mentioned by Adcock in an interview that she gave to Julian Stannard: “I regard myself as English in my residence and my allegiance and my emotional orientation. But I can’t deny I am a New Zealander. And New Zealand won’t let you get away. . . . I have a slight phobia about being trapped in New Zealand without a return ticket.”¹² When Adcock visited New Zealand in 1976, she was celebrated as a New Zealand writer with a considerable international reputation. At the same time, she was repeatedly asked why New Zealand was not good enough for her to stay. However, back in 1963, Adcock chose to leave for England, the country where she was so happy during her childhood. In her well-known poem “Instead of an Interview” (from *The Inner Harbour*, 1979), Adcock addresses this dilemma of belonging again. On the one hand, there are New Zealand’s “hills,” “water” and “clear air” and all her family members within easy reach and places she knows to the very last detail so that she would be able to find them with her eyes closed. On the other hand, the geographical proximity of her New Zealand family does not make it possible for her to find “a town or a city [she] could live in” (P, 115). Adcock has, by this time, become too British to be able to re-assume a New Zealand identity: “Home, as I explained to a weeping niece, / home is London; and England, Ireland, Europe” (P, 115). Upon her departure from New Zealand she nonetheless takes memorabilia such as shells, pebbles, bark, and pottery with her, and she scatters them in visible places in her England household. When she wires her New Zealand relatives about her safe arrival in Britain she writes, “‘Safely home’ / and moments later, thinking of my dears, / I wish the over-resonant word cancelled: / ‘Arrived safely’ would have been clear enough, / neutral and kinder” (P, 115). Adcock feels ambivalent about not fully being and feeling either British or New Zealander, which is reflected in the two versions of the telegramme – “Safely home” as opposed to the more neutral “Arrived safely.” An interview with Julian Stannard confirmed that Adcock found her 1976 visit “very traumatic, engaging with parts of my past I had tried to forget about.”¹³

12. Fleur Adcock, interview by Julian Stannard, *Thumbscrew*, no. 17 (Winter 2000): 15.

13. Adcock, interview by Julian Stannard, 10.

The recent poetry of Adcock shows that she has managed to reconcile her two identities – the New Zealander and Briton in her are no longer adversaries. “No one can be in two places at once,”¹⁴ she admits in a poem from *Dragon Talk* (2010). Although Adcock has been honoured with the Order of the British Empire (1996) and the Queen’s Gold Medal for Poetry, her lines “Goodbye, summer. Poetry goes to bed. / . . . / The gates close early. What wanted to be said is said” (*P*, 276) should not be viewed as her farewell to the world of poetry but rather as an opening of a new chapter in her poetic exploration of the British-New Zealand diaspora.

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14. Fleur Adcock, *Dragon Talk* (Tarsset: Bloodaxe, 2010), 10.

CANADIAN GRIM: LIFE CYCLE IN ALISTAIR MACLEOD'S "AS BIRDS BRING FORTH THE SUN"

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ABSTRACT: In his short stories, Canadian novelist and short story writer, Alistair MacLeod, frequently depicts a canine entity that abounds in rich symbolism. This paper deals with the role of a large grey dog (referred to in Gaelic as *cù mòr glas*), a central figure and a leading symbol in MacLeod's short story "As Birds Bring Forth the Sun." It attempts to demonstrate how its author uses a local Scottish legend from the area of Isle of Skye, in which the dog plays a central role, transforms it to suit the Canadian environment and gives it a universal scope, thereby making it globally relevant.

KEYWORDS: Canadian literature; life cycle; death omen; changing seasons; grey dog; Alistair MacLeod

INTRODUCTION

Although from the global point of view the island of Cape Breton in Nova Scotia represents a rather insignificant piece of land, it produced one of Canada's finest short story writers, whose writing is tightly bound with the Celtic heritage of the island and its Highland Scots traditions – Alistair MacLeod. In the introduction to *Alistair MacLeod: Essays on His Works* (2001), Irene Guilford picked a scene from MacLeod's novel *No Great Mischief* (1999) that succinctly demonstrates Nova Scotia's old world connection. In the scene, a young student answers a simple question – where he comes from – with a response that "raises a situation familiar to many Canadians."¹ The answer can be either simple – from Cape Breton, or more complex, complemented with – but from the old country, too.² This connection to Europe, the place of origin, is not the only one felt by MacLeod's characters.³ It is a connection that can be related to MacLeod himself and to the very core of his writing.

Alistair MacLeod spent a considerable part of his life on Cape Breton and its surroundings. Although born in Saskatchewan, his family moved to Cape Breton when he was ten, and ever since then he felt unwilling to leave. Throughout his life, he kept returning back to his great-grandfather's house on the island,⁴ strengthening

1. Irene Guilford, Introduction to *Alistair MacLeod: Essays on His Works*, ed. Irene Guilford (Toronto: Guernica, 2001), 7.

2. See Guilford, Introduction, 7.

3. See Guilford, Introduction, 7.

4. See Shelagh Rogers, "An Interview with Alistair MacLeod," in *Alistair MacLeod: Essays on His Works*, ed. Irene Guilford (Toronto: Guernica, 2001), 12.

his ties with the local history, legends, folklore and his own family heritage, and portraying the lives of the island's inhabitants in his short stories. Still, it would be misleading to interpret MacLeod's work as an isolated piece of writing that captures only the essence of life on Cape Breton and the connection of its inhabitants with their Scottish origins. Just as in *No Great Mischief*, MacLeod emphasizes that "nations are not defined by arbitrary borders, but by a sharing, by often disparate peoples . . . daily concerns and sensitivities,"⁵ Janice Kulyk Keefer claims that MacLeod "insists upon a transnational and transcultural solidarity among those who perform authentic, necessary and demanding physical labour."⁶ However, the idea of transnational and transcultural solidarity seems not to be the case only of people who perform hard labour, as is the case of characters in *No Great Mischief*. A similar notion of universality, of relevance of MacLeod's themes for all people, can be found in his short stories. Even though Cape Breton has been the most powerful source of inspiration for MacLeod, his themes "are not only Canadian ones . . . they are universal,"⁷ because his short stories try to explore whatever it is that connects people.

Irene Guilford claims that one of the aims of MacLeod's stories is to "challenge us to go further . . . to look beyond our own borders to the greater world at large"⁸ and ask ourselves "what do we have in common? What do we share? What can we know, within the limits of human understanding, about one another?"⁹ This paper therefore aims to analyze MacLeod's short story "As Birds Bring Forth the Sun" in order to demonstrate how the author utilizes a remnant of his ancestors' Scottish heritage, a local Scottish legend from the area of the Isle of Skye, how he re-invents it in Canadian environment, thereby endowing it with universality.

SCOTTISH LEGEND – CANADIAN SHORT STORY: FROM SPECIFIC TO UNIVERSAL

The Scottish folklorist, Calum MacLean, spent his life gathering and recording the songs and stories of Gaeldom.¹⁰ Once he came across a shepherd in the district of Morar, south of the Isle of Skye and asked him about the legendary Grey Dog of Moeble.¹¹ The shepherd then told MacLean a story about the MacDonald family of Morar, a story which is strikingly similar to the legend from "As Birds Bring Forth the Sun." The ancestor of the MacDonald family, MacDonald of Moeble, used to have a grey hound who vanished one day and birthed her pups somewhere on the island.

5. Alistair MacLeod, *No Great Mischief* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1999), 247.

6. Janice Kulyk Keefer, "Love Labour Lost: Alistair MacLeod's Elegiac Ethos," in *Alistair MacLeod: Essays on His Works*, ed. Irene Guilford (Toronto: Guernica, 2001), 82.

7. Jane Urquhart, "The Vision of Alistair MacLeod," in *Alistair MacLeod: Essays on His Works*, ed. Irene Guilford (Toronto: Guernica, 2001), 38.

8. Guilford, Introduction, 10.

9. Irene Guilford, Introduction, 10.

10. See Colin Nicholson, "Re-Sourcing the Historical Present: A Postmodern Turn in Alistair MacLeod's Short Fiction," in *Alistair MacLeod: Essays on His Works*, ed. Irene Guilford (Toronto: Guernica, 2001), 96.

11. See Nicholson, "Re-Sourcing the Historical Present," 97.

When MacDonald found her again, her pups did not recognize their master and killed him before their mother could interfere. Ever since then, the Grey Dog's occasional appearance foreshadowed the death of a MacDonald family member.¹²

Alistair MacLeod's own ancestors came from the Island of Eigg, situated off the western coast of South Morar.¹³ They likely brought with them to Cape Breton some portion of the local myths and legends, including the one about the MacDonalds of Morar. Thus, with "As Birds Bring Forth the Sun," MacLeod retools the Scottish story for Canada while still preserving the original narrative circumstance as well as the Gaelic *cù mòr glas* – the big grey dog.¹⁴ This way, the ancestral orality of Scottish Morar reappears in postmodern Canadian writing, enriched by a universal scope that allows the Dog of Death to touch not only MacDonalds, or the nameless family from MacLeod's story, but everyone.

"As Birds Bring Forth the Sun" starts with a legend based on the oral tale of Morar. It describes how a nameless father of a nameless family from an island came across an injured puppy that grew up to be *cù mòr glas*. It also deals with the dog's disappearance and recounts the encounter with the man that ends in tragedy when her six grey pups attack and kill him. The legend is told by nameless narrator who is on his way to the hospital to join his five brothers at their father's death bed, where, after his arrival, all six of them wait for the Big Grey Dog of Death to appear.

MacLeod makes his story universal in two ways. First, the more complex one, is his choice of central theme that lurks behind the symbolic load of the *cù mòr glas* figure. In general, dogs often populate Alistair MacLeod's short stories, where they assume various roles and functions. As Carl Jirgens noted, "the many animals, notably dogs . . . , underline connections with the past and the fluctuating natural world."¹⁵ Such a function can be ascribed not only to *cù mòr glas* but also to the dog figure in "Winter Dog" or, less conspicuously, to the pair of dogs in "Vision." In "As Birds Bring forth the Sun," *cù mòr glas*, similar to the Grey Dog of Moeble, represents the connection with the past – for she is part of local history and legend, and the natural world, for she functions as an omen of death. She is present when her pups ravage the man and later, after she had already acquired mythic proportions, she is said to appear whenever someone from the man's family is going to die. However, MacLeod does not stop at the symbolism already offered in the tale of Morar. He equips *cù mòr glas* with a symbolic load that holds a strong connection to the theme of life cycle and therefore to partakers of the story. It is via the theme of life cycle that MacLeod succeeds in giving the story universality.

12. See Nicholson, "Re-Sourcing the Historical Present," 98.

13. See Nicholson, "Re-Sourcing the Historical Present," 98.

14. See Nicholson, "Re-Sourcing the Historical Present," 98.

15. Karl E. Jirgens, "Lighthouse, Ring and Fountain: The Never-Ending Circle in *No Great Mischief*," in *Alistair MacLeod: Essays on His Works*, ed. Irene Guilford (Toronto: Guernica, 2001), 85.

The narrator introduces cù mòr glas in the very first lines as a “staghound from another time.”¹⁶ The reader therefore should have no doubts about the dog being a symbolic element in the story, as this line hints on her transcendence between the two worlds. But then the narrator changes the course of his story and cù mòr glas is depicted as a foundling, a tiny, hurt and vulnerable puppy. The man’s caring for the pup is not much different from one’s caring for a child – he feeds her warm and sweetened milk, he does not care when she soils his clothes with urine, and he keeps her warm and safe when other members of his family want him to kill her. In telling the reader about cù mòr glas, the narrator follows a chronological pattern. He describes how she grows up and becomes an adult dog of magnificent height with emphasis placed on the changing seasons as the story progresses. The prominent theme in the first part of the narrative is that of nurturing, linking the behavior of the man towards the dog with people’s common behavior towards children. MacLeod is thus giving away a dominant theme, which underlines the universality of the story – the cycle of life, in which cù mòr glas plays a significant role.

The author maintains the theme of life cycle throughout the story by various means. First of all, it is the occurrence of changing seasons. Cù mòr glas is found in October and it is also October when the narrator and his brothers sit in the hospital, awaiting their father’s inevitable death. In the first part of the story, the legend, every event is connected to a certain season. Cù mòr glas seems to be born in the summer, in the autumn she is found and taken to the man’s family, her first heat is also mentioned and then one cold winter. It is “when it seemed that spring was about to break” (313) when cù mòr glas disappears, and it is summer once more when her youngsters kill the man. A perfect cycle, from summer to summer, is offered in the first part of the story, while the second cycle, from October to October, surpasses the borders of legend and completes the circle with the narrator reaching the hospital.

Another means of maintaining the theme of cycle is MacLeod’s use of images of flux. Carl Jirgens claims that MacLeod’s short fiction is filled with such images; images that are associated not only with the sea, but also with mutability, represented by liquid, sperm, blood or perspiration,¹⁷ where “the flow of water . . . a manifestation of flux, aligns itself with . . . blood, bodily fluids and time itself.”¹⁸ In “As Birds Bring Forth the Sun” this is particularly true. The story abounds in descriptions of animals bleeding, urinating, breeding. The narrator’s ancestor is described as someone who is “used to working with breeding of animals . . . often with the funky smell of animal semen on his large and gentle hands” (312). All these realistic descriptive passages have but a larger role – to strengthen the theme of life cycle, of the repetitive, never-ending circle to which people and animals equally belong and where death, just as birth, is an inevitable part.

16. Alistair MacLeod, “As Birds Bring Forth the Sun,” in *Island: Collected Stories* (London: Random House, 2001), 310. Hereafter cited in text.

17. See Jirgens, “Lighthouse, Ring and Fountain,” 85.

18. Jirgens, “Lighthouse, Ring and Fountain,” 90.

The death scene with the young dogs and the man appears horrifying, as the dogs slash the man's face and tear aside his lower jaw and rip out his throat. However, MacLeod gives the reader subtle hints that even such a horrible death is still part of a natural process, ergo life cycle. When the man beholds *cù mòr glas* again after she had disappeared, she is standing "on the brow of the hill which was the small island's highest point" (313) while he remains in waist-deep water, and therefore standing lower than her. When following the life cycle interpretation, this notion of prevalence of *cù mòr glas* could be connected with the prevalence of the new generation, which is at its peak, while the older generation, represented by the man, is losing strength and general dominance.

MacLeod provides the reader with contrasting scenes that might also serve as a basis for life cycle interpretation – the two encounters between the dog and the man. When *cù mòr glas* was still at the man's house, she used to greet him with her paws jolting against his shoulders, almost knocking him down. When they meet again after some time had passed, the man, overcome with joy, "wades eagerly and awkwardly towards her" (313) and when *cù mòr glas* meets him the way she used to, "the weight and speed of her momentum met him as he tried to hold his balance on the sloping angle . . . and he staggered backwards and lost his footing and fell beneath her force" (314). When the second greeting scene occurs, the man is already losing his predominance, now becoming increasingly feeble, while the dog, a puppy and a young dog before, is now at the peak of her strength.

The moment when the man succumbs to the strength of *cù mòr glas* is of vital importance, for it is "in that instant . . . there appeared over the brow of the hill six more huge grey dogs hurtling down towards the gravelled strand" (314) and they slash and tear the man to pieces. It is the moment when he no longer can maintain his position as the strongest member that leads to his downfall and demise. The man's brutal death is also the symbolic transference of power between generations. Also, the young dogs' will to kill is called into question, as the author describes the scene in following way: "They fell upon him in a fury, slashing his face and tearing aside his lower jaw and ripping out his throat, crazed with blood-lust or duty or perhaps starvation" (314). What seems like an ordinary description of a brutish scene, contains a word that raises questions – duty. Of course, it is possible to interpret it as duty that animals must abide by the unmerciful laws of nature. However, taking the scene symbolically, the duty might be that of younger generations to take over the pursuits of the older generations when having grown strong enough. Whether they want it or not, they are part of the life cycle and must abide its laws, and replace the previous generation just as they themselves are destined to be replaced when the time comes.

After her pups kill the man, *cù mòr glas* becomes a myth, a *cù mòr glas a'bhàis* – Big Grey Dog of Death, a death omen that foreshadows the dying of any of the man's family members. Although feared, she is portrayed as an inevitable part of life – "with succeeding generations it seemed the spectre had somehow come to stay and that it had become *ours* – not in the manner of an unwanted skeleton in the closet from a family's

ancient past but more in the manner of something close to a genetic possibility. In the deaths of each generation, the grey dog was seen by some" (318). Thus relates the narrator, expressing no bitterness regarding *cù mòr glas*. She is not an unwanted family secret. Neither is she a punishment for any wrongdoing. She is something the man's family cannot avoid and cannot prevent from appearing when the time comes. She visits not out of blood-thirst but because that is what the natural cycle of life requires of her.

There is also a link between the narrator and his five brothers on one side and the six grey pups that tore the narrator's ancestor to pieces on the other side. This link strengthens the life cycle interpretation as it basically says that the humans are in the same situation as the six grey dogs. The narrator emphasizes the fact that he joins his five grey-haired brothers at their father's death bed, thus creating a group of six grey-haired men. The brothers, similarly to pups, have the duty of replacing the older generation, of accepting their role in the life cycle. Also, it is October again and the mention of the particular month takes us back to the beginning of the story when *cù mòr glas* was found, which announces the closure of yet another cycle. The six grey-haired men are aware of their duty, as the narrator acknowledges how he and his brothers and their father are bound there in their own "peculiar mortality" (320), afraid for him and for themselves. He admits his awareness of being part of the life cycle and of the inevitability of being replaced himself, one day, too.

As for the second means that MacLeod uses in order to make his story more universal – he carefully keeps the names of all the participants for himself. The reader learns neither the ancestor's nor descendant's name. *Cù mòr glas*, who is also never given a name, is presented as a spectre that haunts only this particular family. However, the absence of names gives them a far more general scope. Thanks to this absence, the story does not refer to one particular family but to all families and all generations. *Cù mòr glas* is not in the family of one man; she is part of each man, as each person is a part of the life cycle.

CONCLUSION

Through the universality of his story, MacLeod offers one possible answer to the question, "What is it that we have in common?,"¹⁹ that Irene Guilford raised in the introduction to *Alistair MacLeod: Essays on His Works*. There indeed is something that can be known within the limits of human understanding,²⁰ this being the awareness of our part in the life cycle, the knowledge that each of us at one time is young, then at our peak, then old and waiting to see *cù mòr glas* a'bhàis, standing at our side, predicating death. It is for this reason that Guilford asserted that Alistair MacLeod's writing is "of the world."²¹

19. Guilford, Introduction, 10.

20. See Guilford, Introduction, 10.

21. Guilford, Introduction, 10.

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“I AM A NATURAL DANCER”: THE LEITMOTIF OF DANCE IN JEAN BINTA BREEZE’S AFRO-JAMAICAN POETRY

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ABSTRACT: This paper presents select poems of Jamaican writer Jean Binta Breeze. Her texts constitute an example of post-dub poetry that defies the heavily masculinised paradigm of classic dub poetry of the 1970s and early 1980s, as practised by fellow Caribbean poets such as Mutabaruka or Oku Onuora. Initially, working solely in the geo-political environment of the Caribbean where, to quote Denise deCaires Narain (2002), “cultural assumptions about the consumption and production of public culture took its ‘maleness’ as given and assumed women’s participation to be peripheral – or decorative,” Breeze gradually managed to shift her poetics, focusing on the issues of gender, and transgress the thematic limitations of classic dub poetry. Hence, with a view to analysing the multi-facetedness of Breeze’s poetry, I analyse the motif of dance inherent in her texts, which in the context of Afro-Jamaican cultural politics signifies a nod to the Black Atlantic past and serves as a means of negotiating the ever-changing currents of the Caribbean present.

KEYWORDS: Jean Binta Breeze; dub poetry; reggae; Caribbean literature; Jamaica; dancehall; feminism; postcolonialism

1. INTRODUCTION

Dance is one of the building blocks of Black Atlantic consciousness and one of the examples of African retentions; it is, in other words, an ethno-cultural cultivator and a carrier of the collective transatlantic past. Kamau Brathwaite, a Barbadian poet and an Afro-Caribbean historian, in his poem “Limbo” (1973) utilises dance “as a metaphor to read the Middle Passage experience, with the spiritual and physical pain of dislocation from the African’s past.”¹ Drawing on Brathwaite’s creative output and scholarly research, Jamaican critic Sonjah Stanley Niaah “locate[s] the history of dancehall [a type of Jamaican music] in the ancient practice of free Africans and, later, the enslaved peoples.”²

Similarly, dance, with its aesthetically various incarnations and inextricable cultural underpinnings, is one of the many staples of Jean Binta Breeze’s creative output. The poet herself, to paraphrase the words of Susan / Susu, a character in her long poem *The Fifth Figure*, “is a natural dancer”³ who does not, however, prefer “the strict figures”

1. Sonjah Stanley Niaah, *DanceHall: From Slave Ship to Ghetto* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2010), 19.

2. Stanley Niaah, *DanceHall*, 19.

3. Jean Binta Breeze, *The Fifth Figure* (Tarset: Bloodaxe, 2006), 20. Hereafter cited in text as *FF*.

(FF, 20). Rather than becoming a cliché and being overtly reliant upon tried and tested routines, Breeze ventures out. Still, her literary dance is natural as it is her individualised reflection of and reaction to the cultural stylings of her natural habitat – Jamaica.

Hence, with a view to showing the multi-facetedness of Breeze's dance-inspired poetry, I will attempt to analyse the leitmotif of dance inherent in her texts, which in the context of Afro-Jamaican cultural politics signifies a nod to the Black Atlantic past and serves as a means of negotiating the ever-changing currents of the Caribbean present. As such, dance, as part of the culture of dancehall, is undoubtedly a poetic stimulus, a catalyst behind a number of her interventionist and polemical texts.

2. FROM CLASSIC DUB POETRY TO POST-DUB

Jean Breeze was born Jean Lumsden on March 11, 1956, in rural western Jamaica⁴ and raised in a hybridised household with an upper middle-class, black father and a lower-class, white Jamaican mother.⁵ As a result, Breeze was from the beginning exposed to the social constructedness and tacit hierarchies of Caribbean pigmentocracy. Of this experience, she wrote, “[W]hen I started going to primary school in the sixties I was the brown-skin girl with long hair and if my pencil dropped someone would pick it up for me.”⁶ Equally early Breeze showed an unwavering interest in poetry and by age five, in her own words, “was always being asked to recite poems, either for church or for school concerts.”⁷ By age twelve, her poetry had been published in her school's magazine.⁸

Educated at Ruseau High School, an Anglocentric Jamaican educational institution, Breeze was exposed to a typical English-inspired curriculum, a routine dose of classics (among others Chaucer and Wordsworth) and more contemporary literary luminaries such as T. S. Eliot, whom, as she recalls, – because of “his music and wonderful sense of conversation”⁹ – Breeze has since venerated as her favourite poet. However, as Afrocentrism took hold of the independent nation's collective consciousness,¹⁰ Breeze became sensitised to the philosophy of the Black Power movement, epitomised, as she herself confesses, by two culturally prominent females: “it was the late 1960s and it was Nina Simone's ‘Young, Gifted and Black’ and I had an Angela Davis afro.”¹¹

In 1978, having moved to Kingston, Jamaica, Breeze became influenced by the teachings of Rastafari as well as the socially-conscious artistic life of the capital – she participated in the creative endeavours of the Sistren Theatre Collective. Enrolled at

4. See Asher Hoyles and Martin Hoyles, *Moving Voices: Black Performance Poetry* (London: Hansib, 2002), 211.

5. See Stewart Brown, “The Fifth Figure: Jean ‘Binta’ Breeze in Conversation,” *Wasafiri* 21, no. 3 (2006): 46.

6. Brown, “The Fifth Figure,” 46.

7. Hoyles and Hoyles, *Moving Voices*, 211.

8. See Catherine Jackson, “Riddym Woman: Interview with Jean Binta Breeze,” *Mental Health and Learning Disabilities Care* 4, no. 4 (2000): 116.

9. Hoyles and Hoyles, *Moving Voices*, 213.

10. Jamaica gained independence from Britain in 1962.

11. Brown, “The Fifth Figure,” 45.

the Jamaica School of Drama along with other dub poets such as Oku Onuora, Mikey Smith, and Mutabaruka,¹² Breeze gradually made a name for herself. In the last half of the 1970s, during the apogee of Michael Manley-led democratic socialism in Jamaica, she often read at youth political rallies around the country.¹³

In synch with the revolutionary zeal of the period, being a member of the Jamaican Socialist Youth movement, she was enamoured with “writing very political poems about the land, people’s rights, about Africa and apartheid.”¹⁴ Her poetic debut, *Answers*, came in 1983. Although artistically formative, Breeze later lambasted this first collection of verse as “a very embarrassing book.”¹⁵ Typical of the epoch and in accordance with the creeds of classic dub poetry, at the beginning of her artistic career, Breeze used the banner of primarily socially-committed literature, a premise that Stephanie Newell recognizes as similar to that of fellow “black writers from the colonies [who] used their literacy subversively to glue themselves together into a coherent group, to produce a binding mythology, an aesthetic, and a shared past to authenticate their new community.”¹⁶ Hence, her early, third-world-centred poems, of which the early 1980s “Aid Travels with a Bomb” is a prime example, are anti-establishment products of her analytical focus on “human economic geography”¹⁷ and by-products of the treaty with the International Monetary Fund signed by the Prime Minister Michael Manley on behalf of the Jamaican government in the late-1970s:

400 years
from the plantation whip
to the IMF grip . . .

You don’t know if they’re on C.I.A. fee
or even with the K.G.B.
cause you think your country is oh so free
until you look at your economy

Aid travels with a bomb

Watch out!!¹⁸

Such classic dub poetic verses vocally “protes[t] imperialism, racism, bourgeois norms and political corruption”¹⁹ and, notes Sw. Anand Prahlaḍ, typically feature “the major narrative persona in roots reggae, the warrior/priest, which evolved out of the historical matrix of other [than solely Rastafarian] African Jamaican religious and

12. See Jenny Sharpe, “Dub and Difference: A Conversation with Jean ‘Binta’ Breeze,” *Callaloo* 26, no. 3 (2003): 607.

13. See Hoyles and Hoyles, *Moving Voices*, 213.

14. Jackson, “Riddym Woman,” 116.

15. Hoyles and Hoyles, *Moving Voices*, 213.

16. Stephanie Newell, *West African Literatures: Ways of Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 28.

17. Sharpe, “Dub and Difference,” 608.

18. Jean Binta Breeze, *Third World Girl: Selected Poems* (Tarsset: Bloodaxe, 2011), 136–37. Hereafter cited in text as TWG.

19. Jenny Sharpe, “Cartographies of Globalisation, Technologies of Gendered Subjectivities: The Dub Poetry of Jean ‘Binta’ Breeze,” *Gender & History* 15, no. 3 (2003): 444.

political movements.”²⁰ Bruce King highlights dub poetry’s stylistically non-European and ideologically anti-establishment markers, such as “[a native/non-Western] language . . . , religion (Rastafarianism), origins (Jamaica, Africa), folk or popular culture (reggae), tradition (orality).”²¹ All of these are to be found in Breeze’s early poetry, which “appeals to organizing (resistance), commonality (blackness), generational appeal (youth), and heroism (dying for the cause)”²² and construes “cultural production as a political weapon,”²³ which by definition is underpinned by anxiety and righteous indignation, stylised as vituperation redolent of classical rhetoric, “a special, calculated mode of speech to express fury”²⁴ and emphasise the adversarial view of the world.

Initially, working solely in the geo-political environment of the Caribbean where “cultural assumptions about the consumption and production of public culture took its ‘maleness’ as given and assumed women’s participation to be peripheral – or decorative,”²⁵ the poet suffered from patriarchal backlash. As documented by Breeze in a 1990 article, at one point Mutabaruka proposed re-voicing some of her poems as “many people thought they were lyrics much more suited to a male voice and someone even suggested that they had been written by a man.”²⁶ In a 2011 interview, Breeze explained the past situation as follows: “As a woman, as a Caribbean woman, as a black woman, I have not been expected to be so strongly political Having become so strongly political, I have not been expected to be sexual or sensual.”²⁷

Since the poet did not perpetuate the “gendered division of labour”²⁸ and reinterpreted the rigid rules of engagement,²⁹ her choreography unveiled during the Reggae Sunsplash performance (1983, Jamaica) was met with harsh criticism, the direct side-effect of her gendered theatrics/poetics that violated the dogma of propriety, according to which “a radical dub poet should not be ‘winning up her waist’ on the stage as it presented a sexual image.”³⁰ Seemingly contrite, the poet opted for a sartorial makeover, albeit an ephemeral one: “This led me into an era of wearing military khaki uniforms for performing, but I soon realised that even if I wore sackcloth it

20. Sw. Anand Prahlad, *Reggae Wisdom: Proverbs in Jamaican Music* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001), XIX.

21. Bruce King, *The Internationalization of English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 111.

22. King, *The Internationalization of English Literature*, 111.

23. Robert Beckford, *Jesus Dub: Theology, Music and Social Change* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 76.

24. Jeffrey Wainwright, *Poetry: The Basics* (London: Routledge, 2004), 43–44.

25. Denise deCaires Narain, *Contemporary Caribbean Women’s Poetry: Making Style* (London: Routledge, 2003), 12.

26. Jean Binta Breeze, “Can a Dub Poet Be a Woman?,” in *The Routledge Reader in Caribbean Literature*, ed. Alison Donnell and Sarah Lawson Welsh (London: Routledge, 1996), 499.

27. Sara Taukolonga, “Making Poetry Seem Like a Breeze,” *The Voice*, August 13, 2011, <http://www.voice-online.co.uk/article/making-poetry-seem-breeze>.

28. Sharpe, “Cartographies of Globalisation,” 448.

29. Discussing widespread marginalisation of female poets, deCaires Narain suggests that it is “partly because the role of political commentator associated with the calypsonian has been historically male but is also due to the fact that the control of the technology associated with reggae, dub, deejaying and, latterly, ragga, is invariably male dominated.” DeCaires Narain, *Contemporary Caribbean Women’s Poetry*, 98.

30. Breeze, “Can a Dub Poet Be a Woman?,” 499.

would not reduce the sexual energy I carry normally as an individual and which becomes a source of creative energy on the stage.”³¹ In so doing, Breeze remonstrated with the act of female circumcision, to which her poetry and its representation were subjected, affirming her artistic agency. According to Denise de Caires Narain, this “apparent taboo on the personal and the sexual in the performance of dub suggests that ‘mainstream’ dub, with its clear political thrust, is somehow *not* a sexual display, the power and anger which male poets project in their performances are simply part and parcel of being ‘a man.’”³²

Equipped with her shifting poetics, characterised by palpable deviation from the chorus of Third-World themes and a marked tendency to angle towards *herstory* as well as the confessional / the self, Breeze did not conform to “the specific limitations attendant upon the woman poet’s performance identity.”³³ As Sharp notes, “In sharp contrast to her earlier work, in which a female-gendered voice was embedded into the public voice of the nation, the [later] poems . . . include dramatic monologues that express Jamaican women’s thoughts and experiences that are distinct from a larger discourse of nation.”³⁴

As the poet gradually managed to alter her optics, she started to focus on the issues of gender, transgressing the thematic and formal limitations of classic dub poetry, such as “the one drop beat, the refusal of the personal and its relentless masculinity” (*TWG*, 11). Interviewed in 2001, Breeze, who “recognizes that there is a recurring [gynocentric] theme in her poetry,”³⁵ categorised her output as “women’s domestic dub.”³⁶ This “womanist / feminist”³⁷ perspective dominates her post *Answers* collections, as, to Colin MacCabe’s mind, “from the mid 80s she began to develop her very specific life and art” (*TWG*, 11).

3. THE DANCE HALL-INFLUENCED FEMALE: GENDERED DUB

Specific and unique as her art is, it nevertheless relies on archetypal Afro-Jamaican elements, namely reggae and its distinct dance-inspiring rhythms. Construed as a socio-cultural weapon, Breeze’s reggae-centric poems may be interpreted as a form of African retention since, in the words of Sharpe, “[e]choes of the abeng can be heard in the ‘noise’ of dub poetry, which is usually performed to the back-beat of a heavy bass reggae rhythm.”³⁸ Case in point is Breeze’s “The First Dance,” where an onomatopoeic stanza may be interpreted as a verbal approximation of the reggae-specific beat, accentuated by studio effects, such as tape echo, reverb or delay: “tukku tukku tukku tukku / tukku

31. Breeze, “Can a Dub Poet Be a Woman?,” 499.

32. DeCaires Narain, *Contemporary Caribbean Women’s Poetry*, 112.

33. DeCaires Narain, *Contemporary Caribbean Women’s Poetry*, 110.

34. Sharpe, “Cartographies of Globalisation,” 446.

35. Hoyles and Hoyles, *Moving Voices*, 214.

36. Sharpe, “Dub and Difference,” 611.

37. DeCaires Narain, *Contemporary Caribbean Women’s Poetry*, 162.

38. Jenny Sharpe, *Ghosts of Slavery: A Literary Archeology of Black Women’s Lives* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 30.

pang tukku pang / tung pa tukku pang.”³⁹ Furthermore, Afro-Jamaican reggae rhythms, such as “one drop,” “rockers” or “steppers,” to which Breeze potentially alludes in her poem, may be interpreted as musical equivalents of Edward Kamau Brathwaite’s idea that Caribbean hurricanes serve as an endemic model for the West Indian prosody.⁴⁰

Correspondingly, in Breeze’s “eena mi corner,” the female speaker’s gradual immersion into the ambiance of the reggae-filled dancefloor (dance hall as a venue where people dance) is voiced through a number of imitative sounds that contribute to the buildup of the first song the persona hears. The poem’s initial onomatopoeia, i.e., “skengeh,”⁴¹ emulates a singular strum of the rhythm guitar from which many sophisticated reggae tunes spring. It is from this “a skengeh pon some chords” (RR, 26) from which the song progresses into the jab-like riff of the brass section – “wen boops! / up pap a likkle horner” (RR, 26) and continues to the dancing persona’s delight.

Furthermore, in Breeze’s poetry, apart from being a career choice,⁴² Jamaican music provides a platform for identification and gendered self-expression. Her poems, according to Sharpe, “produce a black [fe]male subjectivity out of reggae’s [roots and] dancehall culture”⁴³. For instance, the female protagonist of “Song to Heal” routinely “walk[s] / to de riddym / a de heartbeat,”⁴⁴ strolling in time with the tempo of nyahbinghi, the proto-reggae rhythm of the heart she herself chooses.⁴⁵

Besides, as depicted in “eena mi corner,” reggae dancing, as practised during sound system sessions in the dance hall, allows for the democratic shift between the public’s inactivity and liveliness, between unobstructed solipsistic skanking to the beat and interruptive interaction, expressed by means of vocal encouragement and / or criticism, to which the reggae selector (dj) is obliged to react accordingly. Encouraged by the cheering dancers’ approval – “dis one a forward / pon de same riddym station” (RR, 27), the sound system operator wheels the record back and plays it anew, enabling the revellers, Breeze’s female persona included, to fully participate in the dance floor communion. And that is exactly what the seemingly “passive observer of the dancehall scene”⁴⁶ does:

39. Jean Binta Breeze, *The Arrival of Brighteye and Other Poems* (Newcastle: Bloodaxe, 2000), 10. Hereafter cited in text as AB.

40. Edward Kamau Brathwaite, *History of the Voice: the Development of Nation Language in Anglophone Caribbean Poetry* (London: New Beacon, 1984), 10.

41. Jean Binta Breeze, *Riddym Ravings and Other Poems*, ed. Mervyn Morris (London: Race Today, 1988), 26. Hereafter cited in text as RR.

42. In “Hustler Skank,” the title city-savvy speaker has one of the three career options – from entertainment to solo shady activities to organised crime: “yuh eida sing reggae music / ar yuh bus gun war / an if yuh kean mek it eena eida one / yuh jus jine a posse an have some fun” (RR, 50).

43. Sharpe, “Cartographies of Globalisation,” 446.

44. Jean Binta Breeze, *Spring Cleaning* (London: Virago, 1992): 15.

45. In a more frenzied mode, “Get Flat” – a poem included in *Riddym Ravings*, finds its storm-stricken characters prostrate: “yuh can see de wukkin riddim / ben de people dem back” (RR, 21). Here, the reggae rhythm is one of the elements, wreaking havoc in the communities and in the wild on both sides of the Black Atlantic as “mountain / rub a dub / troo de sea / from Brixton [London, England] / to Elletson Flats [Kingston, Jamaica]” (RR, 21).

46. Sharpe, “Cartographies of Globalisation,” 451.

flip a switch
 tun mi receive
 to transmitta
 checkin anadda one. (RR, 27)

Moreover, apart from being galvanised by uplifting reggae “skengeh” (RR, 26) and “de sonic boom of a bassline” (RR, 27), Breeze’s persona, as noticed by Carolyn Cooper and Jenny Sharpe, is an erotically resolute and empowered female,⁴⁷ who “has turned her body into a radio so she can tune into the sexual energy being generated”⁴⁸ in the dance hall / on the dancefloor. To Cooper, she is a speaker of a “drily humorous”⁴⁹ poem, which in turn the critic interprets as “a witty treatment of the theme of easy channel-changing men whom the woman must learn to tune out in order to get rid of static.”⁵⁰ As such, the female transforms herself into a (reggae) selector and / or a (radio) deejay who expertly picks and chooses.

4. THE DANCEHALL-INFLUENCED FEMALE: GENDERED DUB

Unlike her more roots reggae-oriented fellow dub poets, in the mid-1980s Breeze, writing outside “the slackness / culture dichotomy,”⁵¹ started to engage herself poetically with the issues of dancehall – “Jamaica’s most popular indigenous music,”⁵² defined by Niaah as “a progeny of reggae, . . . [whose] sociocultural manifestations . . . constitute Jamaica’s premier popular street theatre.”⁵³ In consequence, if “in many male-authored texts ‘woman’ functions as metaphor while ‘man’ functions as agent in the struggle for nationhood,”⁵⁴ then Breeze-the poet, in a series of her dancehall-influenced texts, positions the woman as a fully functional human being, possessing agency to be reckoned with. Critical sentiment regarding representation, albeit this time one that targets normative heterosexuality and lurid commodification of female corporeality and not division of domestic labour (as in her previous domestic dub), resurfaces in Breeze’s 2000 “Slam Poem,” which writes back to Beenie Man’s “Slam” and “Who Am I (Sim Simma),”⁵⁵ two dancehall hits that celebrate machismo and glorify the Jamaican deejay’s sexual prowess. For Sharpe, Breeze’s choice is by no means random since “[d]espite dancehall music’s anti-authority stand and rootedness in ghetto culture,

47. The innuendo-laden ambiguity of “eena mi corner” stimulates such reading, e.g., the phrase “up pap likkle horner” may refer to the horn section of the reggae record that has just been played by the sound system as well as to the arousal of the poem’s speaker.

48. Sharpe, “Cartographies of Globalisation,” 451.

49. Carolyn Cooper, *Noises in the Blood: Orality, Gender and the “Vulgar” Body of Jamaican Popular Culture* (London: Macmillan, 1993), 76.

50. Cooper, *Noises in the Blood*, 76.

51. Stanley Niaah, *DanceHall*, 5.

52. Stanley Niaah, *DanceHall*, 2.

53. Stanley Niaah, *DanceHall*, 2.

54. Denise deCaires Narain, review of *Stories of Women: Gender and Narrative in the Postcolonial Nation*, by Elleke Boehmer, *Wasafiri* 22, no. 1 (2007): 72.

55. “Sim Simma” is a phrase that denotes respect, be it self-congratulatory or not.

its politics are generally considered the antithesis of those espoused by dub poets.”⁵⁶ However, as Carolyn Cooper rightly observes,

‘[r]ub-a-dub style, the noisy idiom of [for instance] Bob Marley’s explosive class politics, is also the erotic body language of the [reggae and dancehall] DJs. In the ‘rub-a-dub’ aesthetics of the dancehall, two modes of self expression and social protest converge: one, that of the DJs, is overtly sexual and covertly political; the other, that of the singers [and classic dub poets], is overtly political and covertly sexual. Both modes of expression are ‘rhythm[s] resisting against the system’, to quote Bob Marley’s “One Drop” from the *Survival* album.’⁵⁷

By referring to an influential dancehall single, Breeze subscribes to an unofficial sorority of similarly-minded feminism-driven Jamaican women poets, singers and deejays, all of whom actively participate in the nation-encompassing public debates generated by the island’s primary artistic / cultural export – music. For instance, notes Sara Bentley, Jamaican dancehall musician Macka Diamond recorded an intertextual “counter tune ‘Tek Con,’ the ladies’ call to arms [in] response to Vybz Kartel’s controversial ‘Tek.’ Macka’s no-nonsense chat, dismissing the ‘pots and pans’ Vybz offers women in return for sex in ‘Tek,’ definitely resonated with Jamaican females.”⁵⁸

In addition to being a literary version of a sound system clash, hip hop diss / beef or a calypso picong, all of which are verbal and musical contests in which contenders endeavour to ridicule their opponents, Breeze’s “Slam Poem”⁵⁹ acts as a poster campaign: (1) it promotes contraception and dispels the male’s false notion of his own sexuality – “yuh she wen yuh put it awn / yuh nah feel nutten / lang time me feel de same / fah yuh nah touch mi likkle button / an wen you let aff / an you feel sweet / nine month later / me regret she me did dweet” (AB, 42); (2) it lambasts unprotected sex – “an mi nuh even staat talk / bout oomuch ooman yuh gat / mi nuh know oomuch crease / yuh a dip yuh bat / so jus zip up back yuh trousis / no badda wheel out dat / fah AIDS cyan cure / wid a penicillin shat” (AB, 44), and (3) castigates men, represented by the poem’s male character Leroy, for their sweeping negligence, both in the bedroom – “an all de beg mi beg / yuh sey yuh nah use yuh tongue / fah yuh don’t want yuh man pride / lie dung a grung / but so so penetration / cyan bring me come / a weh yuh want me have / is a belly come dung” (AB, 44) and outside: “den yuh bawl out she / dat abortion is a crime / but yuh cyan feed pickney / . . . mi hear seh yuh lef / one bwoy pickney in Jamaica / an since yuh come a Englan / yuh have two baby madda” (AB, 43).

56. Sharpe, “Cartographies of Globalisation,” 447.

57. Carolyn Cooper, “Virginity Revamped: Representations of Female Sexuality in the Lyrics of Bob Marley and Shebba Ranks,” in *Black British Culture and Society: A Text-Reader*, ed. Kwesi Owusu (London: Routledge, 2000), 379.

58. Sarah Bentley, “Macka Diamond: Diamond in the Rough,” *Riddim* 1 (2005): 12.

59. The title of the poem promulgates a number of ideas that include (1) the nod to the tradition of contest-like slam poetry, (2) an acknowledgement of the confrontational nature of Breeze’s interventionist text and (3) a lexical reference to the obstinacy of the male who refuses to take necessary precautionary measures and, as requested by the female, use a condom. Defending his manly virtues by means of alpha male logic, the lover prefers unbridled sexual intercourse, punningly comparing the prophylactic to a prison (“slammer”) that bars him from the joys of copulation (“slam”). Exasperated by the man’s whys and wherefores, the woman chastises him bluntly, asserting her agency: “so if yuh don’t have yuh slam / tek yuh han affa mi . . . raaaaaas” (AB, 45).

Critical of males' reckless behaviour and their sexism-fuelled arrogance as "Slam Poem" is (the lexeme "slam" denotes forcefulness and a somewhat head-on response), on the other hand, it is also a foray into the Caribbean cultural territory as "dancehall is synonymous with Jamaica."⁶⁰ For this reason, Breeze's body of work comprises both "Get Back," a text denunciatory of slackness deejays, and "dubwise," a poem depicting "how women are empowered by dancehall culture."⁶¹ Interviewed in 2009, Breeze explained that she "chanted poems like 'Get Back' in reaction to deejays like Yellowman, who were very slack in their lyrics at the time."⁶² Paul Gilroy interprets the development of Yellowman's lyrical strategies as follows: "After two explicitly political sides [singles] chronicling the rise of authoritarian statism in Jamaica [of the early 1980s] – 'Soldier Take Over' and 'Operation Eradication' . . . , he opted for the safety of nursery rhymes, animal noises and anti-women jive talk."⁶³ Still, Yellowman's performative misogyny was part of his over-the-top on-stage persona: born an albino, which automatically branded him an aesthetic and social outcast in the pigmentocracy of Jamaica, the singer mocked the normative expectations of his fellow islanders and presented himself as an über-macho sexual predator, not intimidated by "the figment of the pigment."⁶⁴ Simultaneously, as manifested in both her poems and interviews, Breeze "understood that it was important for women to be able to display their sexuality,"⁶⁵ dealing a blow to their society-foisted passivity.⁶⁶

In "dubwise," a *Riddym Ravings* poem, the winding shape and jerky verses of which resemble a dancer's body pirouetting in full swing, Breeze's persona does not dance attendance on her male partner but, with recourse to her repertoire of dance figures, attends to her own individualised needs. Breeze, who herself maintains that "[i]t's critical for Caribbean women poets to explore their sexuality a lot more rather than allowing the men to define women's sexuality without the women,"⁶⁷ presents her female protagonist of "dubwise" as a dancehall queen, a "cool an / deadly / snake / lady" (RR, 28) whose moves re-work "dance as a simulated sex act"⁶⁸ when she

wraps
her sinews
round his

60. Stanley Niaah, *DanceHall*, 1.

61. Sharpe, "Dub and Difference," 613.

62. Jah Rebel, "Jean 'Binta' Breeze: 'My Whole Life Revolves around Dub Poetry!'," *Reggae.be*, September 11, 2009, <http://www.reggae.be/magazine/interviews/column/421>.

63. Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation* (London: Routledge, 2002), 253.

64. Caryl Phillips, *A New World Order: Selected Essays* (London: Vintage, 2002), 93.

65. Rebel, "Jean 'Binta' Breeze."

66. Interestingly, often denigrated as an example of moral corruption, fervent sexually explicit dancehall steps, bearing resemblance to the jerkiness of a spasmodic attack – as fictionalised by Breeze in "Call Her Judas," are uplifted by Breeze in "sisters celebration," a poem from *The Arrival of Brighteye*: "wen yuh see woman / jumping up / rubbing up / soaking up / all de music / . . . in dem birt scream / is nat a orgy / is a mass" (AB, 40).

67. Sharpe, "Dub and Difference," 613.

68. Sharpe, "Cartographies of Globalisation," 448.

pulse
and grinds
his pleasure
and disgust
into a
one dance
stand. (RR, 28)

In return, reliant on the knowledge of dancehall steps and current dancefloor trends, the male begins his own gyrating ritual, narrated by Breeze in a typically dancehall-specific sexual innuendo-laden fashion: “to equalise / he grins / cockwise / at his bredrin / and rides / a ‘horseman scabie’ / or bubbles a / ‘water / bumpie’ / into action” (RR, 28).

5. CONCLUSION

Having made her literary debut as a practitioner of classic dub poetry, a mode of writing and a style of delivery burdened with epistemic machismo, Rastafarian theology as well as the mannerism of righteous indignation, Jean Binta Breeze went on to individualise her poetics. Shrugging off the 1970s paradigm of classic dub poetry, the author widened the sphere of feminine textual presence and performative resonance through populating her often diverse verses with women personae and reflecting the shifting cultural mores of the dancehall-dominated Jamaica of the 1980s and onwards. Breeze the poet moves from classic dub poetry of protest to protest against the exclusion / downplaying of women’s voices (content) and formulaic patterns of classic dub poetry (form) to her authorial exploration of the amorous and the sexual.

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