Zlín Proceedings in Humanities
Volume 8

The *Zlín Proceedings in Humanities* book series includes volumes of proceedings from conferences and workshops in the humanities hosted by Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic. The goal of the series is to monitor and record the latest research trends, primarily within the Central European region. All volumes published in the series are peer-reviewed in accordance with international scholarly and ethical standards.

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)
4. From Theory to Practice 2012: The Fourth International Conference on Anglophone Studies (September 5–6, 2012)
5. From Theory to Practice 2013: The Fifth International Conference on Anglophone Studies (September 5–6, 2013)
6. From Theory to Practice 2014: The Sixth International Conference on Anglophone Studies (September 4–5, 2014)
7. From Theory to Practice 2015: The Seventh International Conference on Anglophone Studies (September 3–4, 2015)
8. From Theory to Practice 2016: The Eighth International Conference on Anglophone Studies (September 8–9, 2016)

From Theory to Practice 2016

Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference on Anglophone Studies

September 8-9, 2016
Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic

Edited by
Katarína Nemčoková
Gregory Jason Bell

Organizing Committee:	Gregory Jason Bell
	Hana Čechová
	Vladimíra Fonfárová
	Olga Hulejová
	Katarína Nemčoková
	Dita Trčková
	Petr Vinklárek
Reviewers:	Vladimíra Fonfárová
	Božena Horváthová
	Ema Jelínková
	Helena Kaňková
	Dagmar Machová
	Renáta Tomášková
	Dita Trčková
	Svitlana Shurma
Format Editor:	Martin Mikeska

From Theory to Practice 2016

Editors' Note

Katarína Nemčoková and Gregory Jason Bell

The present volume, the eighth in the Zlín Proceedings in Humanities book series, contains selected papers from "From Theory to Practice 2016: The Eighth International Conference on Anglophone Studies," hosted on September 8–9, 2016, by the Department of Modern Languages and Literatures, Faculty of Humanities, Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Czech Republic.

The 2016 annual event marks a turning point in the organization of conferences at our department. The organizing committee is taking a break to come up with a new format, preserving the contents and the unique possibility of exchanging expertise among scholars from universities in the Czech Republic as well as abroad.

For the time being the conference series has ended not with a whimper but with a bang. Over fifty participants representing seven countries gathered together to share their academic insights on various Anglophone studies topics within the fields of linguistics, literature and culture.

The resulting proceedings contains seventeen papers, eight on linguistic and nine on literature and culture studies topics. As previously, this book is published in print, for distribution primarily to libraries, and in electronic form (http://conference.uaa. utb.cz/tp2016). The volume is divided into a linguistics section and a literature and cultural studies section, and each section adheres to the appropriate citation format in the current edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*: linguistics papers make use of the author-date style, while papers in the literature and cultural studies section are in the notes-bibliography style.

We are thankful to the conference participants, many of them repeat contributors, and in particular to American historian Christopher Phillips, our keynote speaker, whose appearance was paid for by the U. S. Embassy in Prague. Thanks are extended to our reviewers, as well as to our department administrative assistant, Olga Hulejová, and our student assistant, Eva Škraňková. Moreover, we wish to thank the passionate conference organizers and our kind sponsors.

LINGUISTICS

ENGLISH SAXON GENITIVE:
PHRASAL-LEVEL MORPHOLOGY IS NOT A CASE

LUDMILA VESELOVSKÁ

Palacký University Olomouc, Faculty of Arts, Department of English and American Studies,
Třída Svobody 26, 772 01 Olomouc, Czech Republic. Email: ludmila.veselovska@upol.cz

ABSTRACT: This paper briefly summarizes the concept of case in traditional and generative frameworks concentrating on Pesetsky's (2013) theory, which takes case for a categorial feature spread by a locality restricted process (Feature Assignment). The paper demonstrates that the Czech possessives represent a kind of rare overt case stacking containing a combination of a word-level case morpheme and a phrase-level case morpheme. In Modern English, there are no equivalents of such a case morphology. Pronominals (including the possessives) represent only contextually determined allomorphs, and the Saxon genitive morpheme 's is not a case on a DP but an agreement with the possessor DP on a functional head D.

1 TRADITIONAL CASE

In traditional grammar, the term "case" labels various aspects of the grammatical relation between a nominal constituent and its governing expression. Latin tradition concentrated on morphological paradigms, but already Hjelmslev (1935), Jakobson (1936) and Kurylowicz (1949) tried to define case in more complex and abstract ways, pointing out the tension between form, function and interpretation.

Thus, for discussing the concept of case in a theoretical framework, the literature distinguishes between

(i) **abstract** case, which denotes the relation between the two relevant participants (one of which is nominal);

(ii) **semantic** case (deep case, semantic role), which refers to standard interpretations expressed by the presumably predictable case relations;

(iii) **morphological** case (surface case), which describes the overt realization of the case relation in the form of a (usually bound) case morphology.

While abstract case is theoretically universal, and semantic roles (cases) tend to be rather general across languages, too, the morphological realization (the surface case) of the abstract case is the subject of wide cross-language variety. Still, most of the traditional frameworks assume a correlation between form and meaning and provide rather long and detailed lists of semantic roles (deep cases) and of pragmatic

functions that correlate with the existing morphemes.[1] I am not going to follow this line of research here, but will instead concentrate on the morphological case and the underlying syntactic structure.

1.1　Case Taxonomies

In Czech, morphological case forms a part of the declension suffix (ending), which apart from case contains also the features of number, gender and animacy (the φ features). This morphology appears with nominal categories (substantives, pronouns, determiners and adjectives), and the paradigms are relatively rich: the repertory of morphological cases is generally accepted to be limited to at most seven forms, although in Czech, as in all systems with a rich morphological realization of case, we also find a high level of syncretism (homonymy).

On the other hand, there are languages that do not have any morphological case at all, i.e., they do not realize the case relation with any overt free or bound morphemes, using instead some alternative formal mechanism (e.g., constituent order). And in between the morphologically rich and morphologically poor languages there are those that show a kind of intermediate realization of the case relation: overt case morphology can be found on some nominal elements only, e.g., on pronouns. In this kind of taxonomy, Modern English belongs to the last group, i.e., the one which shows a **vestigial** (remnant, limited) morphological case (for discussion of these systems, see, e.g., Parrott 2009).

Apart from the richness of case morphology, a language specific typology decides about which kind of morpheme expresses case: it can be realized in the form of a bound suffix or as a free grammatical word (preposition, particle) or a combination of the two. A typological parameter also decides whether the case feature is realized as a separate morpheme (in agglutinating languages) or fused with other nominal features (fusional languages).[2]

A more detailed case taxonomy sometimes considers also the governing part of the case relation: the case which shows a relation of a noun (phrase) to a verb is labelled as a **verbal** case, the case showing a relation of a noun (phrase) to a noun is a **nominal** case. The **prepositional** case (i.e., the one following a preposition) either forms a separate category or, ignoring the proposition, it is taken for a variety of the verbal or nominal cases.

In the functional framework, Kurylowicz (1949) claims that case can be classified

---

1　In the Czech linguistic tradition, the authors who deal with case in a more complex theoretical framework are, e.g., Zikmund (1863), Šmilauer (1966), Daneš and Hlavsa (1987), Sgall (1967, 1986) and Uličný (1973). All of them reflect the concept of semantic case in some way (e.g., in terms of valency), and the more modern concepts also work with transformations of some cases (esp. of the nominal cases).

2　It is in fact precisely the morphological realization of case that led linguists to propose the typological ranking of a specific language, especially in Indo-European. In the Czech linguistic tradition, the typology of case was summarized in Skalička (2004). For a more universal perspective, see Greenberg (1974) or Haspelmath (2001).

also with respect to its function: some cases are primarily **syntactic** (with secondary semantic interpretations) and some are primarily **semantic** (with secondary syntactic function). The former type is typically represented by a subject (nominative) / object (accusative) case, and the latter by others, including prepositional cases. This division in some form survives till today as the distinction between **structural** (syntactic?) and **oblique** (semantic?) cases.

2   Case (Theory) in the Generative Framework

In the generative framework, the concept of deep (semantic) case was introduced in Fillmore (1968), and that of abstract case was put forward in Chomsky (1972, 62–119). In concord with the traditional framework, generativists accepted that case is a kind of relation between a nominal and some other category. The other category was assumed to "assign" the case to the nominal, i.e., it was labelled as a case assigner. The uniform X-bar theory in the late 1970s and 1980s constituted a substantial step toward explanatory adequacy, because it united projections of major parts of speech and allowed formalizing the concept of government and therefore of case in a uniform way – as a relational dependent marking.

   The initial stages of a so-called Case Theory can be found in Chomsky and Lasnik (1977), who argued that the distribution of nominal complexes marked by a case can be stated in terms of a filter.

(1)   *NP-to-VP filter
         * [α NP to VP], unless α is adjacent to and in the domain of Verb or for ([-N])

Soon after, Jean-Roger Vergnaud suggested that even languages like English with little overt case morphology pattern with richly inflected languages in providing characteristic positions in which NPs with particular cases occur. In Rouveret and Vergnaud (1980), the authors introduced the generalized Case Filter, which formed the core part of Case Theory in the period of the modular Government and Binding framework.

   The case filter was commented in Chomsky (1980, 24) referring to the English realization of universal abstract Case (with an upper-case C). He proposed that "suppose we think of Case as an abstract marking associated with certain constructions, a property that rarely has phonetic effects in English but must be assigned to every lexical NP." He then accepted the Case Filter in the following format:

(2)   *NP if NP has phonetic content and has no Case (Chomsky 1981, 49).

In the modular framework, the Case Theory in combination with the Theta Theory (dealing with semantic/theta roles of especially NPs or DPs) attempted to explain the distribution of nominal constituents and their alternates in a clause. The Case Filter applied only to nominal phrases, with a fixed list of exceptions including clauses,

empty categories, expletives etc.

Given the Case Filter, the distribution of constituents was expected to be largely deduced from independently motivated rules of Case assignment, i.e., of the presence or absence of the elements which could assign Case and of the assumed structural relation of (proper) government. A rather rudimentary statement of Case assignment for English (and similar nominative-accusative languages) follows.

(3)   a. a subject of tensed clause is assigned nominative (=subject case) by I/T,
          b. an object of the verb is assigned accusative (=object case) by V, and
          c. an object of a preposition is assigned oblique (or lexical case) by P.

The following scheme (4a) shows the structure related to the assignment of accusative (or oblique) cases – the minimal domain of the verb (or preposition), under the sisterhood. The scheme (4b) demonstrates the other case-assigning structure – the SPEC-head relation in which is the head T (or I or INFL) governs into its SPEC – the position of a clause's subject. This structure is supposed to trigger a nominative/subject case.

(4)   (a)   VP/PP   (b)   TP

V/P^0 $NP_{ACC/OBL}$ NP_{NOM} T'

$T/I/INFL^0$ VP

As demonstrated, apart from labels, more precise formalization and argumentation, the Government and Binding framework was deeply rooted in the traditional and functional taxonomy of categories and types of case.

Since the 1990s, Minimalism has concentrated on investigating the relationship of abstract Case (and morphological case) to other features of the complex grammatical system. The position taken by Chomsky in Minimalist writings was that agreement and case are instantiations of the same fundamental grammatical relationship, representing **head** versus the **dependent** marking of that relation. Thus, Case has been united with the concept of agreement, and syntactic Agree has become a core concept of structural relations. Chomsky (2000) generalizes the abstract Case features as part of a system of uninterpretable formal features forming the heart of linguistic coding. He argues that the "duality of semantics" (Chomsky 2000, 7) can be described as (i) thematic relations and argument structure, and (ii) information structure and scopal relations. In Minimalism, Case remains integrated as a special kind of the nominal φ-features [person, number, gender], which appear in relations with especially the verbal categories T (Tense), v (lower case v), as well as with P (prepositions). Under this rather abstract conception, Case features (unfortunately without being defined more precisely) should allow for the proper working of the general feature-checking mechanism of the generalized Agree.
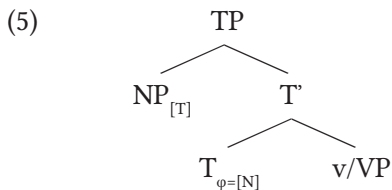
2.1   THE CASE THEORY OF PESETSKY (2013)

In this paper, irrespective of other coexisting concepts of Case, I will accept the hypothesis introduced in Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004) and further developed in Pesetsky (2013). First, discussing in detail the subject (nominative) case, Pesetsky and Torrego integrate it fully among other features shared through the syntactic relation Agree. Their hypothesis assumes that in the Agree relation between a predicate and its subject, the agreement is marked (and sometimes also visible) on both members of the agreeing couple in a somewhat similar way.

In many languages, the predicate shows overt morphological agreement with the subject NP by copying the latter's φ features. The standard subject-predicate agreement morphology is in fact a clear and explicit copy of the subject NP, more precisely of the category [N]. On the other hand, the subject NP – analogically – marks its agreement with the predicate by a morphology, too, by a case. Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) argue that this case morphology is arguably also a copy of a category – namely of the predicate category. In other words, in Pesetsky and Torrego (2001) it is a copy of the predicate categorial feature – the [T] feature – what we call a nominative case.

In the schematic picture in (5), the relation for the agreement is assumed again to be inside the minimal domain of T, which is a SPEC-head relation. The feature of NOM, which appeared in the subject position as NP$_{NOM}$ in (4b), is replaced by the categorial features [T] in NP$_{[T]}$) in (5).

(5)

$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{TP} \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
\text{NP}_{[T]} \qquad \text{T'} \\
\diagup \diagdown \\
\text{T}_{\varphi=[N]} \qquad \text{v/VP}
\end{array}
$$

The basis of case features as copies of case assigners was proposed already in Emonds (1985, Chapter 5). Pesetsky and Torrego (2001, 2004) integrated the idea into a minimalist framework as a realization of a general Agree process. The authors argue that their claim may be universal, but it is the language specific repertory of agreement morphemes that will decide whether the relation will be overtly (morphologically) realised on one member of the pair only (and which one), or on both, or on neither of them.

In a thorough discussion of the Russian case system (concentrating on the structures with quantifiers), Pesetsky (2013) further generalizes the previously illustrated concept of case. He proposes that not only nominative, but each case, is a copy of the category, which can be analysed as the "case assigner". Thus, the oblique case is a copy of a P category (preposition), accusative is the copy of a V category (verb) and genitive a copy of an N category (noun). Pesetsky at the same time redefines the feature for nominative (subject) case, arguing that it is not the copy of verb related functional head [T] but of the noun related [D] functional category, especially in languages in which nominative

is an unmarked case.

In the present day linguistic theory, moreover, parts of speech are not perceived as single lexical heads only, but instead they are described analytically, i.e., as a category-free lexical stem dominated by a string of ordered and category-specific functional categories. One of those functional categories is a so-called "categorial head", which provides the stem with a categorial label.[3] Thus, a nominal category is nominal because it contains a categorial head [n], a verbal category must contain a categorial head [v], an adjectival category contains a categorial head [a], and a preposition a categorial head [p]. Defining a case as a copy of a specific category, the assumption is that it is a copy of the categorial head only and not a copy of the whole complex lexical entry including all its functional domain. If so, then the lexical category following a categorial head must receive a case too, the case assigned by its own categorial head. Pesetsky (2013) labels this intrinsic case the "primeval case" and summarizes the categorial nature of each case by the slogan "you are what you assign."

Following this logic, Pesetsky (2013) concludes that each nominal stem is intrinsically marked by a primeval GEN because it contains a categorial head [n]. When the nominal complex containing the [n] and other functional heads merges with other case assigning categories, other cases (categorial features) are assigned by relevant categorial heads. The copies of all the categorial features (cases) stack one after the other in a row of potential morphemes. Pesetsky (2013) illustrates overt realizations of such strings of subsequently assigned cases in Lardil (a Tangki language of Northern Australia discussed extensively in Richards 2007). He proposes that there exist language specific rules like, e.g., (6), which decide how many of those stacked case suffixes (if any at all) will become morphologically realised and how many of the cases will be deleted as superfluous.

(6)   The One-Suffix Rule (The One-Prototype Rule), Pesetsky (2013)
       In the configuration [βn x [βn y … β …]] (order irrelevant), where x and y are the realization of prototypes, delete y.

Thus, the One-Suffix Rule, active in most Indo-European languages, states that it will be only one suffix, namely the outermost one, which will be morphologically realized. The fundamentals of Pesetsky's (2013) proposal are summarized as follows:

(7) a.   Case is a copy of a categorial feature (N:GEN, D:NOM, V:ACC, P:OBL),
    b.   Case is assigned within a local domain (outer case, phrase-level case),
    c.   Case features are spread by a locality restricted feature spreading to the smallest accessible elements of the phrase (word-level case),
    d.   Case is stacking,
    e.   Morphology realises some cases, e.g., the One-Suffix Rule.

---

3   For discussion, see Hale and Keyser (1993), Halle and Marantz (1993) and Harley (2014).

(7b) accounts for the fact that the case assignment necessarily takes place on the phrasal level – the relevant category is copied to its sister's node, which is by definition phrasal. On the other hand, (7c) determines that the language specific morphology resulting from the feature spreading (Feature Assignment) usually realizes case as a suffix, i.e., at the level of the smallest accessible elements, which are the words. The distinction between phrase level assignment and word level realization is going to be utilized in the following analysis of English and Czech possessives.

3   Possessive Case

The above hypothesis about the nature of case entails that a language can display overt case stacking in certain environments, e.g., when a certain case suffix escapes the language specific rule (6) and is marked as undeletable. Pesetsky (2013) proposes that such an environment is, e.g., when a word level case suffix combines with a phrase level case suffix, and the language has a morphological formative for both. He demonstrates that such an environment standardly appears in Lardil.

Notice that in (8), the Lardil genitive suffix -*ngan*- following the lexical stem *marun* [boy] is followed also by another case – an accusative agreement ending -i (Richard's example is 128 in Pesetsky 2013).

(8)   Ngada   derlde | marun | -ngan- | i | wangalk   -i
      I   break   boy   GEN   ACC   boomerang ACC
      "I broke the boy's boomerang."

According to Pesetsky's analysis, the genitive is assigned in the domain of the NP headed by *boomerang*. The possessee (plausibly in the genitive itself) assigns a genitive to the possessor's DP *boy*. This is a phrase level case in terms of (7b).

Before the domain of the complex DP is closed, its part, i.e., the possessor's DP *boy's*, undergoes a Spell-Out. This renders its genitive morphology undeletable. Whichever case is subsequently assigned to the possessee (e.g., NOM by D or ACC by V), it will be a case assigned to a higher phrase, and this cannot overwrite the genitive inside the possessor. It can, however, appear on the possessive constituent on the right edge of the phrase, e.g., as the accusative, which is assigned to the whole DP by a verb and spread by the feature spreading (Feature Assignment) to all its parts.

3.1   Possessives in Czech

Pesetsky (2013) proposes a similar analysis for Russian examples of possessives. In (9), the morpheme -*in*- (diachronically a genitive) is followed by an agreement suffix containing the case assigned to the possessee phrase (i.e., NOM.)

(9) a.

Tët	-in-	a	knig	-a
aunt	SUFFIX	F.NOM.SG	book	NOM.SG

"auntie's book"

  b.

k	Maš	-in-	omu	dom	-u
To	Masha	SUFFIX	M.DAT.SG	house	DAT.SG

"to Masha's house"

Pesetsky's analysis proposes that the phrase level genitive suffix on a possessor noun (i.e., -*in*) is followed by another case – the word-level case suffix spread by a Feature Assignment process inside the possessee DP. The special form of the genitive -in- is thus analysed as an allomorph of the genitive used in this case-stacking context.

Let's consider now Czech and English examples, which can be analysed analogously. In Veselovská (1998), I argue that for the systematic and explanatory analysis of the Czech POSS morphemes, it is necessary first to define what makes them specific compared to other modifiers. I propose that the true possessives (POSS) are those constituents that show the following three related characteristics:

(10) a. POSS contains a specific morphology -*ov*/-*in*,
      b. POSS appears in specific syntactic contexts (e.g., in the D-field) and
      c. POSS has a specific interpretation (possessive or theta role).

Example (11) demonstrates the position of the POSS suffixes. The label AGR marks the secondary adjectival agreement, which follows the POSS morpheme.

(11). a. Petr-ov-y   a   Jan-in-y   obrazy
          Peter+POSS.M+AGR and   Jane-POSS.F+AGR pictures
      b. Peter's and Jane's pictures

In traditional Czech grammar manuals, e.g., Trávníček (1951, 330–35) and Šmilauer (1966, 112–13), the POSS.M/F suffixes are taken for the morphological signals of a "relation" of the POSS "adjective" to a noun, which in fact equals labelling it as a derivational morpheme forming an adjective.[4]

On the other hand, the authors show the diachronic development of the possessive suffixes and especially possessive pronouns, and they all relate their form to the old Slavic genitive case.[5] This old Slavic genitive became reduced in standard case contexts, but the similarity of the two forms is still obvious, as the following demonstrates. The first line shows a standard synchronic genitive with pronouns for he/she/we, and the

---

4 The possessive suffix -*ov*- is homophonous with an adjectivizer as in, e.g., *fial-OV-ý* ("purple_Adj.AGR") or *malin-OV-ý* ("raspberry_Adj.AGR",) but the categorial nature of these adjectivizing suffixes is signaled by the following standard (hard, long) adjectival agreement morphology.

5 For more detailed discussion, see Gebauer (1896a, 468–69, 1896b, 220), Ertl (1924), and Večerka (1955).

second line provides the possessive forms.

(12)   a. he$_{M.GEN}$ (je-/ně-)**ho**   b. she$_{F.GEN}$ j-/n-**í**   c. we$_{GEN}$ nás
            his   je**ho**   her   její   our   naš**e**

   With the possessive suffixes added to substantives, the diachronic process was more complex and related to the general tendency to avoid inter-categorial forms. Still, the genitive origin of those suffixes is unchallenged (for discussion, see, e.g., Vachek 1954).

   The following examples translate Pesetsky's model structures from (9) to Czech. In Czech, the similarity of the agreement case morpheme on the possessive and on the possessee ("-A" and "-U") is even more striking than in Russian.

(13)   a. | Tet | -in- | A | velk-á   knih -**A**
            aunt SUFFIX F.NOM.SG   big-NOM.SG   book -NOM.SG
            "auntie's big book"

       b. k | Máš | -in- | U | dom   -**U**
            To   Masha   SUFFIX   M.DAT.SG   house   DAT.SG
            "to Masha's house"

The analysis of the above examples is thus as follows (I am using the English words for the Czech ones for simplicity, and I am not describing in any detail the internal structure of the possessive DP here): First, in (14a), the DP *aunt* merges with the NP *big book*, and the NP copies its categorial feature N-case/genitive into the DP according to (7b). The DP *aunt* reflects the genitive as a phrase level case. Because the possessor DP represents a phase, it goes to Spell-Out together with its genitive case features.

(14)   a. [$_{NP}$ [$_{DP}$ *aunt*.GEN] [$_{NP}$ *big book*]]

Then in (14b), the complex NP *aunt big book* merges with D, and this D assigns NOM to it. The NOM becomes realized inside the whole domain of the head *book* in the form of a word level case morphology. The Case feature is spread to the smallest accessible elements of the phrase (as a word-level case) by the process of local feature spreading (Feature Assignment).

(14)   b. [$_{DP}$ D [$_{NP}$ [$_{DP}$ *aunt*.GEN].NOM [*big* ~~GEN~~.NOM   *book*.~~GEN~~.NOM]]]

                  phrase-level case   word-level case

Notice that the adjectival premodifier *velká* "big$_{NOM.SG}$" also reflects NOM. Because the DP *aunt* is a part of the domain, it also takes the NOM case morphology. However, the original genitive, which was assigned in the previous stage of derivation, is not deleted by a One-Suffix Rule, because the internal DP has already crossed into Spell-Out.

The combination of a possessive morpheme plus the agreement that contains case features is thus analysed as a combination of two stacked cases, i.e., as an example of case stacking: a GEN (fossilized inside the possessive in the form of a POSS suffix) and NOM - i.e., a case shared by all minimal premodifying constituents inside the nominative DP.

The outer case – the agreement – is accessible for further changes when the DP gets into another case assigning context. For example, in (13b) the GEN is followed by a phrasal DAT. This DAT was able to over-write the phrase level nominative case on the possessee, but it cannot change the frozen genitive of the possessive. The two possessive suffixes -*ov*-/-*in*- are thus both allomorphs of a phrasal-level genitive licensed in the case-stacking context.

In these examples, the possessive has been introduced as a DP constituent, although in Czech it shows many restrictions on feature content and complexity. The Czech possessive must be singular, animate and marked for masculine or feminine, and structurally simple – bare. I propose here that the constraints on the form of a Czech possessive are forced by the combined requirements of the possessive/genitive morphemes – the only morpheme that can appear in combination with another (word-level) case. All Czech case suffixes are attached to minimal forms and therefore, although structurally complex, the possessive word itself must remain bare and simple to be able to take a case suffix.

The morphologically forced syntactic simplicity of the Czech possessive does not allow a check as to whether the genitive inside the possessive DP is spread onto all words, as my analysis predicts it should be. However, there are some stylistically marked options for a more complex (compound?) possessive (see Uhlířová 1987, 47–48), and these support the proposed analysis because here the possessive premodification overtly reflects the archaic genitive: *pán-ě* "mister$_{GEN(arch)}$." Because it is embedded inside the possessive constituent, it does not participate in the feature spreading – in (15) of the outer ACC.

(15)   pozdravil | pán-**ě**   inspektor-**ov**-u | ctěnnou   matku
        Greeted | mister$_{GEN(arch.)}$ inspector$_{GEN.ACC}$ | honourable$_{ACC}$ mother$_{ACC}$
          "he greeted mister inspector's honourable mother"

The above Czech example is in fact identical with the Lardil case-stacking structures, where the possessive DP contains more than one word. The following sentence was collected in Klokeid 1978, and here it is taken from Pesetsky (2013, ex.135).

(16)   Ngada   kurrikun | kiin-nga   bidngen-ngan-in | karnan-in   kambin-in
        I   saw | that$_{GEN}$ woman$_{GEN.ACC}$ | tall$_{ACC}$ son$_{ACC}$
          "I saw that woman's tall son."

The following examples (stylistically marked, slightly obsolete but not unacceptable even synchronically) also suggest that the genitive is spread inside the whole domain

of a possessive DP. They exhibit a relatively frequent prenominal possessor phrase, which is marked by a standard modern adnominal genitive -*a* **in** *pan-a* "mister$_{GEN}$".

(17) pozdravil | pana | inspektora | ctěnnou | matku
      Greeted | mister$_{GEN}$ | inspector$_{GEN}$ | honourable$_{ACC}$ | mother$_{ACC}$
      "he greeted mister inspector's honourable mother"

The genitive on the possessive DP is typical for postnominal attributes, and it is tempting to take this structure as a kind of scrambling. However, as the following example demonstrates, contrasted to the preceding one, a relevant majority of these examples found in the Czech national corpus fulfil the other restrictions on prenominal possessives except for structural simplicity, i.e., they must be singular, animate masculine/feminine. The only difference is that they do not have to be bare.[6]

(18) * vyrobil | našeho | stolu | novou | nohu
      * made | our$_{GEN}$ | table$_{GEN}$ | new$_{ACC}$ | leg$_{ACC}$
      "he made a new leg of our table"

Therefore, I take these structures for the equivalents of possessives, assuming that the synchronic genitive word-level case cannot combine with any phrase level case and therefore does not constitute an overt example of case stacking.

4 English Case

Several Germanic languages such as German, Icelandic, and Faroese have a phonologically distinctive case morphology on elements of open-class nominal phrases, as well as on closed-class pronouns, just like modern Czech. A similar case system was also attested to in Old English, as can be seen from the history of English case system systematically investigated in, e.g., Allen (1995) and Quinn (2005). However, during the Middle English period, the nominal case (and gender) inflections on nouns and their modifiers disappeared, with only the genitive retained, predominantly as a marker of a noun phrase. In pronominal paradigms, the dative/accusative distinction also disappeared during the Middle English period at different times for different pronouns.

4.1 Vestigial Case of English Pronouns

In Modern English, the only case-like remnants that remain are suppletive allomorphs within a closed subset of pronouns and the Saxon genitive (possessive) nominals in the determiner field. As for the pronouns, in the framework of Distributed Morphology, the English vestigial (remnant) case system is analysed in, e.g., McFadden (2004) and

---

6 Given the minimal amount of data, more research is still needed to confirm this claim.

Parrott (2009).[7] The latter author, referring to Emonds's (1986) analysis, proposes that English subject and object pronouns are exponents (morphemes) of a pronoun's structural context, i.e., not exponents of case features assigned by some specific heads. The contexts are summarised informally below (see Parrott 2009, 276).

(19)   a. subject pronoun: exponent when a pronoun is the sole subject of a finite clause
         b. object pronoun: exponent when a pronoun is in any other structural context

Notice that the author does not mention possessives at all.

   The recent research dealing with the development of the Saxon genitive is summarized in Alexiadou (2004), concentrating on the grammaticalization process of the pronouns. Using the framework and data analyses of Cardinaletti (1998) and Schoorlemmer (1998), the author labels English possessive pronouns as possessive determiners and provides the following characteristics of this group of expressions: first, as demonstrated in (20), contrary to (a) Italian or (b) Czech, in (c) Modern English[8] and (d) German, possessives appear in complementary distribution with determiners.

(20)   a. It.:   il mio libro   "the my book"
         b. Cz.:   ta moje kniha   "the my book"
         c. En.:   *the my book
         d. Ge.:   *das mein Buch   "the my book"

Second, in English (and German), the definiteness of the possessive correlates with the definiteness of the whole nominal complex, and, finally, with pronouns, the prenominal form is distinct form the independent one used without nouns (e.g., *my book* vs. *the book of/is mine*). Cardinaletti (1998) argues that English possessive pronouns are highly grammaticalized clitic pronouns appearing in a specific context. They can therefore be reinterpreted as allomorphs determined by a specific context feature like those in (19). I revise their context as follows:

(21)   a. subject pronoun: exponent of D in the domain of a [+T]
         b. possessive pronoun: exponent of D in the domain of [+D][9]
         c. object pronoun: exponent when a pronoun is in any other structural context

Notice that in Pesetsky's framework, possessive pronouns do not carry the genitive

---

7   English is not the only Germanic vestigial-case language. In addition to Dutch, Afrikaans and Frisian, the category includes the so-called "Mainland Scandinavian" varieties, comprising Norwegian, Swedish and Danish. These languages have pronominal case-form allomorphs but lack case morphology on open-class nominal phrases. For more see Parrott (2009, 284).
8   Rosenbach (2002, 225) provides examples from Old English (i) and Early Modern English that still used possessives together with demonstratives.
    i.   þe myne dedis (the my deeds) [Benedictine Rule, OE]
    ii. this his goodness   [Early Modern English,]
9   By [+T] here I mean a finite T, which is typical for the predicate of finite clause. Determining its equivalent at the D field is left for future research.

(N-case). Because they are DPs themselves, and because they appear in the domain of the D of the possessed noun, they are expected to reflect the D-case, i.e., nominative. It is plausible, however, to assume that possessive pronouns are first merged below the DP projection, in some Theta-marked position or Agr position, and then move (re-merge) into D. If so, a low position in the domain of nP or NP could be made responsible for the N-case, genitive, which moves together with the possessive pronoun to the DP. I am not going to decide which process is more plausible. If the latter, then the context for the possessive allomorph in (21b) would be [+n/N] instead of [+D]. In any event, the forms of the possessive pronouns in Modern English do not represent a case as defined in Pesetsky (2013), i.e., as a copy of a categorial feature realized by some productive morphology, but rather remain idiosyncratic allomorphs defined with respect to their context.

4.2   Saxon Genitives with DPs

Comparing the English possessive pronouns with possessive DPs, a number of authors show that the two represent distinct constituents and should therefore be analysed in distinct ways. Consider the following contrast showing that coordination is only possible (with both collective and distributive readings) with two possessive pronouns or two possessive DPs, but not with a combination of the two.[10] Moreover, in the (c–d) examples, a single 's can be added to coordinated non-possessives only if is adjective to a noun, not to a pronoun, again showing that the two possessive forms must be distinct types.

(22)   a. Jack and Jill's house,   my and his house
       b. * my and Jack's house,   *Jack's and my house
       c. me and Jack's house,   him and Jack's house
       d. *Jill and me's house   *Jill and him's house

In the framework of Cardinaletti (1998) or Bernstein and Tortora (2005), English possessive pronouns are deficient clitics, while possessive DPs are of a clearly more complex nature. The ungrammaticality of (22b) is therefore to be explained in the same way as the ungrammaticality of the following, where the Czech clitic pronoun does not tolerate coordination with a full DP *Peter*.

(23)   Koupil   knihu | *ti /   tobě | a Petrovi
       bought   book$_{ACC}$ *you$_{DAT.CL}$ /   you$_{DAT}$ and Peter
       "He bought a book to you and Peter."

The structurally complex (DP) characteristics of the Saxon genitive 's morpheme in Modern English is noted in every grammar manual. The examples (24a/b) are from

---

10   See Zwicky (1987), Anderson (1992, 2013) and other authors cited later.

Huddleston and Pullum (2002, 479), who explicitly state that the "suffix 's attaches to ... the last word of the phrase." (The bracketing used below is modified according to the text in this study.)

(24)   a.   [$_{DP}$ [the Head of Department]'s] speech.
        b.   [$_{DP}$ [the man she and her friend had complained to]'s] reaction.
        c.   [$_{DP}$ [the woman who walked in]'s] response
        d.   [$_{DP}$ [Who else]'s] essay
        e.   [$_{DP}$ [a friend of mine]'s] dog

English is not the only language with this kind of possessive morphology. The following Swedish example from Anderson (2008 194, ex. 2b) shows the genitive suffix -s attached to the end of a relative clause modifying a pronoun *nån* [someone], i.e., it is a close equivalent to (24b), including a stranded preposition.

(25)   i   Nån   som   jag tycker om   s   hem
         in [$_{DP}$[$_{DP}$ someone   that   I care about]   GEN   home]
         "in the home of someone I like"

Searching for an analysis in his morphological framework, Anderson explicitly states that the Saxon genitive represents an example of a "phrasal morphology" by stating that "the realization of phrasal properties constitutes a close analogy, at phrase level, of the realization of the morphological properties of the words at the word level, and thus it is appropriate to speak about 'phrasal morphology'" (Anderson 2008, 195).

    While Anderson uses the label phrasal affix (as do also Quirk et al. 1985), other authors prefer the term **clitic** when discussing the morpheme 's.[11] To stress the distinction between word morphology and the 's suffix, Zwicky (1992) compares the latter with free morphemes, in particular adpositions. He proposes a "functional equivalence principle," which reflates the bound case morphology with free functional adposition because "anything you can do with cases you can also do with adpositions, and vice versa" (Zwicky 1992, 370).

    A somewhat different taxonomy for the same phenomena can also be found in Emonds (2012), who distinguishes languages that exhibit case differences only on pronouns or at the periphery of the DP from those which are "case-inflecting". He claims that a language is case-inflecting if and only if overt Case occurs *inside DPs other than on bare Ds* (= those with no other overt material in DP). Given this definition, Emonds claims that Czech (as well as, e.g., German and Latin) is a case-inflecting language, but English (as well as, e.g., Dutch, French, Japanese, Spanish and Turkish) are not.

---

11 E.g., Zwicky 1977, 1987; Lapointe 1990; Miller 1991; Payne 2009.

In this study, I have accepted the classification of Case that follows from Pesetsky's (2013) case hypothesis and I have applied it to the Czech possessives. In the following section, I am going to propose that in English, neither the form of the possessive pronouns discussed in the preceding subsection, nor the form of Saxon genitive, can represent a case as defined in Pesetsky (2013), i.e., as a morphologically realized copy of a categorial feature.

4.3   What is "Phrasal Case"?

In Pesetsky's framework, the genitive case is a copy of a nominal category, plausibly "lower case n", a counterpart to "lower case v". There is, however, no morphological realisation of this case level in English with nouns. The examples and discussion above show that the so-called Saxon genitive is a morpheme attached to a whole nominal complex (DP). Assuming Abney's (1987) structure for the possessive pronoun and DP as in (27), the derivation of the Saxon genitive in terms of case stacking is represented in 26). Notice that while pronominals are analysed as D heads (see also Cardinaletti 1998), possessive DPs are divided between the DP in the SPEC(D) and the 's morpheme in D.[12]

(26)   a.   [nP farmer] GEN   primeval GEN : Ø
      b.   [DP a [nP farmer]] GEN.NOM   D-case : Ø
      c.   [NP [DP a [nP farmer]'s) daughters] GEN.NOM.GEN   N-case : Ø

Notice that in (26) there is no case label for the 's morpheme; it is because I propose here that the theoretical framework used in this study predicts that the 's morpheme is not a case at all.

The proposed process of derivation of English possessives is illustrated in (27) below.

In (27) can be seen the possessive DP. It plausibly carries a primeval N-case GEN and D-case NOM (assigned by its own categorial N and then by D, as suggested in (26a/b), both of which have no morphological realization in English. This DP is merged in the lower position in the domain of the N *daughters*. This can be a theta position (or some equivalent of AgrP as in Cardinaletti 1998). In Pesetsky's framework, it is a domain of N *daughters*, and therefore it receives a GEN phrasal case as in the Czech example, (14a). In English, however, this case has no overt morphological realization.

The possessor's DP then undergoes a Spell-Out and merges in the domain of D when the head *daughters* projects to the D-field. If some D case is assigned and spread via the Feature Assignment, it remains invisible in English because English does not have any morphology for Case on nouns.

---

12   The structure in (27) is a schematic syntactic structure. The morphological realization of the possessive morpheme may depend on a specific characteristic of the morpheme 's. For the claim that 's does not form a constituent with the possessive DP, see Kayne 1989, 5).

(27)

```
                    DP
         _____/_____
        /                       \
    SPEC(D)                      DP
        ⋮              _____/_____
        ⋮             /                      \
        ⋮            D                        nP
        ⋮     _____/\              _____/_____
        ⋮    /                     /                  \
        ⋮   Θ position            n/NP
        ⋮       ⋮              ____/\____
        ⋮       ⋮
```

		D	Θ position	n/NP
a.	**his**	[+D]	~~his~~	[n [N daughters]]
b.	a farmer	' s	~~a farmer~~	[n [N daughters]]
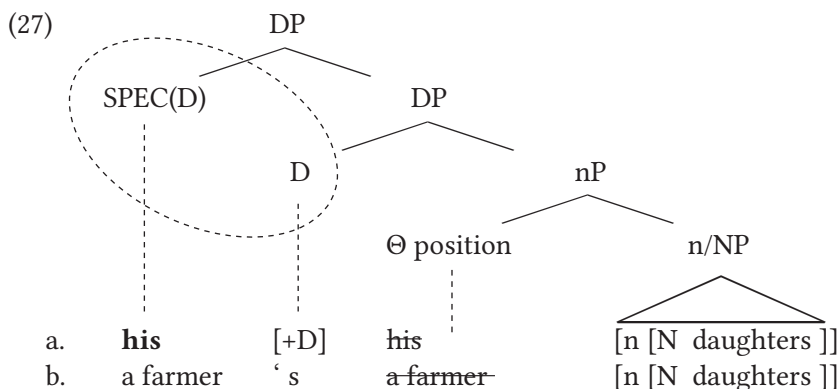
The structure in (27) shows that the 's morpheme is not a case at all – it is not a copy of either N or D on the DP in SPEC(D). More likely, it marks the agreement between the DP and the D on the D itself. Using the analogy with a clausal projection, it is similar to subject-predicate agreement where the copy of the φ features of the subject (DP) appear on the finite predicate.

   The essentials of the above analysis also appear in Bernstein and Tortora (2005), who provide data from Hungarian and English and argue that the 's morpheme represents an agreement with the possessive DP, more specifically a singular number morpheme. [13] The authors relate the 's morpheme to number to explain why the following (b) examples are ungrammatical.

(28)   a.   [the <u>kid</u> from New York] 's mother,
            [the <u>kid</u> I spoke to yesterday] 's mother

       b.   * [the <u>kids</u> from New York] 's mother,
            * [the <u>kids</u> I spoke to yesterday] 's mother

These examples are discussed earlier in Zwicky (1987) and Aronoff and Fuhrhop (2002), with respect to their version of a mono-suffixation constraint.

5   Conclusion

   In this study I have applied the Case Theory of Pesetsky (2013) to the possessive constituents in English and Czech. I demonstrated that Czech has both word-level and phrase-level morphology for case. The existence of case suffixes on both levels in Czech allows Czech to violate the One-Suffix Rule, and Czech possessive constituents represent an example of overt case stacking. In Modern English, however, there is no equivalent to a morphologically realised Case relation. Pronominals show only vestigial case, i.e., allomorphic variation depending on context, which is not copied

---

13 den Dikken (1998, 1999) already analysed the 'n morpheme as a singular copula, and Kayne (1993) took
    it for the singular marker equivalent to English verbal 3sg morphology.

inside the DP domains into some phrasal or word level morphology. As for the Saxon genitive, the analysis schematically presented in (27) shows that the ’s morpheme does not represent a case at all in the sense of Pesetsky (2013). Instead of being a case (a copy of a category on a DP), it is a copy of the DP on a functional head D, i.e., a kind of agreement with the singular (unmarked) feature of DP.

The analysis in (27) shows a strutcural distinction between the pronominal and DP possessives, which explains why they resist coordination. It is also able to capture several distinctive characteristics of the Saxon genitive ’s: the fact that athough it appears at the edge of clearly complex constituents, it does not tolerate a marked number (plural). Moreover, locating the possessive morpheme ’s in D, according to Abney’s original proposal, explains the fact that the presence of the true possessive in English excludes the presence of another determiner.

Acknowledgement

Works cited

Abney, Steven P. 1987. “The English Noun Phrase in Its Sentential Aspect.” PhD diss., Massachusets Institute of Technology.

Alexiadou, Artemis 2004. “On the Development of Possessive Determiners: Consequences for DP Structure.” In *Diachronic Clues to Synchronic Grammar*, edited by Eric Fuss and Carola Trips, 31–58. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Allen, Cynthia L. 1995. *Case Marking and Reanalysis: Grammatical Relations from Old to Early Modern English.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Anderson, Stephen R. 1992. *A-Morphous Morphology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Anderson, Stephen R. 2008. “The English ‘Group Genitive’ is a Special Clitic.” *English Linguistics* 25 (1): 1–20. doi:10.9793/elsj1984.25.1.

Anderson, Stephen R. 2013. “The Marker of the English ‘Group Genitive’ is a Special Clitic, Not an Inflection.” In *Morphosyntactic Categories and the Expression of Possession*, edited by Kersti Börjars, David Denison, and Alan Scott, 193–218. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Aronoff, Mark, and Nanna Fuhrhop. 2002. “Restricting Suffix Combinations in German and English: Closing Suffixes and the Monosuffix Constraint.” *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20: 451–90.

Bernstein, Judy, and Christina Tortora. 2005. “Two Types of Possessive Forms in English.” *Lingua* 115: 1221–42. doi: 10.1016/j.lingua.2004.03.002.

Cardinaletti, Anna. 1998. “On the Deficient/Strong Opposition in Possessive Systems.” In *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase*, edited by Artemis Alexiadou and Chris Wilder, 17–53. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Dočekal, Mojmír. 2004. "Formální sémantika adnominálního genitivu." In *Čeština: Univerzália a specifika* 5, edited by Zdeňka Hladká and Petr Karlík, 276–87. Praha: NLN.

Chomsky, Noam, and Howard Lasnik. 1977. "Filters and Control." *Linguistic Inquiry* 8: 425–504.

Chomsky, Noam. 1972. *Studies on Semantics in Generative Grammar*. The Hague: Mouton.

Chomsky, Noam. 1980. "On Binding." *Linguistic Inquiry* 11: 1–46.

Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.

Chomsky, Noam. 2000. "Minimalist Inquiries: The Framework." In *Step by Step: Essays on Minimalist Syntax in Honor of Howard Lasnik*, edited by Roger Martin, David Michaels, and Juan Uriagereka, 89–155. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Daneš, František, and Zdeněk Hlavsa. 1987. *Větné vzorce v češtině*. Praha: Academia.

den Dikken, Marcel. 1998. "(Anti-)Agreement in DP." In *Linguistics in the Netherlands*, edited by Renée van Bezooijen and René Kager, 95–107. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

den Dikken, Marcel. 1999. "On the Structural Representation of Possession and Agreement: The Case of (Anti-)Agreement in Hungarian Possessed Nominal Phrases." In *Crossing Boundaries: Advances in the Theory of Central and Eastern European Languages*, edited by István Kenesei, 137–79. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Emonds, Joseph E. 2012. "Blackjack! 21 Arguments That Agreeing Adjectives Are Derived Nominals." In *Of Grammar, Words and Verses: In Honor of Carlos Piera, edited by Esther Torrego*, 171–200. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Emonds, Joseph E. 1985. *A Unified Theory of Syntactic Categories: Studies in Generative Grammar*. Dordrecht: Foris

Emonds, Joseph E. 1986. "Grammatically Deviant Prestige Constructions." In *A Festschrift for Sol Saporta*, edited by Michael Brame, Heles Contreras, and Frederick J. Newmeyer, 93–129. Seattle: Noit Amrofer Press.

Ertl, Václav. 1924. "Jich, jejich." *Naše řeč* VIII: 193–211.

Fillmore, Charles. 1968. "Toward a Modern Theory of Case." In *Modern Studies in English: Readings in Transformational Grammar*, edited by David A. Reibel and Sanford A. Schane, 361–75. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Gebauer, Jan. 1896a. *Historické mluvnici jazyka českého*. Vol. 3, no. 1. Praha: F. Tempský.

Gebauer, Jan. 1896b. *Historické mluvnici jazyka českého*. Vol. 4, no. 1. Praha: F. Tempský.

Greenberg, Joseph. 1974. *Language Typology: A Historical and Analytic Overview*. The Hague: Mouton.

Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. "Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection." In *The View from Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, edited by K. Hale and S. J. Keyser, 111–76. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Hale, Ken, and Samuel J. Keyser. 1993. "On Argument Structure and the Lexical Expression of Syntactic Relations." In *The View from Building 20: Essays in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, edited by K. Hale and S. J. Keyser, 53–109. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Harley, Heidi. 2014. "On the Identity of Roots." *Theoretical Linguistics* 40 (3–4): 225–76.

doi: 10.1515/tl-2014-0010.

Haspelmath, Martin. 2001. *Language Typology and Language Universals: An International Handbook*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Hjelmslev, Louis. 1935. *La catégorie des cas: Étude de grammaire générale* I. Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget.

Huddleston, Rodney, and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jakobson, Roman. 1936. "Beitrag zur allgemeinen Kasuslehre." *TCLP* 6: 240–88.

Kayne, Richard S. 1993. "Toward a Modular Theory of Auxiliary Selection." *Studia Linguistica* 47: 3–31. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9582.1993.tb00837.x.

Kayne, Richard S. 1989. "Notes on English Agreement." *CIEFL Bulletin* 1: 41–67.

Klokeid, Terry J. 1978. "Nominal Inflection in Pamanyungan: A Case Study in Relational Grammar." In *Valence, Semantic Case, and Grammatical Relations*, edited by Werner Abraham, 577–615.Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Kurylowicz, Jerzy. 1949. "Problém třídění pádů [Le problème du classement des cas]." In *Principy strukturní syntaxe* I, edited by Svatava Machová, 95–111. Praha: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1974.

Lapointe, Steven G. 1990. "Edge Features in GPSG." In *Chicago Linguistic Society* 26, edited by Michael Ziolkowski, Manuela Noske, and Karen Deaton, 221–35. Chicago: Chicago Linguistic Society.

McFadden, Thomas. 2004. "The Position of Morphological Case in the Derivation: A Study on the Syntax-Morphology Interface." PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania.

Miller, Philip H. 1991. "Clitics and Constituents in Phrase-Structure Grammar." PhD diss., Rijksuniversiteit te Utrecht.

Parrott, Jeffrey, K. 2009. "Danish Vestigial Case and the Acquisition of Vocabulary in Distributed Morphology." *Biolinguistics* 3 (23): 270–304.

Payne, John. 2009. "The English Genitive and Double Case." *Transactions of the Philological Society* 107 (3): 322–57. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-968X.2009.01226.x.

Pesetsky, David, and Esther Torrego. 2001. "T-to-C Movement: Causes and Consequences." In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, edited by Michael Kenstowicz, 355–426. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Pesetsky, David, and Esther Torrego. 2004. "Tense, Case, and the Nature of Syntactic Categories." In *The Syntax of Time*, edited by Jacqueline Guéron and Jacqueline Lecarme, 495–537. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Pesetsky David 2013. *Russian Case Morphology and the Syntactic Categories*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Quinn, Heidi. 2005. *The Distribution of Pronoun Case Forms in English*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Quirk, Randolph, Sidney Greenbaum, Geoffrey Leech, and Jan Svartvik. 1985. *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Harlow: Longman.

Richards, Norvin. 2007. "Lardil 'Case Stacking' and the Structural/Inherent Case Distinction." Unpublished manuscript. http://ling.auf.net/lingBuzz/000405.

Rosenbach, Anette. 2002. *Genitive Variation in English: Conceptual Factors in Synchronic*

and Diachonic Studies. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Rouveret, Alain, and Jean-Roger Vergnaud. 1980. "Specifying Reference to the Subject: French Causatives and Conditions on Representations." *Linguistic Inquiry* 11: 97–202.

Schoorlemmer, Maaike. 1998. "Possessors, Articles and Definiteness". In *Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase*, edited by Artemis Alexiadou and Chris Wilder, 55–86. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sgall, Petr. 1967. *Generativní popis jazyka a česká deklinace*. Praha: Academia.

Sgall, Petr. 1986 *Úvod do syntaxe a sémantiky: Některé nové směry v teoretické lingvistice*. Praha: Academia.

Skalička, Vladimír. 2004. "Typ češtiny". In *Vladimír Skalička: Souborné dílo* II, edited by František Čermák, 475–536. Praha: Karolinum.

Šmilauer, Vladimír. 1966. *Novočeská skladba: Vysokoškolská příručka*. Praha: SPN.

Trávníček, František. 1951. *Mluvnice spisovné češtiny* I a II. Praha: Slovanské nakladatelství.

Uhlířová Ludmila. 1987. *Knížka o slovosledu*. Praha:Academia.

Uličný, Oldřich. 1973. "Ke koncepci pádového systému v češtině." *Slavia* 42: 347–61.

Veselovská, Ludmila. 1998. "Possessive Movement in the Czech Nominal Phrase." *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 6 (2): 255–300.

Vachek, Josef. 1954. "K problematice českých posesivních adjektiv." In *Studie a práce linguistické I: K šedesátým narozeninám akademika Bohuslava Havránka*, edited by Jaromír Bělič, Miloš Dokulil, Karel Horálek, and Alois Jedlička, 171-89. Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd.

Večerka, Radoslav. 1955. "Poznámky k vyjadřování posesivity u zájmen 3. osoby v češtině." In *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity* A3, 36-41. Brno: Masarykova univerzita.

Zikmund, Václav. 1863. *Skladba jazyka českého*. Litomyšl: Antonín Augusta.

Zwicky, Arnold M. 1987. "Suppressing the Zs." Journal of Linguistics 23: 133–48. doi:10.1017/S0022226700011063.

Zwicky, Arnold M. 1992. "Jottings on Adpositions, Case Inflections, Government, and Agreement." In *The Joy of Grammar: A Festschrift in Honor of James D. McCawley*, edited by Diane Brentari, Gary N. Larson, and Lynn A. MacLeod, 369–83. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Zwicky, Arnold M. 1977. *On Clitics*. Bloomington: Indiana University Linguistics Club.

A Comparison of Adjectives of the Type
-able/-telný in English and Czech

Petra Charvátová

Palacký University Olomouc, Faculty of Arts, Department of English and American Studies,
Třída Svobody 26, 772 01 Olomouc, Czech Republic. Email: petra.charvatova@upol.cz

ABSTRACT: This paper compares the morpho-syntax of adjectives with the suffix *-telný* in Czech and *-able* adjectives in English which are often considered functionally equivalent. In English, *-able* is considered to be of two separate types. The first type (*-able*; *predictable*) attaches to verb stem to derive adjectives of a transparent compositional meaning, whereas the second type (*-able/-ible*; risible) derives compositionally opaque adjectives. Descriptive grammars of Czech categorize *-telný* as deriving adjectives of passive possibility, and these adjectives seem to have transparent compositional meaning. The objective of this paper is to analyze and compare the morpho-syntax of the adjective-deriving suffix *-able* and *-telný* in the two languages in the framework of Distributed Morphology. Whereas in English the *-able* adjectives are of root-derived and v-derived types, this analysis of *-telný* concludes that in Czech all such adjectives contain verbal properties; they are of the v-derived type. Root-derived structure is not attested.

KEYWORDS: English adjectives; Czech deverbal adjectives; derivational morphology; Distributed Morphology; morpho-syntax

1. INTRODUCTION

Unlike phrase structure, internal structure of complex derived words is not studied so extensively in the formal linguistic framework. Even though comprehensive studies such as Aronoff (1976) and Selkirk (1982) lay foundations for the analysis of the word domain (X^0), research of derivational morphology in the current version of the theory, dealing with data from various languages, is still in progress. The goal of this paper is to contribute in this area by the analysis of the morpho-syntax of *-telný* adjectives in Czech and a comparison with the English data.

Adjectives with the suffix *-telný* in Czech are often considered functionally equivalent to *-able* adjectives in English due to their meaning, which can be often paraphrased as "capable of being Ved" or "able to be Ved" in both languages.[1] According to Aronoff (1976), English *-able* adjectives are of two types. The *-able* of the first type gives rise to adjectives of compositionally transparent semantics (e.g., *predictable* [*able to be predicted*]) in which the suffix attaches to a verb stem. The second type of *-able* suffix, alternatively realized as *-ible* (e.g., *risible* [*deserving to be laughed at*]), derives

---

1 The structure of functional equivalents of English *-able* adjectives of other morpho-phonological form (e.g., nehořlavý [inflammable], nerozbitný [unbreakable]) could be dissimilar from the *-telný* ones considered here. Although, a comparison of the differences might shed light on the feature content of the forms, such analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.

semantically opaque adjectives not derived from a verb stem.

In descriptive grammars of Czech, *-telný* is said to combine with a verbal stem, and the derived adjectives are called "adjectives of passive im-/possibility" (Dokulil 1986, 339). An analysis of the structure of the suffix is not provided in the literature. Moreover, *-telný* might be either considered as consisting of two morphemes, a noun deriving *-tel* (e.g., *uči-tel* [teacher]) and an adjective deriving polyfunctional suffix *-ný*[2] or one unit *-telný*. I am not aware of an analysis of either option.

The organization of the paper is as follows. Firstly, the theoretical framework, Distributed Morphology, is introduced. Secondly, Aronoff's analysis (1976) of the two types of *-able* morphemes is provided, together with its transposition to Distributed Morphology by Volpe (2005). Thirdly, an analysis of Czech *-telný* adjectives is presented, which determines that they are universally of the v-derived type. Finally, I consider some aspects of the possible decomposition of the *-telný* suffix into two separate morphemes *-tel* and *-ný*, concluding that *-tel* is not the agent nominalizing morpheme in these adjectives.

2. THE DATA

As mentioned, the adjectives of the type *-able* in English, are frequently considered to be functional equivalents of the *-telný* adjectives in Czech:

(1)   a. i. predict (V)   →   ii. predictable (A)
        b. i. předvídat (V)   →   ii. předvídatelný (A)

Even though it is not widely acknowledged, in the formal linguistics tradition, adopting the conclusions of Aronoff (1976), *-able* is of two types, which differ in their properties. Type 1 of *-able* neither modifies the verb stem nor shifts the stress of the stem, and it derives adjectives of a transparent compositional meaning, as in (2a). There occurs no truncation with this suffix.

On the other hand, type 2 of *-able*, alternatively realized as *-ible*,[3] might cause phonetic change in the stem or truncation, the stress might be shifted, and the meaning might be semantically opaque in the derived adjective. In (2bii), the final consonant in the stem is phonetically changed from *d* to *s*. The meaning of the derived adjective in (2bii) might be paraphrased as compositional, "capable of being defended", but also as opaque, "excusable".

(2)   a. i. repair (V)   →   ii. repair-able (A)
        b. i. defen<u>d</u> (V)   →   ii. defen<u>s</u>-ible (A)

---

2   I call *-ný* suffix polyfunctional, because it derives several semantically distinct types of adjectives from both verbs (e.g., trestat, V [punish] – trestaný, A [punished]) and nouns (e.g., krása [beauty] (N) – krásný [beautiful] (A)).

3   The *-ible* exponent is even less semantically transparent. It does not attach to a verb stem, e.g., possible (A) but *poss (V); audible (ADJ) but *aud (V). However, regular compositional examples do exist, e.g., accessible (A), access (V).

In Czech, *-telný* is dealt with in descriptive grammars (Dokulil 1986; Grepl 1996; Cvrček 2010). It supposedly derives adjectives from verbs (3).

(3)   a.   i.   hrá-l (V)   →   ii.   hrat<u>eln</u>ý (A)
                 play-PastPart.3s   playable

      b.   i.   snes-l (V)   →   ii.   snes<u>iteln</u>ý (A)
                 bear-PastPart.3s   bearable

Any opacity in meaning is not discussed, therefore I assume it is considered to derive semantically transparent units. Dokulil (1986) provides the most comprehensive description. As for the decomposition into two separate morphemes, this option is either not considered (Grepl 1996; Cvrček 2010), or it is only vaguely pointed out that the first part of the composite suffix, *-tel* is related to the noun deriving morpheme of the same form (Dokulil 1986, 340). Nonetheless, the *-tel* morpheme, deriving agent nouns from verbs, is both common and productive, and therefore the possibility should be considered. *-telný* has two alternative realizational variants, *-telný* and *-itelný*, exemplified in (3a)–(3b).

3.   Theoretical framework

Aronoff's (1976) influential investigation of the discussed data is executed in the framework of generative lexicon (Chomsky 1965; Lieber 1992, and many others). However, the most prevalent framework in contemporary formal linguistics, in terms of word-formation, is that of Distributed Morphology (DM, Halle and Marantz 1993). The analysis of this paper is motivated by the DM framework, and this section introduces it.

Traditionally, in generative lexicon approaches, it is argued that derivational morphology takes place pre-syntactically, in a module called lexicon. Therefore, derivationally complex words such as *destruction* or *growth*, might have compositional or opaque meanings not reflecting the rules for formation of phrases, and thus they enter the syntactic derivation already formed. DM abandons this hypothesis; it argues that all word-formation takes place in syntax, and that there is only one generative engine that derives both phrases and words.[4] This is a more parsimonious solution, which removes two generative components from the model of grammar, and thus it is better motivated on the conceptual grounds than a model with two separate generative mechanisms. In the next section, I introduce the basic concepts of DM relevant for this paper.

3.1.   Roots and Abstract Morphemes (Embick and Noyer 2007)

---

4   The concept of word has no special status in the model, it is not a primitive in the theory.

In DM, there are two types of primitives, which feed the syntactic derivation: roots and abstract morphemes (or f-morphemes). Roots (√) are atomic elements that are not specified categorially and that lack syn(tactico)-sem(antic) features. With respect to the traditional terminology, roots correspond to lexical morphemes, belonging to an open class. Opinions as to whether roots contain phonological features or are radically empty differ.[5] In the radically empty roots version of the theory, a root represents a placeholder with an index in the derivation, it is provided with the phonological material, and it is semantically interpreted only after syntax, during an operation called spell-out.[6] On the other hand, functional morphemes consist only of universal syn-sem features, such as [past] and [plural], they are phonologically empty and subject to late insertion. At the end of the derivation, syntax yields hierarchical structure and phonological features are inserted to the terminal nodes.

With respect to word-formation, in DM a word (or a lexical item in the pre-theoretical sense) might be formed from a root that is directly merged with an abstract morpheme categorizing head (*v*[erb], *n*[oun], *a*[djective]), or it might be formed from an already existing word in the language (i.e., a root merged with a categorizing head). Marantz (1997) discusses famous nominalizations in English, in particular the difference between the verb *grow* and the noun *growth*. Both are formed from the same root √GROW, which is category neutral. When the root is placed in the local syntactic context of *v*, it is interpreted as a verb. When it is merged with *n*, it gets the interpretation of a noun after it is spelled out. Importantly, *v* and *n* are phases (Chomsky 2001) which in Arad's (2003, 748) words means that "the first category head merging with the root defines a phase that is, a stage in the derivation where the element built by the computational system is spelled out both semantically and phonologically." Therefore, a word formed by merging a root with the categorising head might be semantically and phonologically opaque. On the other hand, words formed from pre-existing words are predicted to be interpreted compositionally, inheriting the semantics and phonology of the predecessor, possibly combined with an affix (see Volpe 2005).[7] For any further details concerning the model, the reader is referred to the extensive DM literature.[8]

4. Existing analyses

4.1. Aronoff's analysis of *-able*

The English *-able* morpheme was most importantly theoretically analyzed by Aronoff (1976, 121-29).[9] His study was written in the generative lexicon approach; derivational

---

5 Embick and Noyer (2007) and Embick (2015) argue that roots have underlying phonetic representation, while Harley (2014) argues for the opposite. In this paper, Harley's position is adopted.

6 Another issue with respect to roots where consensus have not been reached concerns their ability to take complements. Whereas Harley (2014) argues roots take complements, Alexiadou (2014) refutes this position.

7 The status of both *n* and *a* as phase boundaries is an issue of ongoing research.

8 A DM bibliography can be accessed at http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~rnoyer/dm/bib.html.

9 The objective of Aronoff's analysis of *-able* was to show that boundaries exist in the linguistic structure, and they have no substance. Even though the paper's goals were different, his analysis remains relevant.

morphology is considered to take place in the lexicon, pre-syntactically. This differentiation does not hold in the DM framework, but Aronoff's insight concerning the data remains unspoiled. He argues that there are two different suffixes with the same phonological representation, based on phonology, semantics and the morphological form of the adjectives, and syntax. Whereas one of the suffixes has an invariant *-able* form, the other has two allomorphs, *-able* and *-ible*. Based on his analysis, he argues that *-able* is a strong boundary (#) for the phonology, semantics and syntax domains of operations, and *-able/-ible* is a weak boundary (+).[10]

From the perspective of phonology, the two morphemes behave differently in terms of stress placement, allomorphy and truncation. Concerning the stress, +able does not influence the placement of stress. It does not interfere with the regular phonological rules, and so the stress is placed as predicted by the rules. On the other hand, #able is a strong boundary, and thus the suffix is not visible for the rules determining the placement of stress. In other words, this segment does not count when the stress is placed. In (4a) and (4c), the stress is placed on the first syllable, unlike in the corresponding verbs, but in (4b) and (4d) the stress pattern of verbs is preserved and these pairs have distinct semantics (Aronoff 1976, 122–23). When the verb stress is preserved in the adjectives (*#able*), they have transparent compositional meaning (4b), (4d). On the other hand, when the stress is not the same, the semantics might be opaque (+able) (4a), (4c) (Aronoff 1976, 127–28).

(4)   a. ˈcomparable (+able)   b. comˈparable (#able)
         equivalent   capable of being compared
      c. ˈpreferable (+able)   d. preˈferable (#able)
         more desirable   preferred

                                                    (Aronoff 1976, 123)

Regarding allomorphy, postulating two separate morphemes instead of one solves cases of seemingly optional allomorphy, which would be highly unusual as it applies categorially. Similarly as with other types of word formation (e.g., with suffixes *-ion*, *-ive*), there is an allomorphic variant to the *-able* morpheme, the *-ible* form, as in (5b). If the two separate morphemes hypothesis is adopted, it follows straightforwardly that the weak boundary morpheme triggers the allomorph, but the strong boundary morpheme blocks it. The semantics again reflects this; (5c) is strictly compositional, but adjectives with *-ible*, such as (5b) might have idiosyncratic meaning.

(5)   a. extend   b. extensible (+able)   c. extendable (#able)
                                                    (Aronoff 1976, 123)

Another argument of Aronoff concerns truncation with the *-ate* morpheme (6).

---

10   The differentiation of the two types of boundaries was introduced to generative linguistics by Siegel (1974); see Kiparsky (1983). Lexical phonology and morphology posited the relation of the two types of boundaries with two levels of suffixation, see Nevins (2016) for a brief overview.

Truncation applies categorically unless it is blocked. However, some -*able* adjectives seem to manifest optional truncation (6). The author argues that this optional truncation issue is resolved once the two separate morphemes analysis is adopted.

(6)   a. toler<u>ate</u>   b. tolerable (+able)   c. toleratable (#able)

(Aronoff 1976, 124)

Additional arguments are provided regarding morphology and syntax. The first one concerns the morphological form of the stems. The -*able* adjectives derive either a) from existing verb stems (#*able*), or b) they do not contain an independently existing word (+*able*). Similarly, the distribution of negative prefixes *in-* and *un-* correlates with the different characteristics of the two morphemes: *in-* combines with non-lexical, truncated and consonant change stems (+*able*) and *un-* with lexical stems (#*able*). When it comes to subcategorization, based on characteristics of productively derived items, #*able* is closer to it, as it does not allow for PP complementation.

4.2.   Aronoff's analysis in DM (Volpe 2005)

Aronoff's insightful analysis of the -*able* adjectives is executed in the framework of generative lexicon, however, as argued by Volpe (2005), it is directly translatable to the DM framework. Volpe's adaptation of Aronoff's analysis of -*able* adjectives to DM follows.

As noted, Aronoff (1976) convincingly argues for the existence of two separate -*able* morphemes based on differing phonological, semantic and syntactic behaviours. Volpe (2005) argues that DM provides an optimal comprehensive model for capturing these differences. Whereas +*able* (type 1) attaches to roots and so *a* is the first phase-defining head, with #*able* adjectives (type 2), the morpheme is merged with the v projection consisting of a *v* categorizing head and the root. In DM, roots are not specified phonologically or semantically, therefore the different behaviour of the two types of -*able* described by Aronoff follows. I will discuss the differences with respect to (4) above. In (4a), *comparable* (e.g., *This is the comparable model in our line.* (Aronoff 1976, 128)) is the type 1 variant. It shows a change in the placement of stress with respect to the verb with the same root (*compare*). In DM, this fact is accounted for by the derivation directly from the root. This adjective is not derived from a pre-existing verb, therefore there is no reason to presume it should inherit its stress pattern. With respect to semantics, roots in DM do not contain syn-sem features, and therefore the non-compositionality is not predicted; type 1 adjectives do not contain the meaning of the verbs. Roots are interpreted in their local syntactic environment, so the instruction for the interpretation of (4a) is along the lines of, in the local relation to *a* interpret √COMPAR as "equivalent". When the first categorizing head is *a*, the adjective is root-derived.

The adjective in (4b) on the other hand, shows the stress placed on the same syllable as in the verb *compare*, and it is semantically compositional (e.g., *The two models are*

simply not comparable. (Aronoff 1976, 127)). In DM terms, when *v* is the first categorizing head with which the root is merged, it defines a phase in the derivation, and thus the spelled-out semantics and phonology is inherited and the *a* is merged later. Adjectives of this behaviour, including (4b), are v-derived.

(7) represents Volpe's (2005, 26) tree diagrams for the root-derived and v-derived adjectives; (7a) corresponds to (4a) and (7b) shows the structure of (4b).[11]

(7)   a.   b.

      a cómparable   *a compárable*

    a   √ *compar-*   *a*   *v compáre*
    +*abl*   #*abl*

                                     v   √ *compar-*
                                     Ø

                                        Volpe (2005, 26)
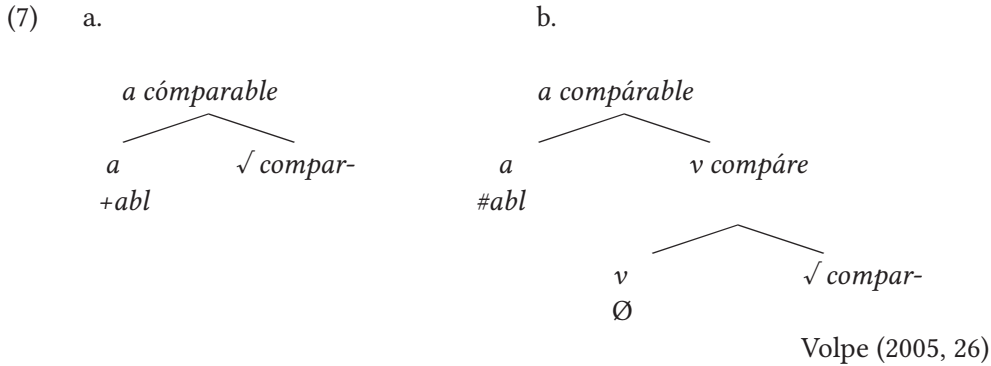
This analysis has the advantage of capturing the derivation of the adjectives that do not have an existing verb counterpart; in English, e.g., *possible*, *audible* (*poss [v], *aud [v]). These adjectives are root-derived. In the case of *possible*, the root √POSS is merged directly with the category defining head *a*.

To summarize this section, *-able* adjectives in English manifest two different types of behaviour despite the phonological realization. DM captures the distinct properties by means of two types of morpho-syntactic structures; whereas compositionally transparent adjectives are v-derived (e.g., *predictable*), idiosyncrasy in the *-able* adjectives is accounted for by their root-derivation (e.g., *risible*).

5. ANALYSIS OF CZECH *-TELNÝ* ADJECTIVES

Whereas the *-able* and *-telný* adjectives in the respective languages are regarded as functional equivalents, I will argue that their morpho-syntactic characteristics (with respect to word-formation) are not comparable. That means that Aronoff's and Volpe's analyses categorizing *-able* adjectives as two different types are not applicable to the Czech data.

The following analysis of Czech *-telný* adjectives is twofold. Firstly, it deals with the issue of whether these adjectives are of two types, root-derived and v-derived,

---

11 De Belder (2014) claims that the DM framework is "unfit" for analysis of derivational morphemes due to their characteristics, which are not purely lexical, nor functional. She notes that such mixed categories cannot be handled in a framework that only differentiates "lexical" roots and "functional" abstract morphemes as its primitives. However, derivational suffixes such as *-able* or *-telný*, which clearly possess distinct semantics and therefore should be roots, or more complex structures, might be analyzed as selected by an *a* categorizing head. This is a topic for further research.

and secondly, it considers whether *-telný* consists of one morpheme (*-telný*) or two separate morphemes (*-tel* and *-ný*), considering that the same phonological exponent *-tel* appears as a "deverbal agent" suffix, and *-ný* as an adjectival categorizer. In this section, in order to determine root- or v-derivation, I will test the applicability of Aronoff's/Volpe's analysis of *-able* to Czech data.

With respect to phonology, stress placement in Czech is fixed: it almost always falls on the first syllable of a phonological word. Therefore, stress is not usable as an indicator of a derivational process differentiating a category. When the morphological form of the *-telný* adjectives is considered, Czech data bear interesting results. Whereas in English some adjectives of the *-able* type do not correspond to any existing verbs in the language, the situation in Czech is different. Unexceptionally, the *-telný* adjectives correspond to existing verbs, not roots that do not appear as pre-existing words.[12] Dokulil (1986, 342) claims that this type of adjective is formed from the past stem of the verb (the *-l* participle). The final segment representing the past participles (*-l*) does not enter the derivation (as it is standard in Czech) (8a). I observed that some forms are better motivated by the *-n/-t* passive participle stem (8b). The segment encoding the passive participle does not enter into the derivation of *-telný* adjectives either. The adjectives are formed from the root and the thematic segment (Th), which is standardly considered to realize verbal features (8c).[13]

(8)   a. i. postihnu-l (V)   ii. postihnu-telný (A)
                affect-PastPart.3s   punishable
        b. i. postiže-n (V)   ii. postiži-telný (A)[14]
                affect-PassPart   punishable
        c.   tisk-n-u
                print$_{ROOT}$-n-Th

Regarding potential optional allomorphy in the word-formation of the adjectives, similarly to English and contrary to appearances, there is no optional allomorphy with the *-telný* suffix in Czech. The apparent optional allomorphy is caused by the fact that the adjectives are formed from roots and alternative verbal thematic segments (a possibly different structure of the verb below the v projection). In particular, certain verbs from class two[15] (of which the final stem consonant is *h* and the infinitive ends in *-out*), manifest doublets with an alternative exponent *-(i)telný* (see Dokulil 1986, 340), however this is due to alternative root + v suffix forms (which form the *-l* past participle and the *-n/-t* passive participle (8)).[16]

---

12 I use the term "pre-existing word" for root + category head structures in accordance with Volpe (2005). On the other hand, "roots" refer to non-existing words.

13 See Stehlíková (2010), for whom the thematic segment realizes the verbal head.

14 Phonological alternates *-telný/-(i)telný*, depend on the verb classes of Czech in a predictable way, i.e., they follow regularized vowel alternations, which are present in the verbal paradigm, and they depend on the final stem-forming vowels of the verbs.

15 In Czech, verbs are classified into classes according to the form of the verb in the 3p SG indicative present. Class two is characterized by the stem-forming suffix *-ne* in this configuration, e.g., *tisk-ne*.

16 Optional allomorphy, as with the English doublets *tolerable* and *toleratable*, would be a reason to consider the existence of two types of the *-telný* suffix of the same phonological exponence. Nonetheless, it was not attested.

Crucially, *-telný* adjectives contain im-/perfective aspect morphology. With verbs of class two, the adjectives are derived from perfective variants of verbs only, as in (9). With the other verb classes, the adjective is formed from the perfective or imperfective form (Dokulil 1986, 341).

(9) i. zapomenu-l (V) ii. zapomenu-telný (A)
         forget-PastPart.3s   forgettable

Many pairs of adjectives are derived from the same root, and they differ in the portion of morphology that represents the aspect. These pairs contain either the perfective or imperfective form of the verb, as in (10):

(10) a. i. kontrolová-n   ii. kontrolova-telný
              check-PassPart   controllable-IMPERF.ASP

      b. i. z-kontrolová-n   ii. zkontrolova-telný
              PERF.ASP-check-PassPart   controllable-PERF.ASP

      c. i. skláda-l   ii. skláda-telný
              fold(IMPERF.ASP)-PastPart.3s foldable-IMPERF.ASP

      d. i. složi-l   ii. složi-telný
              fold(PERF.ASP)-PastPart.3s   foldable-PERF.ASP

These adjectives manifest aspectual pairs, and the aspect semantics are part of the meaning of the derived adjectives. Furthermore, the *-telný* adjectives are uniformly derived from roots which form transitive verbs.[17]

The semantics of the *-telný* morpheme is comparable with the compositionally transparent semantics of v-derived *-able* adjectives. In Czech, the basic compositional meaning can be paraphrased as "liable to be Ved" or "capable of being Ved" similarly to English (Aronoff 1976, 127). Descriptive grammars do not discuss any cases of non-compositional interpretation. The adjectives are probably assumed to have universally compositional meaning, but non-compositional examples do exist. For example, (11b) illustrates the transparent compositional semantics of the adjective derived from the verb. The meaning of (11c), on the other hand, is not "able to be calculated". However, the structure of (11c) is also minimally that of root + v categorizing head, because of the perfective morpheme *vy-*. The difference in interpretation is arguably pragmatic.[18]

---

17 With only a few exceptions, their objects are accusative. Exceptions include the dative complement (e.g., odolat N [Dat] - *neodolatelný*).

18 The interpretation of (11c) shows many verbal characteristics attributed to the structure above the root: it can be paraphrased as "able to be Ved", it is based on a transitive verb. Therefore, if the structure is built on the same root, I am forced to postulate, that the listed interpretation for both (11b) and (c) is "able to be calculated". What I mean by pragmatic interpretation of (11c), informally speaking, is that behaviour which cannot/can be predicted is such that cannot/can be based on (calculated from) previous behaviour.
    Alternatively, the difference between (11b) and (c) might lie in two listed encyclopaedic entries. Whereas in the case of (11b) *vy-* realizes a perfective morpheme in the context of the verbal categorizing head v, in (11c) *vypoč-* could be listed as a root meaning "predict" in the context of v.

(11)　a. vypočítat　b. vypočita-telný　c. vypočita-telný
　　　　　calculate　　　calculable　　　predictable

Finally, the *-telný* morpheme should be differentiated from a morpheme with a similar phonological exponents, *-elný*. The argument is straightforward, the semantic meaning of *-elný* differs from *-telný*, as *-elný* derives adjectives of general relational meaning, which might be paraphrased as "concerning N" (12). When *-elný* is attached to roots categorized as nouns which end in −*t*, the same phonological cluster *-telný* arises.

(12)　a.　i.　smrt (N)　　　　ii.　smrt-elný (A)
　　　　　　　death　　　　　　　　concerning or causing death or mortal

　　　　b.　i.　světlo (N)　　　ii.　svět-elný (A)
　　　　　　　light　　　　　　　　　concerning light

To sum up, I argue that Czech *-telný* adjectives are of the v-derived type based on the form of the root + verbal morphemes, encoding an im-/perfective aspect contained in the derived adjectives. These verbal properties are reflected in the adjectival semantics. All *-telný* adjectives are arguably v-derived. The combination of a root directly attaching to *a* forming *-telný* adjective is not attested. The proposed structure is in (13).[19] The number of layers inside the verbal portion of the structure is a question for further research. Apart from the verbal category encoding head, it necessarily contains an aspect encoding projection.[20] The portion of verbal structure embedded within the adjective does not contain a T head and TP.[21]

(13)

In the final section, I will briefly address some aspects relating to the question of potential decompositionability of *-telný* into two separate morphemes *-tel* and *-ný*. In

19　Czech verbal morphology is analyzed to consist of a root and thematic element, which together form the verbal head, followed by a past participle, passive participle, infinitive, and indicative present or imperative morpheme, e.g., the passive participle form *tisknout* has the following structure [[[[√*tisk*]-*n*]$_{TH}$-*u*]$_{PASS.PART}$-*t*].

20　Most probably, NegP will form a part of the projection. As Dokulil (1986, 34) observes, some of these adjectives only have negative form (e.g., nevyhnutelný, *vyhnutelný), so they might be formed from negative verbs.

21　The non-existence of *-able/-telný* adjectives formed from unaccusative verbs might be related to the absence of the TP layer inside these adjectives.

other words, are there reasons for arguing that the morpheme *-tel* is contained in the *-telný* adjectives? In descriptive grammars, the morpheme composition of *-telný* is not discussed. It is only mentioned that the first part of the composite suffix, *-tel*, is related to the agent nouns deriving a morpheme of the same form (Dokulil 1986).

In Czech, *-tel* is indeed a productive morpheme deriving agent nominalizations (14), and apart from the nominal category it also realizes [internalized agent] feature according to Stehlíková (2010).

(14)   a. pozorovat (V)   b. pozorova-tel (N)   c. pozorova-telný (A)
          observe   observer   observable

Whereas (14a)–(14c) are all derived from the same root, many *-telný* adjectives do not have the agent nouns, derived with the suffix *-tel* (15) or with any other agent nominalizations (e.g., *-ec*, *chodec*; *-ič*, *řidič*)

(15)   a. zapamatovatelný b. *zapamatovatel
          c. viditelný   d. *viditel
          e. udržitelný   f. *udržitel

Considering the semantics of *-tel* agent nouns, they appear to have clear compositional meaning paraphrasable such as, "agent of V" or "one who does V". Baker and Vinokurova (2009) show that cross-linguistically, agent nominalizations (e.g., find [V] - finder [N]) contain little verbal structure. They cannot contain adverbs, voice markers, aspect, or negation. Therefore, they conclude that they only contain a bare VP. These tests have the same results for Czech *-tel* nouns and, similarly to English, "[agent nominalizations] ha[ve] no signs of verbal structure beyond the fact that [they] contain a verb root and the internal theme argument of that verb" (Baker and Vinokurova 2009, 4). *-telný* adjectives also contain the verb forming root and co-occur with the internal theme argument of the verb.[22] If *-tel* with the feature [internalized agent] was a morpheme incorporated in the adjective it would, nonetheless, not co-occur with the agent realized as a free morpheme, as it does in (16).

(16)   a. (zážitek) nezapomenutelný pro všechny
              experience unforgettable for all$_{EXP}$
          b. policií kontrolovatelný (proces)
              police$_{INSTR.AGENT}$ controllable process

Based on this argument, I tentatively conclude that *-telný* adjectives do not contain the agent nominalizing morpheme. However, more research is needed in this area.

---

22   The internal arguments of the transitive verbs are the modified Ns of the attributive adjectives, or the subject (or objects) of the predicative adjectives.

Conclusion

The paper focused on the comparison of the structure *-able* adjectives in English and *-telný* adjectives in Czech, which are frequently considered functionally equivalent probably due to their comparable semantics, which can be paraphrased as "able to be Ved" or "liable to be Ved". Whereas existing analyses of the English data demonstrate that the adjectives are of two types, root-derived and v-derived, my analysis showed that in Czech *-telný* adjectives are universally v-derived. The English root-derived adjectives do not contain verbal projection and thus are not derived from existing verbs, and as a result they cannot be associated with any of the verbal properties and can show idiosyncratic behaviour. The v-derived adjectives in both languages, on the other hand, show the containment of verbal projection in their structure. Czech *-telný* adjectives most notably manifest perfective aspect alternations, therefore they contain minimally this portion of verbal structure. The following structure was determined for them: [[[√ROOT]v]a].

    Further research questions concern the particular portion of verbal structure contained in this type of adjectives, the inability to form *-able/-telný* adjectives to be formed from the unaccusative verbs, which is arguably related to the absence of the TP layer inside these adjectives, and feature composition of the *-telný* morpheme.

Works Cited

Alexiadou, Artemis. 2014. "Roots Don't Take Complements." *Theoretical Linguistics* 40 (3–4): 287–97. doi:10.1515/tl-2014-0012.

Arad, Maya. 2003. "Locality Constraints on the Interpretation of Roots: The Case of Hebrew Denominal Verbs." *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 21: 737–78. doi:10.1023/A:1025533719905.

Aronoff, Mark. 1976. *Word Formation in Generative Grammar*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Baker, Mark C., and Nadya Vinokurova. 2009. "On Agent Nominalizations and Why They Are Not Like Event Nominalizations." *Language* 85: 517–56. doi:10.1353/lan.0.0144.

Chomsky, Noam. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 2001. "Derivation by Phase." In *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, edited by Michael Kenstowicz, 1–52. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Cvrček, Václav. 2010. *Mluvnice současné češtiny* 1: Jak se píše a jak se mluví. Praha: Karolinum.

De Belder, Marijke. 2014. "On Derivational Affixes and the Functional-Lexical Divide." Unpublished manuscript. http://www.crissp.be/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/Deriv-affixes-lex-func.pdf.

Dokulil, Miloš. 1986. *Mluvnice češtiny: Vysokošk. učebnice pro stud. filozof. a pedagog. fakult aprobace čes. jazyk*. Praha: Academia.

Embick, David, and Rolf Noyer. 2007. "Distributed Morphology and the Syntax/Morphology Interface." In *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Interfaces*, edited by Gillian Ramchand and Charles Reiss, 289–324. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Embick, David. 2015. *The Morpheme: A Theoretical Introduction*. Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.

Grepl, Miroslav, Petr Karlík, Marek Nekula, and Zdenka Rousíková. 1996. *Příruční mluvnice češtiny*. 2nd ed. Praha: Lidové noviny.

Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. "Distributed Morphology and the Pieces of Inflection." In *The View From Building 20: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Sylvain Bromberger*, edited by Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 111–76. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Harley, Heidi. 2014. "On the Identity of Roots." *Theoretical Linguistics* 40 (3–4): 225–76. doi:10.1515/tl-2014-0010.

Kiparsky, Paul. 1983. "Word-Formation and the Lexicon." In *Proceedings of the 1982 Mid-America Linguistics Conference*, edited by Frances Ingemann, 3–22. Lawrence: University of Kansas.

Lieber, Rochelle. 1992. *Deconstructing Morphology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Marantz, Alec. 1997. "No Escape from Syntax: Don't Try Morphological Analysis in the Privacy of Your Own Lexicon." In *Proceedings of the 21st Annual Penn Linguistics Colloquium*. U. Penn Working Papers in Linguistics 4.2, edited by Alexis Dimitriadis, Laura Siegel, Clarissa Surek-Clark, and Alexander Williams, 201–25. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Nevins, Andrew. 2016. "Lectures on Postsyntactic Morphology." Unpublished manuscript, last modified February 14, 2016. http://ling.auf.net/lingbuzz/002587.

Selkirk, Elisabeth O. 1982. The Syntax of Words. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Siegel, Dorothy C. 1974. "*Topics in English Morphology*." PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Stehlíková, Lucie. 2010. "Morfosyntaktické vlastnosti deverbálních jmen na -NÍ-/-TÍ-." PhD diss., Masarykova Univerzita.

Volpe, Marc J. 2005. "Japanese Morphology and its Theoretical Consequences: Derivational Morphology in Distributed Morphology." PhD diss., Stony Brook University.

Corpus

Český národní korpus. https://morfio.korpus.cz/

Fronting of the GOOSE Vowel
in Czech Learners' English

Šárka Šimáčková

Palacký University Olomouc, Faculty of Arts, Department of English and American Studies,
Křížkovského 10, 771 80 Olomouc, Czech Republic. Email: sarka.simackova@upol.cz

ABSTRACT: This paper explores pronunciation of the English high back vowel /u/ in speech of advanced Czech learners of English as a foreign language. While in standard southern British English, /u/ has undergone fronting, its closest equivalent vowel in Czech, long vowel /u:/ is fully back. F2 measurements of learners' vowels show that they have learned to produce fronted /u/'s in English despite arguably limited exposure to native interactional input and changeable native speaker models. A comparison of the learners' productions of /u/ elicited when they spoke only in English with when they used both English and Czech within a single utterance revealed within-category shifts in realization of /u/: When the learners had to switch from Czech to English, their pronunciation of English /u/ was more Czech-like, showing slightly less fronting.

KEYWORDS: second language pronunciation; English as a Foreign Language; GOOSE-fronting; interlingual interference; bilingual code-switching

This paper explores the quality of English pronunciation of non-native speakers who have achieved a high degree of proficiency in English even though they have learned it as a foreign language via formal classroom instruction rather than acquiring it in a natural setting while immersed in a native English-speaking community. There is little doubt that classroom language learning can be successful, especially when the participating learners are motivated (Dörnyei 1994, 2003). Well-organized language instruction can provide learners with structured and enhanced input, form-focused intervention, controlled as well as functional production practice, and corrective feedback, all of which is beneficial for the learner (for a review of empirical evidence see Ellis 2005). However, learning a foreign language at school also has evident limitations. Undeniably, ultimate attainment, i.e., achieving a native-like competence, is for learners of English as a foreign language an even more distant goal than it is for English-as-a-Second-Language immersion acquirers. An infallible indicator of EFL learners' non-nativeness is the presence of a foreign accent in their pronunciation.

Reasons for the EFL learners' difficulty in learning to sound like a native speaker are not difficult to imagine. Mainly they have to do with the ambient language environment and patterns of language use. Foreign language learning of English suffers from limited exposure to authentic native pronunciation used in communicative interactions in a native English-speaking community. The native pronunciation models that learners may encounter interactively (e.g., native English teachers, personal acquaintances) and in media (via textbook recordings, YouTube, computer games, TV shows) are likely to be too varied to allow learners to develop stable sound representations close to

one specific native English variety. Instead, their representations of second language (L2) sounds are mainly shaped by frequent exposure to foreign-accented exemplars produced by their non-native teachers and peers. In addition, since the learner's first language (L1) and (L2) phonetic systems are not independent of each other, L2 sound representations are also affected by the overwhelming daily use of L1. Finally, there is a substantial body of research showing that the age of exposure is a crucial factor in L2 speech sound acquisition: how advanced or complete the process of acquiring L1 is at the beginning of learning L2 strongly affects how well L2 phonology is acquired. Thus, even when the EFL learners eventually do find themselves in immersion situations (for example thanks to work experience or study abroad programmes), it may be too late for them to learn to sound like the native models. However, the decline in the ability to learn new sounds is now thought to be gradual. Flege (1995) was among the first to argue on the grounds of empirical data that there is no clear cut-off point for phonetic L2 learning, and improvements in L2 pronunciation are possible even after childhood.

The current study

The study reported here explores the question of whether adult foreign language learners have the ability to modify their phonetic representations of L2 speech sounds to make them less L1-like. It further asks how stable these L2 sound categories are, and, specifically, to what extent pronunciation of L2 sounds is affected by prior L1 use. As the test case to address these issues, the study examines the phonetic realization of the English vowel /u/ by advanced EFL learners whose L1 is Czech. In Wells's lexical sets, the vowel is represented by the word GOOSE (Wells 1982). Phonologically it is described as a high back vowel, though it is realized phonetically as more or less fronted (Cruttenden 2014), hence the use of the term GOOSE-fronting. In some accents of English, such as Scottish English pronunciation, the fronted realization of the GOOSE vowel has been long-established. In Standard Southern British English (SSBE), GOOSE-fronting is a relatively recent change that has been taking place over the last four or five decades, as is shown in a number of acoustic studies (Bauer 1985; Chládková and Hamann 2011; Harrington, Kleber, and Reubold 2011). Fronting of /u/ is also reported to affect nearly all varieties of North American English (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006; Thomas 2001).

In Czech, the closest phoneme corresponding to the English GOOSE vowel is the long vowel /u:/, contrasting with the short /u/, e.g., in the pair /du:l/- /dul/, [a mine, noun sg.] and [he blew, verb 3rd pers. sg.] respectively. Both these vowels are realized as fully back although there is an indication in recent literature that the short /u/ is slightly lower and slightly more front than the long /u:/ (Skarnitzl and Volín 2012). Thus, if Czechs learning English want to sound native-like in their L2, they cannot simply transfer their L1 high back vowel into English but have to adopt *u*-fronting.

The phonetic accuracy of Czech EFL learners' productions of the English GOOSE vowel was operationalized in terms of the second formant (F2) frequencies, often used in acoustic studies as a measure of vowel fronting. The more front the pronunciation of

/u/ is, the higher is the frequency of the second formant. Table 1 shows male reference values of F2 for *u*'s in the two languages reported in two frequently cited studies, Hawkins and Midgley (2005) for English and Skarnitzl and Volín (2012) for Czech. Even this cursory comparison of the Czech and English values produced by similar age groups (in italics) shows a clear cross-linguistic difference, the F2 of both Czech long /u:/ and Czech short /u/ being considerably lower than the F2 of the English GOOSE vowel. At the same time, the column with Hawkins and Midgley's data shows that pronunciation of the GOOSE vowel varied across age groups of the SSBE speakers in their study: the mean F2s of English /u/ dropped with the increasing age of the speakers. For learners of English, this means that they may encounter native speakers who produce u-fronting as well as native speakers who do not have a noticeably fronted /u/.

Table 1. Mean F2 values in Hz published in Hawkins and Midgley (2005) for English tense /u/ and in Skarnitzl and Volín (2012) for Czech long /u:/ and short /u/.

English /u/	Czech /u:/	Czech /u/
1616 (20-25 yrs)	*769* (20-30 yrs)	*937* (20-30 yrs)
1336 (35-40 yrs)		
1112 (50-55 yrs)		
994 (65+ yrs)		

The question is whether u-fronting is at all likely to take place in the speech of EFL learners, who, besides being biased towards a back realization of /u/ by their L1, face the relative paucity of native input as well as variations in native English speech. Thus, the first research question addressed in this paper is formulated as follows:

RQ1: Do Czech EFL learners produce English /u/ with any degree of fronting? If they do, F2 values in their English productions will be higher compared to the reference values for Czech high back vowels.

The second question considered here is the issue of the stability of L2 sound representations. In a case study of a Portuguese learner of English, Sancier and Fowler (1997) demonstrated that even for a fluent, highly proficient English learner, realizations of L2 sounds are not stable and shift in response to the ambient language, that is the amount of L1 or L2 heard and spoken by the learner. Recently, several phonetic studies have examined immediate inter-lingual effects on pronunciation during bilingual code-switching (Antoniou et al. 2011; Balukas and Koops 2014; Bullock et al. 2006; López 2012; Simonet 2014), documenting shifts in pronunciation of sounds in both languages when people use both L1 and L2 within one utterance compared to speaking only in L1 or L2. The current study compared Czech EFL learners' productions of the English GOOSE vowel elicited in the so-called monolingual mode when the learners performed only in their L2 English, with those elicited in the bilingual mode, which

involved activating both L1 and L2 during code-switching and translating (for language mode, see, e.g., Grosjean 1985, 1997, 2001). The question was whether the degree of cross-language interference from L1 into L2 would temporarily increase due to the activation of both bilingual's languages when a bilingual speaker performed in the bilingual mode. Cross-language L1 interference was assessed in terms of u-fronting, as is reflected in the following research question:

RQ2:   Do Czech EFL learners produce English /u/ with less fronting when switching between Czech and English compared to speaking only in English? If they do, the GOOSE vowel elicited in the bilingual mode will have a lower F2 than the same vowel elicited in the English-only, monolingual mode.

Participants

Twenty learners of English as a Foreign Language participated in this study. They were all Czech female adults, their ages ranging from 19 to 27, M = 21, students of the English for Interpreters and Translators degree programme at Palacký University Olomouc. In terms of their English learning experience, the participants formed a homogeneous group. Before reaching high school age, all participants learned English as a foreign language in the Czech Republic via formal instruction with limited exposure to authentic English input. They were all advanced learners who achieved C1 or C2 proficiency level in English according to the CEFR (Verhelst et al. 2009), as determined by a proficiency test taken in their first semester at Palacký University.

In addition, comparable baseline data were collected from 5 native speakers of English, 2 females and 3 males, available at the time of the recording, their ages ranging from 24 to 54, M = 43. Two were native speakers of Standard Southern British English and three spoke American English without an obvious regional accent. A subset of sentences produced by these native speakers was used as stimuli in the experiment.

Stimuli

The study compared F2 values of /u/ in GOOSE words produced by the learners under 3 conditions: The English-only condition, code-switching, and interpreting. The targets were 6 English monosyllabic words: *choose*, *lose*, *shoot*, *soup*, *goose*, and *move*, although the last word on the list was eventually eliminated from the analysis to include only targets in which /u/ appeared next to a coronal consonant. In the English-only and the code-switching conditions, these 6 targets were each placed in 2 sentences: once they occurred initially in the sentence and once finally. The resulting 12 stimuli were recorded by 5 native speakers of English. In the interpreting condition, the closest Czech equivalent of each target word was placed in two Czech sentences so that when translated into English, each target would occur initially in one sentence and finally in the other. It should be noted that the selection of the 6 target words was limited by the availability of reliable Czech equivalents. Translation of the Czech stimulus sentences was repeatedly tested with a separate group of EFL learners to ensure that the final

Czech stimuli yielded the intended English target word in the intended sentence position. Five native speakers of Czech recorded the stimuli. The native speakers of Czech and English also recorded prompting questions for each condition.

PROCEDURE

In the English-only and code-switching conditions, learners' productions were elicited in a delayed repetition task. A parallel translation task was used in the interpreting condition. In the English-only condition, a participant heard an English sentence (e.g., *Shoot in the air.*) followed by the English prompt *What should you say?*, which was spoken by a different person. The participant responded using the quote frame, *I should say*, and said "I should say, Shoot in the air." In the code-switching condition, an English sentence was followed by the Czech prompt, *Co jsi slyšel?* [What did you hear?]. Participants responded by using the quote frame, *Slyšel jsem* [I heard] and then switching back into English: "*Slyšel jsem*, The police will shoot." In the interpreting condition, a Czech sentence was followed by the prompt, *Co teď řekneš?* [What will you say now?], and the participant's response was *Teď řeknu* [Now I will say], followed by a translation of what they had heard into English. Native speakers produced only the monolingual English utterances. They read each sentence off the computer screen and pronounced it in the quote frame *I should say*.

ANALYSIS

In each elicited token of /u/, formants were tracked using the Burg method in Praat software[1], with the maximum formant value set to 3500Hz and the number of formants to 3. Subsequently, the mean F2 in the medial 50% of each vowel was computed both in Hertz and, in the case of the learners' vowels, also in Bark. Since the target words were identical in all three conditions, the data were pooled across words in the initial and final positions in each condition. Each speaker's mean F2s for each condition were submitted to RM ANOVA with Position (Sentence-initial, Sentence-final) as the within-subject factor and Condition (English-only, Code-switching, Interpreting) as the between-subject factor.

RESULTS

Let us first consider the data collected in the monolingual mode, the English-only condition, which can be taken to reflect a steady, long-term level of L1 interference in our learners' L2 English and which allow us to address RQ1. Figure 1 shows a histogram of each Czech learner's mean F2 value overlaid with the mean F2 values produced by the five native speakers. Although not all learners displayed the same

---

1   Estimating formant values in the Praat software involves resampling the sound to a sampling frequency of twice the value of maximum formant, applying a pre-emphasis and finally applying a Gaussian-like window to compute linear prediction coefficients through the Burg algorithm (Boersma 2010).

degree of u-fronting, the upper tail of the non-native histogram completely overlaps
with the native speakers' values (the learners were all female, while 3 out of 5 NSs were
men, and thus corresponding female F2 values could be higher). The group mean F2
of English /u/ in *choose*, *lose*, *shoot*, *soup*, *goose* produced by the EFL learners was 1674
Hz, which is clearly higher than the reference values of 757 Hz and 1135 Hz reported
for Czech female speakers' /u:/ and /u/ respectively by Skarnitzl and Volín (2012),[2] and
more comparable to the group mean F2 of the 1779 Hz produced by the native speakers
in the study. In other words, the quality of the learners' GOOSE vowel is more front
than what is typical for a long or short /u/ in Czech.

FIGURE 1. HISTOGRAM OF CZECH LEARNERS' MEAN F2 VALUES (FULL COLUMNS)
AND NATIVE SPEAKERS' MEAN F2 VALUES (EMPTY COLUMNS).
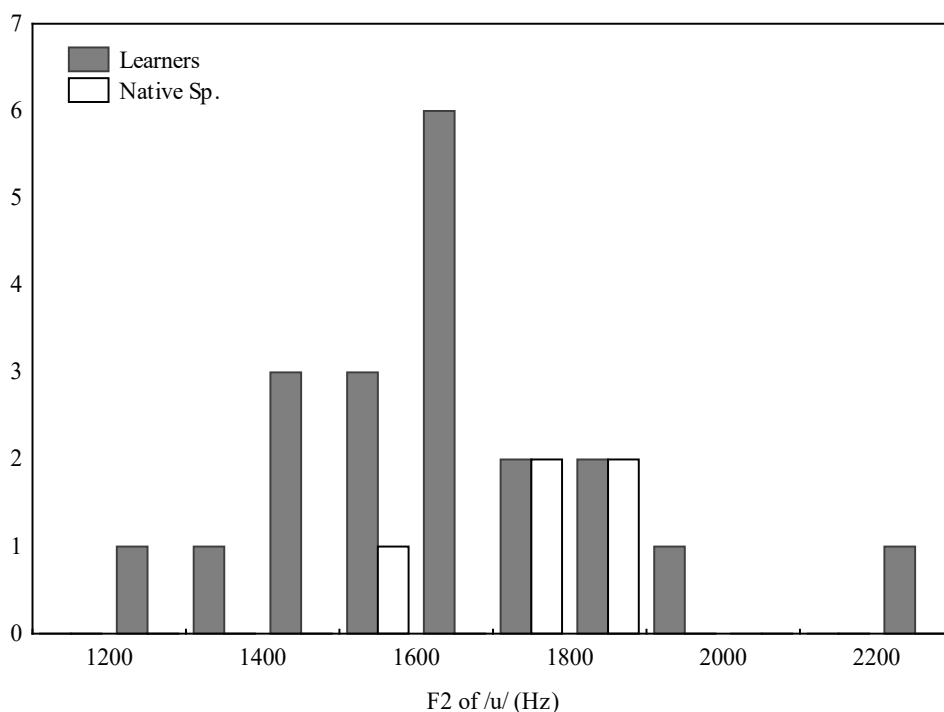
Turning to the second research question asking how stable fronted realizations of /u/
in the Czech learners' speech are, let us examine productions of the GOOSE vowel
elicited in the three different conditions. To establish to what degree any F2 differences
observed between /u/s from the three conditions were perceptually relevant, the
hertz values were first converted into the auditory Bark scale, which allows a closer
correspondence with spectral information processing in the ear (Hayward 2014). The
words that were mistranslated during interpreting and thus could not be included in

---

2   In the paper, the female values are represented only in a figure; the exact numerical values were kindly
     provided by the authors.

the analysis were pulled out also from the other two conditions. This resulted in the elimination of about 15% of the data. Subsequently, learners' mean F2 values in Bark were computed and submitted to a RM ANOVA with 2 within-subject factors: condition (English-only/code-switching/interpreting) and position (sentence-initial/sentence-final). The effect of condition was significant (F [2, 38] = 12.817, p < .001), with a post-hoc Tukey's HSD test confirming a lower F2, that is a less front /u/, for interpreting, compared both to the English-only and to the code-switching conditions (p < .01). The latter two conditions did not significantly differ. The effect of position approached significance (F [1, 19] = 3.662, p = .071); no significant interaction between position and condition was found. In other words, irrespective of condition, /u/'s tended to be somewhat more front when the target word was initial in the sentence. Group mean F2 values of /u/ in Hz and Bark produced by the learners in the three conditions are shown in Table 2.

As the next step in the analysis, another RM ANOVA on learners' mean F2 values in Bark was conducted without the interpreting condition but with the complete data sets in the English-only and code-switching conditions, that is including the target words eliminated in the first analysis because of mistranslations. This analysis also found the effect of condition (F [1, 19] = 5.40, p = .031), showing that even the difference between the English-only and code-switching was significant. The effect of position only approached significance (F [1, 19] = 3.49, p = .077) and no interaction between position and condition was found, in both conditions /u/ being somewhat more front sentence-initially than sentence finally. The last observation prompted an additional analysis. In order to see whether the tendency towards a more retracted /u/ in the sentence-final words would also be found in native English speech, a paired t-test was run on the native speakers' data. The test revealed no difference between sentence-final and sentence-initial GOOSE words with respect to the F2 of /u/ (t [4] = .014, p = .99). Group mean F2 values of /u/ in Hz and Bark produced by the native speakers in the two positions are shown on the last line in Table 2.

Table 2. Mean F2s of the GOOSE vowel in Hz and Bark produced by Czech learners of English (CzE) and English native speakers (NS) in the sentence-initial and sentence-final words and averaged across positions. Mistranslated words are excluded from the learners' data.

	Sentence-initial		Sentence-final		Mean	
	Hz	Bark	Hz	Bark	Hz	Bark
CzE / English-only	1690	11.7	1658	11.5	1674	11.6
CzE / Code-switching	1673	11.6	1618	11.4	1645	11.5
CzE / Interpreting	1570	11.2	1516	11.0	1543	11.1
NS / English-only	1776	12.1	1780	12.1	1779	12.1

Discussion

The study presented here pursued two questions. The first question asked whether it is possible for L2 learners in a foreign-language learning situation to acquire phonetic detail of L2 pronunciation even though exposure to interactional native input may be sporadic, too varied, or consistently available only to those post-pubertal learners who find opportunities to live abroad. Formant measurements showed that the sample of Czech advanced EFL learners produced the English /u/ in a different quality than the typical Czech /uː/, i.e., with substantial fronting. What this means is that during prior learning, these EFL learners had been attentive to phonetic detail in the native tokens of the GOOSE vowels they encountered. They were able to create a new phonetic category to realize /u/ in their L2 despite the fact that at the phonological level the L1 and L2 *u*-sounds can be identified as functionally equivalent and a fully back pronunciation of /u/ is unlikely to be confused with any other English vowel, though it may sound accented to an English ear. Whether the fronting of /u/ in English had any consequences for the learners' pronunciation of Czech /uː/ cannot be currently evaluated since, L1 Czech data were not collected from the learners in this study. However, such bidirectional interlanguage interaction is not unlikely. Other studies have shown for learners of English as a second language that learners' L1 and L2 phonologies are not independent of each other, and phonetic representations of corresponding L1 and L2 categories are indeed interconnected (e.g., a review in Antoniou et al. 2011). It is a question for future research whether this is true also for EFL learners with a similar learning profile and if so, what is the nature of such interaction? Does the production of the L1 sound shift toward the L2 phonetic category (Flege 1987) or does it shift away from the L2 category (like for the most advanced Dutch learners of English in Flege and Eefting (1987) or the balanced English-Hebrew bilinguals discussed in Obler (1982)).

The second research question addressed in this study asked how stable the phonetic realization of L2 sounds is in the speech of foreign language learners. Specifically, it tested the effect of using one's L1 immediately before producing L2 on the quality of the GOOSE vowel. Taken together, the results of the two analyses comparing the English-only, code-switching and interpreting conditions show that the Czech EFL learners produced less *u*-fronting when they started a sentence in Czech and completed it in English compared to when they spoke only in English. In other words, when they switched from Czech to English within an utterance, their English vowel /u/ became more Czech-like. This shift towards a L1-like quality of /u/, though statistically significant, is relatively small when expressed in the psychoacoustic unit of Bark and is likely to go undetected by the listener.

One shortcoming in the design of the study needs to be pointed out: the phonetic context of the quote frame introducing the stimulus sentences was not controlled for the vowels it contained. The importance of this was recognized only after the data, recorded within a larger project together with data for another study, were collected. The last syllable of the Czech frame in the interpreting condition but not in the other

conditions contained the vowel /u/. The speakers started each utterance with Teď řeknu: "*Teď řeknu* Shoot in the air" or "Teď řeknu The police will shoot." Thus, a co-articulatory carry-over effect cannot be eliminated. Still, one reason to think that the more retracted /u/ produced during interpreting is not just carry-over co-articulation is the tendency for the GOOSE vowel to be more front in the sentence-initial target words, that is, in the syllable immediately following the switch from Czech. And so paradoxically, the co-articulation with /u/ in *řeknu* would be stronger at a long distance, which makes little sense.

Previously, when carry-over interference was found, it was found to fade quickly after the switch. Here, in all three conditions, the English GOOSE vowel was more Czech-like both sentence-initially, that is immediately after the switch and sentence-finally, that is several syllables after the moment of switching. What is more, /u/ tended to be more Czech-like further away from the switch than after switching. One can speculate that this has to do with the type of the task used in this study. The speakers may have been more aware of the divide between the quote frame and the sentence they repeated verbatim or translated, and they may have controlled more what they were saying after the switch. It may also have to do with the type of learners, EFL rather than immersion learners, who, as students of interpreting, are specifically trained to switch languages and who may thus pay special attention to the moment of switching. It might also be the case that if the learners' phonetic target is in fact a back vowel, they produce more retracted vowels in the final focal position because in this position vowels are lengthened and thus the articulatory gesture is more likely to be realized in full, that is the articulatory target is more likely to be reached. This last explanation, however, seems less probable considering the formant values of /u/ in the final position, which are still quite high, i.e., the vowel is significantly more front than it is in Czech.

CONCLUSION

The present analysis of Czech EFL learners' productions of the English GOOSE vowel showed that advanced learners of a foreign language are not prevented from acquiring phonetic details of L2 sounds by the existence of equivalent phonetic categories in their L1. Their pronunciation of the high back vowel did not remain invariant; instead their *u* became fronted in English. They achieved this despite the limited access to consistent interactional input from native speakers in the early stages of learning. The study further shows that L2 sound categories are not completely stable even in advanced learners' speech and within-category shifts towards more L1 like realizations are provoked by prior use of L1 due to switching languages.

WORKS CITED

Antoniou, Mark, Catherine T. Best, Michael. D. Tyler, and Christian Kroos. 2011. "Inter-

language Interference in VOT Production by L2-Dominant Bilinguals: Asymmetries in Phonetic Code-Switching." *Journal of Phonetics* 39 (4): 558–70. doi:10.1016/j. wocn.2011.03.001.

Balukas, Colleen, and Christian Koops. 2015. "Spanish-English Bilingual Voice Onset Time in Spontaneous Code-Switching." *International Journal of Bilingualism* 19, (4): 423–43. doi: abs/10.1177/1367006913516035.

Bauer, Laurie. 1985. "Tracing Phonetic Change in the Received Pronunciation of British English." *Journal of Phonetics* 13 (1): 61–81.

Boersma, Paul. 2010. "Sound: To Formant (Burg)…" University of Amsterdam. Accessed August 2014. http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/manual/Sound__To_Formant __burg____.html.

Bullock, Barbara E., and Almeida Jacqueline Toribio. 2009. "Trying to Hit a Moving Target: On the Sociophonetics of Code-Switching." In *Multidisciplinary Approaches to Code Switching*, edited by Ludmila Isurin, Donald Winford and Kees de Bot, 189– 206. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Chládková, Kateřina, and Silke Hamann. 2011. "High Vowels in Southern British English: /u/-Fronting Does Not Result in Merger." In *Proceedings of the 17th International Congress of Phonetic Sciences*, edited by Wai-Sum Lee and Eric Zee, 476–79. Hong Kong: City University of Hong Kong.

Cruttenden, Alan. 2014. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English.* 8th ed. London: Routledge.

Dörnyei, Zoltán. 2003. "Attitudes, Orientations, and Motivations in Language Learning: Advances in Theory, Research, and Applications." *Language Learning* 53 (1): 3–32. doi:10.1111/1467-9922.53222.

Dörnyei, Zoltán. 1994. "Motivation and Motivating in the Foreign Language Classroom." *Modern Language Journal* 78 (3): 273–84. doi:10.1111/j.1540-4781.1994.tb02042.x.

Ellis, Rod. 2005. *Instructed Second Language Acquisition: A Literature Review.* Wellington: Research Division, Ministry of Education.

Flege, James E. 1995. "Second Language Speech Learning Theory, Findings, and Problems." In *Speech Perception and Linguistic Experience: Issues in Cross-Language Research*, edited by Winifred Strange, 233–77. Timonium: York Press.

Flege, James E. 1987. "The Production of "New" and "Similar" Phones in a Foreign Language: Evidence for the Effect of Equivalence Classification." *Journal of Phonetics* 15 (1): 47–65.

Flege, James E., and Wieke Eefting. 1987. "Cross-Language Switching in Stop Consonant Perception and Production by Dutch Speakers of English." *Speech Communication* 6 (3): 185–202. doi:10.1016/0167-6393(87)90025-2.

López, Verónica González. 2012. "Spanish and English Word-Initial Voiceless Stop Production in Code-Switched Vs. Monolingual Structures." *Second Language Research* 28 (2): 243–63. doi:10.1177/0267658312439821.

Grosjean, Francois. 1985. "The Bilingual as a Competent but Specific Speaker-Hearer." *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 6 (6), 467–77. doi:10.1080/01 434632.1985.9994221.

Grosjean, Francois. 1997. "Processing Mixed Language: Issues, Findings, and Models.

Tutorials in Bilingualism." In *Tutorials in Bilingualism: Psycholinguistic Perspectives*, edited by Annette M. B. de Groot and Judith F. Kroll, 225–54. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Grosjean, Francois. 2001. "The Bilingual's Language Modes." In *One Mind, Two Languages: Bilingual Language Processing*, edited by Janet L. Nicol, 1–25. Oxford: Blackwell.

Harrington, Jonathan, Felicitas Kleber, and Ulrich Reubold. 2011. "The Contributions of the Lips and the Tongue to the Diachronic Fronting of High Back Vowels in Standard Southern British English." *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 41 (2): 137–56. doi:10.1017/S0025100310000265.

Hawkins, Sarah, and Jonathan Midgley. 2005. "Formant Frequencies of RP Monophthongs in Four Age Groups of Speakers." *Journal of the International Phonetic Association* 35 (02): 183–99.

Hayward, Katrina. 2014. *Experimental Phonetics: An Introduction*. London: Routledge.

Labov, William, Sharon Ash, and Charles Boberg. 2006. The Atlas of North American English. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Obler, Loraine K. 1982. "The Parsimonious Bilingual." In *Exceptional Language and Linguistics*, edited by Loraine K. Obler and Lise Menn, 339–46. New York: Academic Press.

Sancier, Michele L., and Carol A. Fowler. 1997. "Gestural Drift in a Bilingual Speaker of Brazilian Portuguese and English." *Journal of Phonetics* 25: 421–36.

Simonet, Miquel. 2014. "Phonetic Consequences of Dynamic Cross-linguistic Interference in Proficient Bilinguals." *Journal of Phonetics* 43: 26–37. doi:10.1016/j.wocn.2014.01.004.

Skarnitzl, Radek, and Jan Volín. 2012. "Referenční hodnoty vokalických formantů pro mladé dospělé mluvčí standardní češtiny." *Akustické listy* 18: 7–11.

Thomas, Erik R. 2001. *An Acoustic Analysis of Vowel Variation in New World English: Publication of the American Dialect Society* 85. Durham: Duke University Press.

Verhelst, Norman, Piet Van Avermaet, Sauli Takala, Neus Figueras, and Brian North. 2009. *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wells, John C. 1982. *Accents of English*. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Foreign Language Anxiety
Coping Strategies

Zdena Kráľová

Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Faculty of Education, Department of Language Pedagogy and Intercultural Studies, Dražovská cesta 4, 949 74 Nitra, Slovakia. Email: zkralova@ukf.sk

Abstract: A great deal of research focuses on foreign language anxiety (FLA). Though it is widely perceived as an obvious factor in foreign language learning, many of the conclusions reached are inconsistent. Nevertheless, most of the research has proven the debilitating effects of FLA on foreign language competence and performance. Apart from recent attempts to test the effectiveness of FLA-reducing strategies, an empirical work with sound comparative and longitudinal aspects testing the effectiveness of such strategies is yet to be written. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to summarize and interpret the most relevant research findings on FLA-coping strategies to date.

Keywords: foreign language; learning; anxiety; coping strategies; research review

Introduction

That some learners are more successful at acquiring a foreign language than others, despite the circumstances of their learning being almost identical, has led to investigations of individual characteristics as predictors of foreign language learning. Researchers have had to accept the fact that personality traits such as self-esteem, inhibition, anxiety, risk-taking and extraversion, may well shape ultimate success in mastering a foreign language (Dörnyei 2005). One of the most highly examined variables in the field of foreign language learning is foreign language anxiety (FLA), also called, on occasion, second language anxiety.

There is a great deal of research focusing on FLA, which is, by necessity, interdisciplinary, as FLA is a rather multidimensional and multifactorial construct representing human complexity. Anxiety is defined as "a psychological construct, commonly described by psychologists as a state of apprehension, a vague fear that is only indirectly associated with an object" (Scovel 1991, 18). FLA is generally viewed as a complex phenomenon of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings and behaviors related to foreign language learning (Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope 1986).

Considerable scholarly attention has been paid to strategies designed to alleviate anxiety in various situations and contexts for many years. Several anxiety workshops (e.g., the Foreign Language Anxiety Workshop at the Defense Institute in San Francisco, in 1987), programs (e.g., the Support Group for Foreign Language Learning at the University of Texas at Austin, operating since the 1980s) and clinics (e.g., the Science Anxiety Clinic at Loyola University, in 1976) have been successfully implemented in various fields of education (Campbell and Ortiz 1991).

Within foreign language learning, numerous FLA coping (reducing or management) strategies have been discussed. When verifying ways of reducing FLA, earlier studies focused on two primary strategies – skills development and behavioral therapy. The combination of these two strands was considered to be the best therapeutic approach (Daly 1991). Many learners of foreign languages intuitively assume that the most effective "remedies" in relieving their FLA are intellectual (more intensive foreign language practice) and emotional (something which would reduce their psychological inhibitions regarding communicating in a foreign language) (MacIntyre 1995; Kráľová et al. 2017).

Horwitz (1990) suggested a three-pronged approach as the most effective treatment: systematic desensitization – learning how to relax in the presence of anxiety stimuli; cognitive modification – changing the learners' own cognitive appraisals and managing their self-evaluation; and skills training. Foss and Reitzel (1991) presented a relational model for coping with FLA including several treatment strategies for five components of foreign language competence: motivation, knowledge, skills, criteria outcomes and context.

Classification of FLA coping strategies

Researchers have already verified strategies of various kinds, where the remediation of FLA has focused mainly on three approaches – cognitive, affective and behavioral (Hembree 1988; Kondo and Ying-Ling 2004) – according to the modality emphasized.

Studies which verified the cognitive approach focused on changing learners' own cognitive appraisals. The cognitive modification method is recommended for teaching learners more realistic self-evaluation (Mejías et al. 1991). Researchers have examined (inter alia) the effectiveness of cooperative learning techniques (Nagahashi 2007), traditional vs. modern teaching techniques (Hismanoglu and Hismanoglu 2010), summative vs. formative evaluation (Hashemi and Abbasi 2013) as well as oral corrective feedback (Lee 2016).

The affective approach is focused on reducing the negativity of the foreign language experience and includes therapies such as systematic desensitization (Fuller 1978; Mejías et al. 1991), biofeedback (Walton 1981), support groups (Foss and Reitzel 1991), relaxation (Ratanasiripong et al. 2010), meditation (Oxford 2015), an engagement program (Ismail 2016), doodling (Siagto-Wakat 2016) and recall techniques (Cinkara 2016).

The behavioral approach presumes that FLA occurs as a result of poor language skills, prompting the attempt to train learners in skills, applying different methods and techniques, e.g., computerized pronunciation practice (Shams 2005), explicit instruction and self-analysis in the acquisition of foreign language pronunciation (Lord 2005) or teaching speaking in a virtual environment (Grant, Huang, and Pasfield-Neofitou 2014).

FLA reducing strategies can also be classified according to whether they belong to either internal or external parts of the education process. Regarding internal elements of the education process (a teacher and a learner), two types of FLA reducing strategies

can be distinguished. Teaching strategies are applied by foreign language teachers to help their students learn a foreign language more effectively. Learning strategies are applied by foreign language learners consciously or subconsciously, and they usually develop from their learning styles (Oxford 1990).

Today, strategies external to the education process are intensively applied in line with the post-communicative approach in foreign language pedagogy integrating affective, cognitive and behavioral modalities of learning. Such intervention strategies are often led by psychologists in close cooperation with foreign language teachers.

TEACHING STRATEGIES

Although mostly theoretical, several researchers have made useful suggestions for teachers on how to help learners diminish their FLA in the classroom (Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope 1986; Horwitz 1990; Young 1990; Horwitz and Young 1991; Onwuegbuzie, Bailey, and Daley 1999; Young 1999; Arnold 1999; Kondo and Ying-Ling 2004; Hauck and Hurd 2005; Hashemi and Abbasi 2013; Alrabai 2015). Young (1990) and Hashemi and Abbasi (2013) collected some helpful recommendations for teachers to alleviate their students' anxiety. In their edited volume, Horwitz and Young (1991) offered both theoretical and practical perspectives on FLA and practical advice for decreasing FLA in language instruction. A later volume by Young (1999) addresses all four language skills – listening, speaking, reading, and writing – along with the cultural aspect of language acquisition. It offers specific suggestions for teachers to alleviate learners' FLA in a common foreign language classroom, e. g., using an anxiety graph to pinpoint the highest level of anxiety of a given interaction, providing supplemental instruction or a support group, using more pair and group work, playing language games with an emphasis on problem-solving and using role-playing.

Various approaches, methods and techniques have already been verified for making foreign language learning more effective. They have mostly pursued efforts aimed at making the classroom environment a more friendly place where learners can make mistakes – the Constructivist Theory of Learning (Vygotsky 1978); succeeding even with imperfect foreign language competence – the Communicative Approach (Nunan 1991); feeling safe with a pretended identity in role-play activities – Suggestopedia (Lozanov 1978); letting foreign language communication emerge spontaneously – the Natural Approach (Krashen and Terrell 1983); talking about one's state of learning – Counselling-Learning; and the use of interaction as a vehicle for learning – Community Language Learning (Curran 1976); or coordinating language learning with the physical movement – Total Physical Response (Asher 1977).

Koch and Terrell (1991) studied learners' reactions to activities and teaching techniques within the Natural Approach, which is generally concerned with FLA reduction. They discovered that some activities (peer work, personal discussions) were perceived as less stressful, though there was high inter-individual variability in judging the activities. Nagahashi (2007) examined the effectiveness of cooperative learning techniques, where the group has a common learning goal and members can learn from

each other. Cooperative learning proved to be effective in reducing FLA by providing a non-threatening and supportive environment where learners feel less intimidated working with "equal" partners.

Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) proposed several specific techniques teachers may use to allay learners' FLA: e.g., behavioral contracting (a learner agrees to spend a specific amount of time on a task, and then reports back to the teacher). Crookall and Oxford (1991) discussed several classroom activities that can be used with learners and teachers to deal with FLA (e.g., agony columns, ghost avengers, mistakes panels, anxious photos, reversed accents, trigger pictures and linguethic). Several other strategies (e.g., written reflection and support groups) are also mentioned in literature related to this topic (McCoy 1979; Crookall and Oxford 1991; Foss and Reitzel 1991).

Grant, Huang, and Pasfield-Neofitou (2014) consider virtual environments (chats and computer games) as more effective FLA reducing strategies than those that take place in real world communication. Here, interlocutors communicate through their virtual identities and thus protect their language egos. Learners reported greater engagement in learning in a virtual environment and found it less FLA-inducing in terms of foreign language use (due to anonymity, not having to perform in front of others, conversations evolving in slow motion, and so on). A video-stimulated recall technique was employed to assist learners in reflecting upon the symptoms and causes of FLA during speaking, and it was proven to be an effective reflective tool (Cinkara 2016). Doodling was explored as a non-verbal tool in surfacing FLA experiences of foreign language learners (Siagto-Wakat 2016). It appeared to be a helpful technique in enabling learners to express their classroom experiences. This can help foreign language teachers realize the impact of FLA on their learners.

Undoubtedly, the teacher plays one of the most important roles in increasing or alleviating the anxiety of foreign language learners. In research carried out by Al-Saraj (2011), most participants pointed out that their teachers' characteristics and personalities were the major causes of their anxiety. Teachers providing incomprehensible explanations, over-correcting students, demonstrating visible favoritism, being authoritarian, and embarrassing and humiliating students create a stressful environment in class and thus contribute strongly to increasing anxiety (Tanveer 2007). Learners appreciate it when their teachers are friendly, patient, and helpful, as well as when they smile and care (Young 1990). Therefore, it is important that teachers pay attention to signals of anxiety radiating from their students and respond sensitively to these feelings in order for students to most benefit from the education process.

In Williams and Andrade's (2008) study, learners reported the procedure, in which a teacher calls on students to answer publicly, as one of the most significant sources of their foreign language classroom anxiety. Calling on students in a predictable order caused less anxiety than them being randomly selected. Price (1991) explains that students need to feel their teacher's support, encouragement and patience with their errors, without the teacher being excessively critical. As learners appear sensitive and defensive to corrections in foreign language production, perceiving every correction as

a failure, the selection of error correction techniques should be empathic.

Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) recommended that teachers select error correction techniques and base them on instructional philosophy so as to reduce defensive reactions in students. For both teachers and learners, it is essential to realize that errors are an inevitable part of foreign language learning. The inter-language[1] is continually changing, and fluctuations in foreign language competence are natural. Summative and constructive feedback on errors is thus recommended rather than interrupting and correcting learners during their communication.

Nearly all interventions to reduce FLA are learner-oriented and assume foreign language teachers will implement anxiety-relieving behavior and practices in their classrooms. It is often forgotten that many foreign language teachers are non-native speakers of a foreign language and may face FLA as well (Horwitz 1996; Numrich 1996; Ohata 2005). However, to this day, research on teachers' and student teachers' FLA is limited to more or less descriptive studies. Nevertheless, this kind of FLA can have a rather undesirable influence on foreign language learning. The role of a teacher is undoubtedly one of the most crucial ones in making foreign language learning less stressful and more enjoyable (Horwitz 1996; Al-Saraj 2011; Hashemi and Abbasi 2013; Lee 2016).

Foreign language teachers are supposed to be perfect foreign language speakers, and much of their FLA stems from the inherent threat to their self-concept of competence (Horwitz 1996). High-level foreign language competence can be best achieved by intensive communication with foreign language native speakers or a longer stay in a foreign language country (Matsuda and Gobel 2004). In fact, not many foreign language teachers have access to this. Moreover, teaching today is extremely demanding, both cognitively and emotionally. Students are likely to sense their teachers' uncertainty in a foreign language, so the teachers should be supported to cope with their problems (including FLA) prior to their teaching career, so that they will be able to manage their own FLA as well as the FLA of their students.

Native speakers are not always the best foreign language teachers. Non-native teachers' strength is that they have also been foreign language learners and understand the pitfalls of the learning process specific for the given language and cultural context. Teachers with a realistic appreciation of their foreign language competence will be more willing to seek out improvement opportunities and use more communicative teaching practices (Horwitz 1996).

Learning strategies

It may also be helpful for foreign language learners to find their own strategies to overcome anxiety in stressful situations. The most employed model of language learning strategies is the Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (Oxford 1990),

---

1   The transitional competence of a learner in a foreign language at a given stage of learning which preserves some features of learner ˀs native language (Selinker 1972).

in which language learning strategies fall into six categories: memory, cognitive, metacognitive, compensation, affective, and social. Lu and Liu (2011) explored cognitive and metacognitive language learning strategies in relation to FLA among Chinese university students of English. They concluded that less anxious language learners tend to choose more language learning strategies that are more appropriate to a given task.

Kondo and Ying-Ling (2004) developed a typology of strategies that learners use to cope with FLA in five categories: preparation (e.g., studying hard, getting to use a foreign language, concentrating in class); relaxation (e.g., taking deep breaths, drawing to calm down); positive thinking (e.g., imagining one's good performance in a foreign language, thinking of something pleasant, trying not to take it too seriously); peer seeking (e.g., asking other learners for advice, talking with friends in their proximity), and resignation (e.g., accepting the situation, giving up on studying).

Paradowski, Dmowska, and Czasak (2015) studied the coping strategies that foreign language learners employ to conquer speaking anxiety. They consider learner-centered humanistic techniques emphasizing positive atmosphere to be crucial. Two types of awareness are distinguished within humanistic techniques (Bowen 2004) – experiential awareness (helping learners get rid of unrealistic expectations about the foreign language learning process) and group awareness (helping learners create a sense of common objective and collective success in foreign language learning).

Intervention strategies

Modern trends in teaching foreign languages emphasize an affective aspect of learning to counterbalance the cognitive aspect. The post-communicative approach in foreign language teaching and learning utilizes psychological methods and techniques to make it more effective and enjoyable. While FLA researchers have mostly focused on reducing the negative effects of FLA, the current trend of positive psychology (Oxford 2015), which aims to activate character strengths and self-regulated learning to enhance professional and personal well-being, has been increasing in recent years (Dewaele and MacIntyre 2014).

The current trend of positive psychology, emphasizing positive emotions, relationships and accomplishments, has the potential to become a significant approach in coping with FLA (Seligman 2011). Oxford (2015) analyzed several emotion theories and how they apply to foreign language learning, e.g., in the PERMA theory within positive psychology, five "elements of well-being" (Seligman 2011) are included: Positive emotion (P), Engagement (E), Relationships (R), Meaning (M) and Accomplishment (A). Oxford (2015) further demonstrates how FLA can be managed through particular emotional strategies. ABCDE macro-strategy (Seligman 2011) and REBT (Rational Emotion Behavior Therapy) (Ellis 2003) contain a set of interlocking strategies designed to help self-identify irrational beliefs connected with foreign language learning. The strategy of identification must always be accompanied by strategies of creating counter-evidence and creating a new (positive) mindset (Oxford 2015).

Relaxation techniques are increasingly discussed nowadays, and research has verified their effectiveness regarding the control of FLA. Biofeedback therapists teach anxious individuals to control their FLA in anxiety-provoking situations and settings by generating relaxation instead of anxiety responses through the gradual introduction of anxiety-provoking stimuli (Walton 1981). Robinson, Segal, and Segal (2014) suggest progressive muscle relaxation, visualization, meditation, yoga or tai chi as further techniques to overcome stress and alleviate anxiety from the longitudinal point of view. Through meditation-like strategies, learners might bring their negative emotions concerning foreign language learning under control – accept them, learn from them and let them go (Oxford 2015).

Cohn and Frederickson (2010) published one of the first and most detailed surveys of positive psychology intervention – loving-kindness meditation intervention. Though not specifically focused on foreign language learning, they provided evidence of the long-term and continued effect of positive psychology intervention on behavioral maintenance. Stranovská (2013) examined the psycho-linguistic intervention program on learning foreign languages from multi-layer and longitudinal perspectives. She concluded that the integration of information and emotions with an emphasis on practical application is a significant trend in learning and teaching (not only for foreign languages).

Paradowski, Dmowska, and Czasak (2015) discuss overcoming learners' detrimental beliefs about foreign language learning by building experiential awareness, and overcoming fears stemming from classroom interactions by enhancing group awareness. The effect of the engagement program, including learning activities, drawing, writing on the board, exercises and educational videos, was verified among Saudi female university students of English in alleviating their FLA and enhancing their motivation for learning English (Ismail 2016).

Kráľová et al. (2017) examined psycho-social training as an FLA reducing strategy. Psycho-social training is a non-therapeutic intervention training program of active social learning that should help individuals cope with stressful situations by developing their social abilities (sensitivity, assertiveness, empathy, communication and cooperation). It helps them enhance their self-confidence, acquire adequate reactions, realize reasons for diffidence, strengthen their will and active self-knowledge and cope with stage fright (Škorvagová 2015). Psycho-social training is widely accepted and applied at all levels of education in the United States and Western Europe (Coleman and Deutsch 2000; Topping, Holmes, and Bremner 2000; Polk 2000). Compared to more traditional forms of education, it induces deeper and longer-term positive changes in participants' social competence (Positive Youth Development 2014).

Matsumoto et al. (1988) unearthed particularly interesting findings about the locus of control – foreign learners' beliefs about who or what is responsible for negative emotion-eliciting events during foreign language learning. Participants who attributed the responsibility to other forces or people (external locus of control) demonstrated more limited coping abilities than those who thought they were personally responsible for the event (internal locus of control).

Apart from recent attempts to test the effectiveness of FLA-reducing strategies, an empirical work with sound comparative and longitudinal aspects testing the effectiveness of such strategies in a longitudinal design is yet to be established. The recommendations and strategies mentioned in this paper may be helpful for foreign language learning and teaching, but it is important to bear in mind that learners differ in their feelings and how these findings manifest themselves, and thus each learner requires a unique approach.

Works Cited

Alrabai, Fakieh. 2015. "The Influence of Teachers' Anxiety-Reducing Strategies on Learners' Foreign Language Anxiety." *Innovation in Language Learning and Teaching* 9 (2): 163–90.

Al-Saraj, Taghreed M. 2011. "Foreign Language Anxiety: What Is This?" Paper presented at 4th Bloomsbury Student Conference in Applied Linguistics, London.

Arnold, Jane. 1999. *Affect in Language Learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Asher, James J. 1977. *Learning Another Language through Actions: The Complete Teacher's Guide.* Los Gatos: Sky Oaks.

Bowen, Amanda D. 2004. "Overcoming the Fear of Speaking in a Foreign Language: A Study of the Role that Selected Humanistic Techniques Play in Reducing Language Anxiety Associated with Oral Performance in the TESOL Classroom." Master's thesis, University of South Africa.

Campbell, Christine M., and Jose A. Ortiz. 1991. "Helping Students Overcome Foreign Language Anxiety: A Foreign Language Anxiety Workshop." In *Language Anxiety: From Theory and Research to Classroom Implications*, edited by Elaine K. Horwitz and Dolly J. Young, 153–68. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Cinkara, Emrah. 2016. "Reflective Practice and Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety: Video-Stimulated Recall at Work." *Reflective Practice* 17 (6): 694–707. doi:10.1080/14 623943.2016.1206880.

Cohn, Michael A., and Barbara L. Frederickson. 2010. "In Search of Durable Positive Psychology Interventions: Predictors and Consequences of Long-Term Positive Behavior Change." *Journal of Positive Psychology* 5 (5): 355–66. doi:10.1080/1743976 0.2010.508883.

Coleman, Peter T., and Morton Deutsch. 2000. "Cooperation, Conflict Resolution, and School Violence: A Systems Approach." *Choices Briefs* (5): 3–6.

Crookall, David, and Rebecca L. Oxford. 1991. "Dealing with Anxiety: Some Practical Activities for Language Learners and Teacher Trainees." In *Language Anxiety: From*

Theory and Research to Classroom Implications, edited by Elaine K. Horwitz and Dolly J. Young, 141–50. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Curran, Charles A. 1976. *Counseling Learning in Second Languages*. Apple River: Apple River Press.

Daly, John. 1991. "Understanding Communication Apprehension: An Introduction for Language Educators." In *Language Anxiety: From Theory and Research to Classroom Implications*, edited by Elaine K. Horwitz and Dolly J. Young, 3–13. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Dewaele, Jean-Marc, and Peter D. MacIntyre. 2014. "The Two Faces of Janus? Anxiety and Enjoyment in the Foreign Language Classroom." *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching* 4 (2): 237–73. doi:10.14746/ssllt.2014.4.2.5.

Dörnyei, Zoltán. 2005. *The Psychology of the Language Learner: Individual Differences in Second Language Acquisition*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Ellis, Albert. 2003. "Early Theories and Practices of Rational Emotive Behavior Theory and How They Have Been Augmented and Revised during the Last Three Decades." *Journal of Rational-Emotive and Cognitive-Behavior Therapy* 21 (3–4): 219–43. doi:10.1023/A:1025890112319.

Foss, Karen A., and Armeda C. Reitzel. 1991. "A Relational Model for Managing Second Language Anxiety." In *Language Anxiety: From Theory and Research to Classroom Implications*, edited by Elaine K. Horwitz and Dolly J. Young, 129–40. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Fuller, George D. 1978. "Current Status of Biofeedback in Clinical Practice." American Psychologist 33 (1): 39–48. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.33.1.39.

Grant, Scott, Hui Huang, and Sarah Pasfield-Neofitou. 2014. "The Authenticity-Anxiety Paradox: The Quest for Authentic Second Language Communication and Reduced Foreign Language Anxiety in Virtual Environments." *Procedia – Technology* 13: 23–32. doi:10.1016/j.protcy.2014.02.005.

Hashemi Masoud, and Moghtada Abbasi. 2013. "The Role of the Teacher in Alleviating Anxiety in Language Classes." *International Research Journal of Applied and Basic Sciences* 4 (3): 640–46.

Hauck, Mirjam, and Stella Hurd. 2005. "Exploring the Link between Language Anxiety and Learner Self-Management in Open Language Learning Contexts." *European Journal of Open, Distance and E-learning* 2. http://www.eurodl.org/materials/contrib/2005/Mirjam_Hauck.pdf.

Hembree, Ray. 1988. "Correlates, Causes, Effects, and Treatment of Test Anxiety." *Review of Educational Research* 58 (1): 47–77. doi:10.3102/00346543058001047.

Hismanoglu, Murat, and Sibel Hismanoglu. 2010. "Language Teachers' Preferences of Pronunciation Teaching Techniques: Traditional or Modern?" *Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences* 2 (2): 983–89. doi:10.1016/j.sbspro.2010.03.138.

Horwitz, Elaine K., Michael B. Horwitz, and Joann Cope. 1986. "Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety." *The Modern Language Journal* 70 (2): 125–32. http://www.jstor.org/stable/327317.

Horwitz, Elaine K. 1990. "Attending to the Affective Domain in Foreign Language

Learning." In *Shifting the Instructional Focus to the Learner*, edited by Sally S. Magnan, 15–33. Middlebury: Northeast Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.

Horwitz Elaine K., and Dolly J. Young. 1991. *Language Anxiety: From Theory and Research to Classroom Implications*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Horwitz, Elaine K. 1996. "Even Teachers Get the Blues: Recognizing and Alleviating Teachers' Feelings of Foreign Language Anxiety." *Foreign Language Annals* 29 (3): 365–72.

Ismail, Nasrah M. 2016. "The Effectiveness of an Engaging Program to Reduce Saudi Female University EFL Students' Foreign Language Anxiety and to Enhance their Motivation to Learn English at Taif University." *International Journal of Psychological Studies* 8 (1): 92–105.

Koch, April S., and Tracy D. Terrell. 1991. "Affective Reactions of Foreign Language Students to Natural Approach Activities and Teaching Techniques." *In Language Anxiety: From Theory and Research to Classroom Implications*, edited by Elaine K. Horwitz and Dolly J. Young, 109–126. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Kondo, David Shinji, and Yang Ying-Ling. 2004. "Strategies for Coping with Language Anxiety: The Case of Students of English in Japan." *ELT Journal* 58 (3): 258–65. doi:10.1093/elt/58.3.258.

Kráľová, Zdena, Eva Škorvagová, Anna Tirpáková, and Dagmar Markechová. 2017. "Reducing Student Teachers' Foreign Language Pronunciation Anxiety through Psycho-Social Training." *System* 65: 49–60. doi:10.1016/j.system.2017.01.001.

Krashen, Stephen D., and Tracy D. Terrell. 1983. *The Natural Approach: Language Acquisition in the Classroom*. San Francisco: Alemany Press.

Lee, Eun Jeong. 2016. "Reducing International Graduate Students' Language Anxiety through Oral Pronunciation Corrections." *System* 56 (1): 78–95. doi:10.1016/j.system.2015.11.006.

Lord, Gillian. 2005. "Can We Teach Foreign Language Pronunciation? On the Effects of a Spanish Phonetics Course." *Hispania* 88 (3): 557–67. doi:10.2307/20063159.

Lozanov, Georgi. 1978. *Suggestology and Outlines of Suggestopedy*. New York: Gordon and Breach.

Lu, Zhongshe, and Meihua Liu. 2011. "Foreign Language Anxiety and Strategy Use: A Study with Chinese Undergraduate EFL Learners." *Journal of Language Teaching and Research* 2 (6): 1298–1305.

MacIntyre, Peter D. 1995. "How Does Anxiety Affect Second Language Learning? A Reply to Sparks and Ganschow." *Modern Language Journal* 79 (1): 90–99. doi:10.2307/329395.

Matsuda, Sae, and Peter Gobel. 2004. "Anxiety and Predictors of Performance in the Foreign Language Classroom." *System* 32 (1): 21–36. doi:10.1016/j.system.2003.08.002.

Matsumoto, David, Tsutomu Kudoh, Klaus Scherer, and Harald Wallbott. 1988. "Antecedents of and Reactions to Emotions in the United States and Japan." *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 19 (3): 267–86. doi:10.1177/0022022188193001.

McCoy, Ingeborg R. 1979. "Means to Overcome the Anxieties of Second Language Learners." *Foreign Language Annals* 12 (3): 185–89. doi:10.1111/j.1944-9720.1979.

tb00166.x.

Mejías, Hugo, Ronald L. Applebaum, Susan J. Applebaum, and Robert T. Trotter. 1991. "Oral Communication Apprehension and Hispanics: An Exploration of Oral Communication Apprehension among Mexican American Students in Texas." In *Language Anxiety: From Theory and Research to Classroom Implications*, edited by Elaine K. Horwitz and Dolly J. Young, 87–97. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Nagahashi, Terri Lee. 2007. *Techniques for Reducing Foreign Language Anxiety: Results of a Successful Intervention Study*. Akita City: Akita University Press.

Numrich, Carol. 1996. "On Becoming a Language Teacher: Insights from Diary Studies." *TESOL Quarterly* 30 (1): 131–53. doi:10.2307/3587610.

Nunan, David. 1991. "Communicative Tasks and the Language Curriculum." *TESOL Quarterly* 25 (2): 279–95. doi:10.2307/3587464.

Ohata, Kota. 2005. "Potential Sources of Anxiety for Japanese Learners of English: Preliminary Case Interviews with Five Japanese College Students in the U.S." *TESL-EJ* 9 (3): 1–21. http://www.tesl-ej.org/wordpress/issues/volume9/ej35/ej35a3/.

Onwuegbuzie, Anthony J., Phillip Bailey, and Christine E. Daley. 1999. "Factors Associated with Foreign Language Anxiety." *Applied Psycholinguistics* 20 (2): 217–39. https://static.cambridge.org/resource/id/urn:cambridge.org:id:binary:20170213065522336-0095:S0142716499002039:S014271649900203Xa.pdf.

Oxford, Rebecca L. 1990. *Language Learning Strategies: What Every Teacher Should Know*. New York: Newbury House/Harper and Row.

Oxford, Rebecca L. 2015. "How Language Learners Can Improve Their Emotional Functioning: Important Psychological and Psychospiritual Theories." *Applied Language Learning* 25 (12): 1–15.

Paradowski, Michał B., Klaudia Dmowska, and Dagmara Czasak. 2015. "Conquering Foreign Language Anxiety Related to Speaking." In *Productive Foreign Language Skills for an Intercultural World: A Guide (not only) for Teachers*, edited by Michal B. Paradowski, 33–62. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Polk, Roselyn. 2000. "Evaluating the National Outcomes: Project Outcomes for Youth, Social Responsibility." http://ag.arizona.edu/fcs/cyfernet/nowg/sc_social.html.

Positive Youth Development. 2014. "Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention." http://www.ojjdp.gov/mpg/litreviews/PositiveYouthDevelopment.pdf.

Price, Mary Lou. 1991. "The Subjective Experience of Foreign Language Anxiety: Interviews with Highly Anxious Students." In *Language Anxiety: From Theory and Research to Classroom Implications*, edited by Elaine K. Horwitz and Dolly J. Young, 101–108. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.

Ratanasiripong, Paul, Kevin Sverduk, Diane Hayashino, and Judy Prince. 2010. "Setting up the Next Generation Biofeedback Program for Stress and Anxiety Management for College Students: A Simple and Cost Effective Approach." *College Student Journal* 44 (1): 97–100. https://www.heartmath.org/assets/uploads/2015/01/setting-up-next-generation-biofeedback.pdf.

Robinson, Lawrence, Robert Segal, and Jeanne Segal. 2014. "Relaxation Techniques for

Stress Relief." http://www.helpguide.org/articles/stress/relaxation-techniques-for-stress-relief.htm.

Scovel, Thomas. 1991. "The Effect of Affect on Foreign Language Learning: A Review of the Anxiety Research." In *Language Anxiety: From Theory and Research to Classroom Implications*, edited by Elaine K. Horwitz and Dolly J. Young, 15–24. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Seligman, Martin E. P. 2011. *Flourish: A Visionary New Understanding of Happiness and Well-Being*. New York: Atria/Simon and Schuster.

Selinker, Larry. 1972. "Interlanguage". *International Review of Applied Linguistics* 10 (3): 209–241.

Shams, Ashley N. 2005. "The Use of Computerized Pronunciation Practice in the Reduction of Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety." PhD diss., Florida State University.

Siagto-Wakat, Geraldine. 2016. "Doodling the Nerves: Surfacing Language Anxiety Experiences in an English Language Classroom." *RELC Journal* 37 (3): 308 –28. doi: https://doi.org/10.1177/0033688216649085.

Stranovská, Eva. 2013. *Intervencia v učení sa cudziemu jazyku*. Praha: Verbum.

Škorvagová, Eva. 2015. *Preventívne a intervenčné programy v kontexte sociálno-patologických javov – preventívny program Slnečnice nádeje (Sociálno-patologické javy)*. Žilina: EDIS.

Tanveer, Muhammad. 2007. "Investigations of the Factors that Cause Language Anxiety for ESL/EFL Learners in Learning Speaking Skills and the Influence It Casts on Communication in the Target Language." Master's thesis, University of Glasgow.

Topping, Keith, Elizabeth A. Holmes, and William Bremner. 2000. "The Effectiveness of School-Based Programs for the Promotion of Social Competence." In *The Handbook of Emotional Intelligence: The Theory and Practice of Development, Evaluation, and Application at Home, School, and in the Workplace*, edited by Reuven Bar-On, James D. A. Parker and Daniel Goleman, 411–32. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Vygotsky, Lev S. 1978. *Mind in Society*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Walton, Joseph M. 1981. "Biofeedback: A Proposed Model for the Treatment of Teacher Anxiety." *The Personnel and Guidance Journal* 60 (1): 59–62. doi:10.1002/j.2164-4918.1981.tb00641.x.

Williams, Kenneth E., and Melvin R. Andrade. 2008. "Foreign Language Learning Anxiety in Japanese EFL University Classes: Causes, Coping, and Locus of Control." *Electronic Journal of Foreign Language Teaching* 5 (2): 181–91.

Young, Dolly J. 1990. "An Investigation of Students' Perspectives on Anxiety and Speaking." *Foreign Language Annals* 23 (6): 539–53. doi:10.1111/j.1944-9720.1990.tb00424.x.

Young, Dolly J. 1999. *Affect in Foreign Language and Second Language Learning: A Practical Guide to Creating a Low-Anxiety Classroom Atmosphere*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.

English Collocations:
Past and Present

Lenka Drábková

Tomas Bata University in Zlín, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Modern Languages
and Literatures, Štefánikova 5670, 760 01 Zlín, Czech Republic. Email: drabkova@utb.cz

Abstract: Most lexical items in the lexicon of a language enter a wide variety of structurally
diverse co-occurrences. Collocation, which refers to syntagmatic lexical relations in a language,
is one of the most important and frequent aspects of formulaic language. It is language specific
and has certain features that differ it from other languages, this being also affected by the cultural
differences among languages. Collocation is a term which is problematic to define. It is used and
understood in many ways, and linguists through their varying definitions and explorations of the
term have cemented their meanings. Collocations have always been of interest to linguists, among
others distinguished British linguists, whose research has contributed to building the collocation
terminology, to delimitation and understanding of collocations as units of formulaic language, and
to their practical applications. The paper provides an overview of collocation studies in the English
language environment from the early use of the term to present-day research and its applications.
It follows upon and updates the research done on this topic as a part of my dissertation thesis
(Drábková 2008), with the purpose of revealing if and to what extent the approach to collocations
has changed over time, especially with the advent and use of powerful computers which have
enabled a much wider, faster and precise processing, analysis and description of the input data
regarding collocations withdrawn from corpora.

Keywords: collocation; colligation; collocate; corpus; span; word frequency

As a distinctively linguistic term, *collocation* is used for the first time by Hermes Harris
in 1750 to refer to the linear pattern of words. He uses the term, however, in a way
that is now covered by the term *colligation*, i.e., the grammatical relationship of words
inside sentences which is strongly associated with collocations today (Bartsch 2004,
28). Some years earlier, in 1737, Alexander Cruden, in his book *Complete Concordance
to the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament*, a book subtitled *A Dictionary and
Alphabetical Index to the Bible*, provides a short history of early concordances of the
Bible in various languages from the 1200s onwards. He also provides encyclopaedic
entries for some words, and with all the words he presents the node words with
eight or ten words of a co-text. Cruden defines at least a rough idea of collocation,
as he sometimes lists concordance lines revealing recurrent collocations (Römer and
Schulze 2009, 16). Along with Samuel Ayscough, who publishes an index to words in
Shakespeare in 1790, the two realize that recurrent patterns in language use can be
revealed when individual texts are split up and then re-ordered in a concordance or
index (Barlow 2004, 207).

Traditionally, the study of fixed expressions has been of interest to British linguists,
especially in relation to foreign language learners. In 1933 Harold Palmer uses the

term collocation in his work on phraseological research called *Interim Report on English Collocations* (Palmer 1933, 13), in which he defines collocations as successive combinations of two or more words, as well as describes the common features of collocations, namely the arbitrary, non-rule-governed nature of word combinations and the fact that they have to be learnt as an integral whole, i.e. not studied in terms of their component parts. Palmer is believed to be the first one who uses the term collocation in its present-day meaning, referring it to all "comings together of words" (Palmer 1933, 13). Palmer's approach to collocations is mainly pedagogically oriented; however, his definition does not offer what kind of relationship between two or more words can qualify them as a collocation.

J. R. Firth is regarded as the father of *collocation*, introducing the term collocation as a technical linguistic term in the 1950s. He views collocation from a purely linguistic point of view and claims that a word is known by the company it keeps, thus giving collocation a central position in theories on word meaning. Firth considers collocation as an abstraction on the syntagmatic level, not directly connected with the conceptual approach to the meaning of the words; however, for him, collocation has nothing to do with positioning larger phrasal units as units of meaning (Firth 1951, 1957). In his essay of 1951, Firth does not specify clearly the number of words which can make up a collocation but provides examples of collocations consisting of two to five, or even eleven words. Unlike his 1951 essay where collocations are considered an abstraction (1951, 196), in his work published six years later, Firth considers collocations as "actual words in habitual company" (1957, 182).

Firth's approach is widely accepted by linguists following him, as well as by later computer-assisted studies on collocations. The linguists inspired by Firth's ideas concerning the relationship between grammar and lexis and their variations are referred to as Neo-Firthians. They study words in line with co-occurrences based on real language in use, disregarding the syntactic and semantic statements essential in treating collocations, and offer other definitions (Greenbaum 1970, 10). Neo-Firthians aim at the concept of collocation in word meaning recognition and differentiation, with the expansion to aspects such as colligation, semantic prosody and preference, and frequency-based studies of collocations. (Bahns 1993, 57).

The main Neo-Firthians are John Sinclair, Michael Halliday, Peter Howarth and Anthony Cowie, all of whom contribute to advances in collocation studies but also to phraseological studies. Halliday, a student of Firth's, develops his own systemic functional grammar (Halliday 1994), and in the 1960s, together with Sinclair, he makes important theoretical and methodological contributions to the study of collocations, categorizing them predominantly as a syntagmatic relation between words in texts. Halliday defines a collocation as a statistical, quantifiable concept, saying that the entities involved in a collocation are lexical items, not word forms, unlike Firth; however, he does not specify the distance of the collocating items (1961, 276). In later research he claims that the grammatical environments of the collocational patterns have also to be considered, as well as the frequency of an item in the specific environment, in relation to its total frequency of occurrence (Halliday 1966, 159), which is one of the key topics

of corpus-based studies today.

Howarth builds his research on the Firthian tradition as well as the Russian phraseological tradition, which sees phraseology as a continuum along which word combinations are situated, with the most fixed and opaque ones at one end, and the most variable and transparent ones at the other (Granger and Meunier, 2008, 28). Howarth claims that Neo-Firthians' chief interest is not classification of types of collocation, but the phenomenon of collocation itself and how this contributes to linguistic meaning (1996, 30). Depending on the word class of the constituent words, Howarth distinguishes between grammatical and lexical composites. In his opinion grammatical composites include combinations such as adjective + preposition and preposition + noun, while in lexical composites the constituent words are nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs in different combinations. Howarth admits investigating language use through corpora but indicates that a frequency-based approach is not enough (1998, 27).

Cowie, a Neo-Firthian who also builds on Russian phraseological tradition, differentiates between two key types of word combinations, namely *formulae*, which are units of sentence-length having pragmatic functions, and *composites*, or types below the sentence level. He ranges collocations among composite units, i.e. associations of two or more lexemes, or roots, occurring in specific grammatical constructions (1991, 224). As an example of an area heavily drawing on collocations, mainly of verb-noun type, he mentions journalistic prose, where he reveals collocational density of over 40 % (Cowie 1991, 101).

Several other British scholars base their research on collocations on the Firthian approach. Greenbaum considers frequency as an important factor in studying collocations and claims that syntactic relationships also have to be considered when analysing collocations (Greenbaum 1970, 1). Kjellmer defines collocation as a sequence of words which occur more than once in identical form in a text or corpus and are grammatically well-structured (Kjellmer 1987, 133). His research is widely frequency-based, the output of his work being *A Dictionary of English Collocations* (1994) based on the one million-word Brown Corpus of Standard American English, the first modern, computer readable, general corpus. Kjellmer regards only adjacent items as collocations (Kjellmer 1994, xiv) and includes idioms into collocations as a sub-group, with not very clear boundaries (Kjellmer 1994, xxxiii).

However, the main innovator of the Firthian approach, following the British tradition and viewing collocations primarily as syntagmatic relations between words and texts is Sinclair. He contributes to resolving many practical issues connected with the Firthian view of collocations, claiming together with Jones and Daley that in speech or text production there is a phraseological tendency towards word combinations such as collocations, fixed expressions, idioms, rather than the freedom of choice in terms of single words (Sinclair, Jones and Daley 2004, 29). Sinclair defines a collocation as a predictable co-occurrence of words within a short space from each other in a text; however, he does not restrict the number of words creating it (1991, 122, 170). In Sinclair's view, there are practically no impossible collocations, only some are more likely than others (1966, 411). He refers to collocations as combinations of the lexical

items (*lexical collocations*), as well as grammatical items (*colligation*).

However, Sinclair is famous mainly for his pioneering work in corpus linguistics, as he consolidates the use of specific terminology in collocation studies which is widely used today. He introduces the term *node*, which is the word under study, the *collocate*, the word entering collocation with it, the *span*, the distance between the words, and the *collocational range* of the particular word, which is the set of all the collocates that can enter a collocation with the node. Sinclair, Jones and Davey also distinguish between *significant* and *casual* collocations, as well as claim that in corpus analysis different forms of words can have different collocates (2004, 10; Sinclair 1991, 68-69). Sinclair uses Firth's ideas in undertaking the OSTI project, an empirical research into collocation, focusing on quantitative research on computer-readable data. The project is carried out between 1963 and 1969 but published only in 2004 under the title *English Collocation Studies: The OSTI Report* (Sinclair, Jones and Daley 2004). The report formulates basic principles of modern corpus linguistics, including among others the information on what kinds of lexical patterning can be found in a text, how collocation can be objectively described, what span is relevant and how collocational evidence can be applied to study meaning. Based on his research, Sinclair concludes that significant collocates usually appear within the span of four words to the left and four words to the right of the node (1991, 170).

In the early 1990s, the advent of powerful computers and their increasing possibilities change the possibilities of obtaining information on collocations, which also changes the approach to collocations and their importance. Huge collections of texts in electronic form (corpora) can now provide authentic information on word combinations and specialised computer programmes can search for word combinations in texts automatically, with a high level of reliability. Soon the computational approach becomes popular, its practical evidence being the publication of many collocation dictionaries by e.g., Oxford, Cambridge, Longman, Macmillan and Collins, but mainly the effort to introduce collocations widely into teaching.

Next to Sinclair, it is Michael Stubbs who contributes considerably to the study of different aspects of lexis, lexical fields, lexical semantics and lexical collocations in the early stages, applying the computational approach. In his opinion, word meanings can be conveyed directly, through the choice of words, but also indirectly through patterns of co-occurrence: which words collocate and which ones are used in grammatical patterns (Sinclair 1996, 97–98). Stubbs considers collocations as a habitual co-occurrence of lemmas and word forms showing their associations and connotations and limits their span left and right of the node word to four words (Stubbs 2005). A similar classification is proposed by Benson (1985), who also divides collocations into lexical and grammatical forms. Lexical collocations, in his opinion, consist of nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs, while grammatical collocations are phrases consisting of a dominant word and a preposition or a grammatical structure.

Extended research on collocations in spoken English was carried out Karin Aijmer and Bengt Altenberg, who claim that most lexical items in the lexicon of English enter in their own characteristic sets of collocations (Aijmer and Altenberg 1991, 128).

Analysing word combinations retrieved from the London-Lund Corpus of Spoken English, they find out that most of the running words in the corpus (over 80%) are a part of recurrent word-combinations of some kind (1991, 102).

Relationship between qualitative and quantitative approaches to corpus analysis is the focus of McEnery and Wilson (2001, 76), who introduce some key quantitative methods, such as frequency counts, significance testing, testing for significant collocations, which today are widely used in work with corpora. They illustrate the importance of corpora as sources of empirical data in many areas of language study, lexical studies and semantics among others. McEnery, Xiao and Yukio characterise collocations as word patterns which appear typically in corpus data and are identified using a statistical approach. They claim that three statistical formulae are typically used to identify significant collocations in corpus linguistics, namely the *MI score* (mutual information), *t score* (the certainty with which we can argue that there is an association between the words, i.e. their co-occurrence is not random) and *z score* (measure which adjusts for the general frequencies of the words involved in a potential collocation and which shows how much more frequent the collocation of a word with the node word is than one would expect from their general frequencies) (McEnery, Xiao and Yukio 2006, 215).

In practical terms, collocation as a method focuses on counting of the co-occurrence of two words in a corpus, depending on their relative proximity to one another. It usually includes the calculation, statistics or metric to assign significance values to the amount or type of co-occurrence relationships. However, Partington (1998, 144) argues that the attention which is currently devoted to collocation and the collocational principle in general is the result of the use of today's technology as a tool, i.e. the use of corpora and concordancers rather than the importance of the phenomenon itself (Partington 1998, 144). Considering research of collocations in particular registers or genres, the studies so far have focused predominantly on identifying formulaic units typical of such areas and on frequency of occurrence of such expressions, rather than neglecting the strength of the collocations and a degree to which registers and genres affect the strength of association between words, as many studies on collocational strengths of word combinations are based on general corpora which just include registers and genres in them as well (Ackermann and Chen 2013).

Brezina, McEnery and Wattam specify three criteria for recognizing collocations, namely *distance* (the span or collocation window left or right of the node word), which in their opinion ranges from between one to five words to both sides; *frequency* (how typical the association of a word is); and *exclusivity* (a large probability that a word will be connected with a certain word preceding or following it) (Brezina, McEnery and Wattam 2015, 140). Gries adds other criteria of collocations which have to be considered, namely *directionality*, connected with the often asymmetrical attraction of two words; *dispersion*, representing the node or collocate distribution in a corpus; and *type-token distribution* among collocates, which is tightly connected with the strength of the specific collocational relationship but also expresses the probability of other collocate types to take the place around the node (Gries 2013, in Brezina, McEnery

and Wattam 2015, 141). Moreover, Brezina, McEnery and Wattam add *connectivity* between individual collocates to the above criteria, resulting in a complex network and a semantic structure of the text or a corpus (2015, 141).

During the 2010s, collocations receive considerable attention, especially in corpora-based language learning studies, utilizing the experience of nearly five decades of studies of collocations. Unlike the past, when research on collocations aims mainly at defining what exactly collocations are, at individual types of collocations and their practical use, the most recent research focuses widely on the study of collocational patterns in language production of the L1 and L2 language speakers and in language learning, as collocations cannot be learnt by analogy and must be memorized. The patterns identified are then used to form hypotheses about language learning and processing (Gablasova, Brezina and McEnery 2017, 156–57). L2 collocation researchers focus predominantly on frequency and statistics of such collocations (i.e., quantitative evidence about a word co-occurrence in corpora); their phraseology (i.e., establishing the semantic relationship between two or more words and the degree of noncompositionality of their meaning); on teaching collocations in the classroom, identifying L2 collocation patterns in corpora, developing classroom materials on L2 collocations, the assessment of L2 knowledge and use of collocations (Gablasova, Brezina and McEnery 2017; Lewis 2000; Barfield and Gyllstad 2009). One conclusion is that L2 learners have difficulties in building L2 collocation knowledge (Barfield and Gyllstad 2009, 95) and miscollocations are often created as a consequence of the L1 rules application. Thanks to the corpus-based approach, collocations are easier to detect in higher quantities and with higher accuracy; collocation errors can also be specified more readily among specific groups of speakers, and corrected and correct forms practised, which increases students' range of vocabulary and their ability to speak and write in a more accurate and natural way (McCarthy and O'Dell 2005, 4).

Conclusion

The paper has focused on collocation research in the English language environment, from the early use of the term to present-day studies and applications. Its main aim was to revise the findings on collocations in historical perspective and to show present-day trends in collocation studies along with their practical applications. While the earlier stages of collocation research focused mainly on defining the term, its length and the position of collocations among other types of formulaic language, such as idioms or other fixed expressions, the approach to collocation studies changed considerably with the advent of computers, which can instantaneously retrieve node words and show the collocates left or right of them, their frequency and occurrence in corpora. This has contributed considerably to the accuracy of collocation studies and enabled the study and analysis of wide collections within spoken or written texts.

Even if collocation as a part of formulaic language has been defined by many linguists, the term collocation is still vague. Contemporary linguists dealing with these word combinations provide their own interpretations of the term, also suggesting

ranges within which it can be used. This paper has demonstrated two main areas of collocation studies today. The first focuses on frequency of word co-occurrence in texts and their semantic relationship, while the second and more practical field strives to identify L2 collocation patterns and collocation mistakes, and on this basis to prepare classroom teaching materials for learning and assessment of L2 knowledge of collocations.

It is not feasible in this forum to mention all factors contributing to identification of collocations or to provide a detailed description of all practical applications connected mainly with L2 collocations learning and understanding. These types of examinations will be the subject of the follow-up research and publications.

Works Cited

Ackermann, Kirsten, and Yu-Hua Chen. 2013. "Developing the Academic Collocation List (ACL): A Corpus-Driven and Expert-Judged Approach." *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 12 (4): 235–47. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jeap.2013.08.002.

Aijmer, Karin, and Bengt Altenberg, eds. 1991. *English Corpus Linguistics: Studies in Honour of Jan Svartvik*. London: Longman.

Bahns, Jens. 1993. "Lexical Collocations: A Contrastive View." *ELT Journal* 47 (1): 56–63. https://doi.org/10.1093/elt/47.1.56.

Baker, Mona. 1992. *In Other Words*. London: Routledge.

Barfield, Andy, and Henrik Gyllstad. 2009. "Introduction: Researching L2 Collocation Knowledge and Development." In *Researching Collocations in Another Language*, edited by Andy Barfield and Henrik Gyllstad, 1–18. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Barlow, Michael. 2004. "Software for Corpus Access and Analysis." In *How to Use Corpora in Language Teaching*, edited by John Sinclair, 205–21. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Bartsch, Sabine. 2004. *Structural and Functional Properties of Collocations in English*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.

Benson, Morton. 1985. "Collocations and Idioms." In *Dictionaries, Lexicography and Language Learning*, edited by Robert Ilson, 61–68. Oxford: Pergamon.

Brezina, Vaclav, Tony McEnery, and Stephen Wattam. 2015. "Collocations in Context: A New Perspective on Collocation Networks." *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 20 (2): 139–73. https://doi.org/10.1075/ijcl.20.2.01bre.

Cowie, Anthony Paul. 1991. "Multiword Units in Newspaper Language." In *Perspectives on the English Lexicon: A Tribute to Jacques Van Roey*, edited by Sylviane Granger, 101–116. Louvain-la-Neuve: Cahiers de I'Institut de Linguistique de Louvain.

Drábková, Lenka. 2008. "A Corporal Analysis of English and Czech Nominal Business Collocations." PhD diss., Masaryk University.

Firth, John Rupert. 1957. "A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930–1955." In *Selected Papers of J. R. Firth*, edited by John Rupert Firth, 168–205. London: Longmans, Green and Company.

Firth, John Rupert. 1951. "Modes of Meaning." In *Papers in Linguistics* 1934–1951, edited

by John Rupert Firth, 190–215. London: Oxford University Press.

Gablasova, Dana, Vaclav Brezina, and Tony McEnery. 2017. "Collocations in Corpus-Based Language Learning Research: Identifying, Comparing and Interpreting the Evidence." *Language Learning* 67 (1): 155–79. https://doi.org/10.1111/lang.12225.

Granger, Sylvaine, and Fanny Meunier, eds. 2008. *Phraseology: An Interdisciplinary Perspective.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Greenbaum, Sidney. 1970. *Verb-Intensifier Collocations in English: An Experimental Approach.* The Hague: Mouton.

Halliday, Michael. 1994. *An Introduction to Functional Grammar.* London: Edward Arnold.

Halliday, Michael. 1961. "Categories of the Theory of Grammar." *Word* 17 (2): 241–92. https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1961.11659756.

Halliday, Michael. 1966. "Lexis as a Linguistic Level." In *In memory of J. R. Firth*, edited by Charles Ernest Bazell, 148–62. London: Longmans.

Howarth, Peter. 1998. "Phraseology and Second Language Proficiency." *Applied Linguistics* 19 (1): 24–44. https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/19.1.24.

Howarth, Peter. 1996. *Phraseology in English Academic Writing: Some Implications for Language Learning and Dictionary Making.* Tubingen: Max Niemayer.

Kjellmer, Goran. 1994. *A Dictionary of English Collocations: Based on the Brown Corpus.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kjellmer, Goran. 1987. "Aspects of English Collocations." In *Corpus Linguistics and Beyond*, edited by Willem Meijs, 133–140. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Lewis, Michal, ed. 2000. *Teaching Collocation: Further Developments in the Lexical Approach.* Hove: Language Teaching.

McCarthy, Michael, and Felicity O'Dell. 2005. *English Collocations in Use.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McEnery, Tony, and Andrew Wilson. 2001. *Corpus Linguistics.* 2nd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

McEnery, Tony, Richard Xiao, and Tono Yukio. 2006. *Corpus-Based Language Studies: An Advanced Resource Book.* London: Routledge.

Palmer, Harold. 1933. "Second Interim Report on English Collocations." Paper presented at the Tenth Annual Conference of English Teachers, Tokyo, Japan, October 1933.

Partington, Alan. 1998. *Patterns and Meanings: Using Corpora for English Language Research and Teaching.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Römer, Ute, and Reiner Schulze, eds. 2009. *Exploring the Lexis-Grammar Interface.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Sinclair, John. 1966. "Beginning the Study of Lexis." In *In memory of J. R. Firth*, edited by Charles Ernest Bazell, 410–30. London: Longmans.

Sinclair, John. 1991. *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sinclair, John, Susan Jones, and Robert Daley. 2004. *English Collocation Studies: The OSTI Report.* London: Continuum.

Stubbs, Michael. 2005. *Words and Phrases.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Perception Verbs as Figurative Devices in Science Writing: Specialized vs. Popular Text Types

Christoph Haase

J. E. Purkyně University, Faculty of Education, English Department,
České mládeže 8, 400 01 Ústí nad Labem, Czech Republic. Email: christoph.haase@ujep.cz

ABSTRACT: To create a foundation for more appropriate use of figurative language in academic writing, I examine the distribution and function of verbs of perception as metaphorical devices in a parallel corpus that represent two parallel registers of natural sciences texts. Initially, register will be separated from its close terminological partner, genre. For Swales (2004), genre is a set of communicative events that includes the purposes of the authors as well as the expectations of the readers. However, for register, Biber's approach is preferred as it leads to more stringent statistical assessment. In this study, verbs of perception are investigated as metaphorical ways of transferring an abstract measurement or observation from the domain of physical (or biochemical) experimentation to the domain of direct bodily experience. As metaphorical devices, they include physical aspects of vision and the subsequent figurative use of vision via physical manipulation. Verbs of perception are abundant in science texts due to their direct conceptualization of otherwise ungraspable or highly abstract phenomena. A quantitative look at these verbs can confirm the intuitive predominance of visual perception but also show the specific distribution of these verbs across the registers. To this end, a parallel corpus of approx. 0.75 million words, the SPACE corpus was created and queried. The verbs of perception were queried from an ad-hoc list of 16 verbs conceived prior to the study.

KEYWORDS: English for Academic Purposes; analogy; figurative speech; metaphor; corpus linguistics

1. Introduction

The study of English for Academic Purposes (EAP) has been characterized by a long-term discussion of terminology and definitions concerning the text types under investigation in this field. While approaches emerging from the functionalist tradition have treated the class of linguistic objects commonly known as science texts as part of text types, subsequent and more refined attempts at discourse analysis have emphasized the use aspects of these texts, which led to a more precise understanding of the linguistic nature of these objects (see Johns 2010). Ever since, this has determined the recent direction the study of EAP has taken, especially beginning with Biber (1995) and Hyon (1996). EAP is often seen as a subfield of second language education; in some educational contexts it is a main focus, for example in North America (Grabe and Kaplan 2010, 62). It developed in the mid- to late 1960s from a subfield of ELT, called EST (English for Science and Technology) and had initially a strong "preoccupation with syllabus design, materials development, and pedagogy" (Benesch 2001, 4). Ways of investigating science texts initially mainly focused on research articles (RA), but recent studies also look at spoken academic language (see the MICASE and MICUSP

projects) as well as curriculum design (Huang 2017, 18). The modern approach is decidedly quantitative with a reliance on mid-size corpora (around 1million words) and under-utilization of methods from corpus linguistics (e.g., Biber 2006; Biber and Barbieri 2007). In its most recent gestalt, the study of EAP also involves the so-called "critical" perspective (as in critical EAP), which questions genre ownership by tying it to (often obscure) "power relationships" within the (biased, anglocentric, gate-keeping) academic community with its established pathways of publishing (for an extreme example, see Benesch 2001). This paper contributes to the genre/register discussion by adding another instrument to the academic writing toolbox. The study is based on a novel corpus with a parallel structure that pairs RAs with articles of popular-science writing to provide a sensible and comparable means of comparison to the original research.

2. Science writing in two registers

2.1 Linguistic features of specialized and popular academic language

Research articles (especially in the natural sciences) of course bear all the hallmarks of academic writing such as highly specified lexical use, an overemphasis on passive-voice structures, markers of author commitment expressed in stance devices etc., (see Aijmer and Stenström 2004). But at the same time in popular science, highly differentiated methods evolved to make the results of original research palatable to a general-academic readership. As the specified lexical items will largely misfire with non-experts, other principles have to take their place (see Haase 2014). A revealing example is the following excerpt of an original RA from the SPACE corpus (see §3).

> (1) 0020AX The Affleck-Dine mechanism is well known as one of the promising candidates to explain the long-standing cosmological problem, baryogenesis, in supersymmetric models. Particularly, the LHu flat direction has been investigated extensively for leptogenesis in the supersymmetric standard model, where the generated lepton number asymmetry is converted with a significant fraction to the baryon number asymmetry through the anomalous electroweak process. In this LHu case, there appears an interesting relation between the baryon number asymmetry and the neutrino masses through the superpotential term (LHu)(LHu). It should here be noticed that the (HuHd)(HuHd) term is implicitly assumed to be larger than the (LHu)(LHu) term. Otherwise, the HuHd would be the flattest direction without producing the lepton number asymmetry.

Any non-expert interested in keeping informed about astrophysical research would have to rely on a "post-processing" of the information – a task that is usually carried out by science journalists. The RA-centered academic writing register can be extended by adding the dimension of the popular-science register, a full register driven by purpose (to inform the non-expert reader). As a result, popular science writing lacks highly differentiated lexical material, has an emphasis on agency (often explaining who carried out the research) as mirrored in active-voice syntax, replacing causation with historical sequence, and is characterized by different markers of stance. A good example can be found below (from corpus file 0020NS):

(2) Quantum foot in the door
All around us are tiny doors that lead to the rest of the Universe. Predicted by Einstein's equations, these quantum wormholes offer a faster-than-light short cut to the rest of the cosmos—at least in principle. Now physicists believe they could open these doors wide enough to allow someone to travel through. Quantum wormholes are thought to be much smaller than even protons and electrons, and until now no one has modelled what happens when something passes through one. So Sean Hayward at Ewha Womans University in Korea and Hisa-aki Shinkai at the Riken Institute of Physical and Chemical Research in Japan decided to do the sums. They have found that any matter travelling through adds positive energy to the wormhole.

This example is especially revealing in the way it uses analogy and figurative language to explain highly abstract phenomena: "foot in the door", "tiny doors", "wormholes". Anecdotal evidence suggests that the register of popular science writing is characterized by systematic figurative language, and that this use is bound to the attributes of the register. It can therefore be revealing to investigate in what way figurative devices in specialized academic language differ from those in popular-academic texts. A working hypothesis for this paper (which represents a subsection of a larger, more comprehensive investigation of this class of linguistic features, see Haase, forthcoming) is that a marked difference persists between academic science writing and popular-science writing, the latter of which, in order to relate to the everyday experiences of its readership, may rely strongly on figurative language. The feature under investigation will be verbs of perception.

2.2   ANALOGY AND FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN SCIENCE WRITING

While the physical sciences have a long history of using visual analogs (see Harrison and Treagust 2006; Gentner 2002) as "core" metaphors, the distribution and usage of metaphors has been identified to also characterize the biosciences. Further, popular science texts from the physical and the biosciences show characteristic signatures. The linguistic creativity of the authors presupposes knowledge of the phenomena they are aiming to describe. As Monaghan and Christiansen put it, "students learning an academic subject such as physics face a … 'bootstrapping' problem: understanding momentum or force presupposes some understanding of the physical laws in which they figure, yet these laws presuppose the concepts they interrelate" (2008, 140). A way to relate these concepts is to systematically map them onto situations and visual imagery that are accessible to all readers, i.e., using analogy. In the natural sciences, analogy-making has a long history, and in countless thought experiments the usefulness of analogy led to new and successful insights. One of the most influential analogies is to liken electromagnetic radiation to mechanical (water) waves by Christiaan Huygens. A modern physicist Richard Feynman notes that molecules in water move similarly to a crowd at a football game (Harrison and Treagust 2006, 15). The systematicity is necessary as "[p]eople prefer to map connected systems of relations governed by higher-order relations with inferential import, rather than isolated predicates." (Gentner 1989, 201).

The literature on analogy and conceptual metaphor and their distribution in texts is

vast (see Gibbs 2008; Trim 2007) and has also found empirical-linguistic application to science writing (see Smith and Beger, forthcoming). Although not identical, analogy, in the above-described Gentnerian sense, is the core of a metaphorical transfer between a source and a target domain. In this treatment, the focus has been explicitly set on the analogy implicit in the figurative (i.e., metaphorical) use of verbs of perception to narrow the set of possible figurative devices in science writing.

3. Data discussion

3.1 Material basis and methodology

The study was carried out against the background of a custom-built, medium-sized corpus that collects current RAs from the natural sciences. This corpus, called SPACE (for Scientific and Popular Academic English, as described in Haase 2013; Haase 2014; Haase 2016), grew around an initial component of original papers from physics and from the biosciences extracted from two pre-print servers: arxiv (arxiv.org) for physics (given corpus samples coded as AX) and PNAS (Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences) (pnas.org) for the biosciences (corpus samples coded as PN). This forms two subcorpora with ca. 1 million words, which can be seen in Table 1. The subcorpora have been sorted into simple top-level ontologies ("descriptors") that represent a condensation of the highly specific descriptors that are used in the different disciplines. The novel aspect of SPACE is that all files in the two core subcorpora are paired with a unique popular-scientific counterpart. In popular science publications like *New Scientist*, the journalist authors process original RAs for shorter summaries (corpus samples coded as NS) that are accessible for the educated reader who is not a specialist in the respective disciplines in the original research. This forms a better means of comparison than most corpora of academic English in which disciplines are compared often in relatively random fashion. SPACE has a further psychology component extracted from the Public Library of Science – Medicine (PLoS, corpus samples coded as PS). The corpus is fully part-of-speech tagged using Treetagger.

Table 1. Domains and word counts in the SPACE corpus (build v. 03, 2015)

subcorpus	descriptors	word count
arXiv	quantum mechanics, particle physics, cosmology	809,320
New Scientist – physics	quantum mechanics, particle physics, cosmology	203,470
Proceedings of the National Academy of Science (PNAS)	biochemistry, genetics/molecular biology, genetic engineering, microbiology	267,105
New Scientist– biosciences	biochemistry, genetics/molecular biology, genetic engineering, microbiology	30,499
Public Library of Science – Medicine (PLoS)	cognitive psychology, clinical psychology	217,254

| New Scientist – psychology | cognitive psychology, clinical psychology | 17,050 |
| Total | | 1,544,698 |

While this corpus has been queried in multiple ways in earlier studies, for this contribution, the subset of verbs of perception has been selected. The reasons for the choice were that this is a relatively narrow and entrenched lexical field that can be subjected well to statistical queries. As a stimulus set, this study concerns verbs of perception in their figurative meaning. This subset of transitive verbs has a primary meaning which is not figurative but concrete, and it concerns the perceiving of real objects or phenomena in the reality of the speaker.

The verbs of perception recognized for this study have been assembled in the lists in Table 2. The lists represent a representative outtake of Gisborne's (2010) suggestion for a study on event structure in perception. Gisborne uses an ontology of agentive, experience and percept classes (2010, 6). In this study, the verbs have been sorted in a simple, three-way ontology of visual, auditory and olfactory as well as tactile/haptic verbs of perception. The list was assembled ad-hoc; not all verbs were found in the corpus.

TABLE 2. VERBS OF PERCEPTION QUERIED IN THE SPACE CORPUS

visual		auditory and olfactory	tactile / haptic
admire	observe	hear	feel
discover	peek	listen	sense
focus	peer	savor	touch
gaze	perceive	smell	
glance	recognize	sniff	
glimpse	see	taste	
goggle	spot		
inspect	squint		
leer	stare		
look at	watch		
notice	witness		

What the verbs have in common is that all refer to default, cognitive standard situations, which means they are accessible as figurative devices, as well as even the uninitiated but interested reader can relate to their application in the literal sense. Syntactically, all accept complements (objects, prepositional objects, and clausal complements). The verbs were queried from the tagged version of the SPACE corpus. For the collocational analysis, AntConc was used.

3.2   Findings and evaluation

The data set for this contribution has been narrowed to verbs of visual perception (V_{visual}). A more comprehensive treatment will be available in Haase, forthcoming. The choice for V_{visual} is determined by their frequency and abundant distribution across all previously mentioned registers. In detail, however, several differences can be discerned. The figures for psychology represent the academic texts as their popular-science counterparts are in many cases multi-source. Table 3 breaks down the raw subtotals in absolute figures for the most frequent V_{visual}:

Table 3. Subtotals for most frequent V_{visual} (adapted from Haase 2010, 9)

verb	physics popular	academic	subtotal	biosciences popular	academic	subtotal	psychology	total
discover	7	20	27	15	17	22	12	71
focus	2	21	23	4	21	25	3	51
notice	10	13	23	3	4	7	16	46
observe	18	123	141	1	182	193	246	570
perceive	1	2	3	1	25	26	101	130
recognize	0	4	4	3	23	26	8	38
see	74	305	379	28	264	292	219	890

The large differences in the raw data are striking, but they are partly due to the different sizes of the subcorpora. As mentioned, in the SPACE corpus the approach of comparability was taken to ensure that not wildly diverging science fields or even content aspects are compared. For this reason, every single RA in the academic subcorpora has a popular-science counterpart. This comparability criterion, however, comes at a cost – the original RAs are considerably longer than the popular-science texts (which range from short summaries to longer feature articles). It is therefore necessary to compare the normalized results.

Table 4. Normalized distribution of the V_{visual} per 100k words

verb	physics popular	academic	biosciences popular	academic	psychology	total
discover	17.20	12.36	49.18	2.62	5.52	17.38
focus	4.91	12.97	13.12	7.86	1.38	8.05
notice	24.57	8.03	9.84	1.50	7.36	10.26
observe	44.23	79.08	3.28	47.92	113.23	57.55
perceive	2.46	1.24	3.28	9.36	46.49	12.56

| *recognize* | 0.00 | 2.47 | 9.84 | 8.61 | 3.68 | 4.92 |
| *see* | 181.84 | 188.43 | 91.81 | 98.84 | 100.80 | 132.34 |

As evidenced by the figures, there is in details a drastic difference between the academic and popular-science texts but the value of this finding is impaired by the overall low total count of the items. *See* is most frequent figuratively but also literally (where it usually refers to an in-text reference as in "see graph X" or a reference to the literature). *Observe* is frequent in the specialized physics and biosciences texts but infrequent in popular physics and nearly nonexistent in popular bioscience (with a single token). The difference may be due to biological processes being more dynamic and less abstract than the physical processes where the observation often concerns a data point or an astrophotographic image rather than a moving object and it may be one explanation for the academic vs. popular-science difference. Still, the low indication in popular-science texts surprises. The difference can be illustrated in the following examples from the corpus:

> (3) 0004AX Since any small departure from equilibrium would reveal the underlying nonlocal physics, our present inability to **observe** nonlocality directly (as opposed to indirectly)

> (4) 0002NS This implies that the particles **observe** a spatial symmetry called Lorenz invariance that is, frames moving with constant velocity all see the same

> (5) 0105PN to possible mutagenic activity in the germ line. We **observe** significant elevation of lethality during development

While *observe* is has obviously polysemous components, in these usages the action carried out by the authors (in one case even in active voice) is non-visual. Instead, in all cases, *observe* does not concern a direct phenomenon but a representation of it in data (elevation, 0105PN) or an abstract concept (in both physics registers, 0004AX and 0002NS). This effect can also be seen in the case of *notice*.

> (6) 0032NS Although the space-time around you is grossly warped - another way of saying that gravity is immensely strong - you **notice** nothing untoward happening, just as you don't normally **notice** the effects of Earth's gravity.

> (7) 0016AX approximation since the period of oscillation is so long. **Notice** that the width of the transition is controlled by Double precision limits require that zT / < 100 while the constraint that w = wf at z = 0 implies that

The examples illustrate that the popular-science physics text uses *notice* twice in its literal sense. The academic physics RA uses the figurative sense.

Figure 1 displays the proportions of literal and figurative uses of the five most frequent V_{visual} across all registers. The specific details will be treated after that.

In all cases, the majority is with the literal uses. An explanation for this could be that we are looking at the distribution in the natural sciences where the backbone of all theory-making is formed by a concrete and present phenomenon of objective reality.

Figure 1. Ratio of figurative to literal uses (all subcorpora)
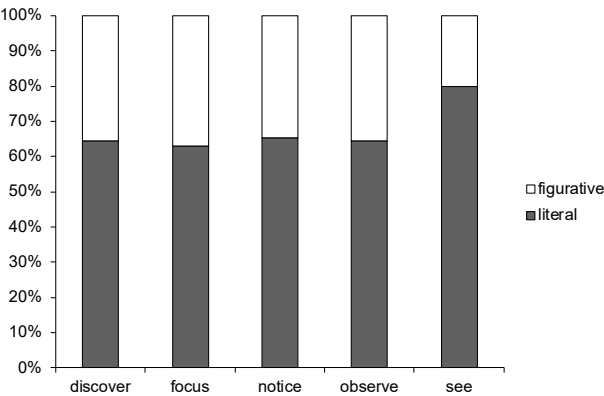
The high share of *see* as a literal verb of perception is strongly biased by the abundant use of *see* as a reference marker, but all these uses are literal uses as the seeing concerns a real object, for example a graph or a table. *See* as a figurative way of expressing comprehension or realization is rare across all registers.

To better ascertain if a use can be considered literal or figurative, it is revealing to consider the complementation of the verbs, as the nominal objects or object clauses offer clues as to whether the object of perception is "real" or metaphorical. This is compiled in Table 5.

Table 5. V$_{\text{visual}}$ and their literal and figurative complementations

	discover	focus	notice	observe	see
ac phys					
total	20	21	14	122	263
figurative	14 (70.0%)	14 (66.7%)	6 (42.9%)	54 (44.3%)	52 (19.8%)
pop-ac phys					
total	7	1	9	18	73
figurative	4 (57.1%)	0 (0.0%)	6 (66.7%)	7 (38.9%)	21 (28.8%)
ac bio					
total	17	20	4	177	244
figurative	8 (47.1%)	10 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)	114 (64.4%)	66 (27.0%)
pop-ac bio					
total	12	4	3	1	28
figurative	5 (41.7%)	3 (75.0%)	2 (66.7%)	0 (0.0%)	15 (53.6%)

The table displays the proportion of literal and figurative uses of the verbs of visual perception to show marked differences among the sub-corpora (although the numbers are small). In absolute numbers, again, a dominance of *see* is visible; only

a small proportion here are metaphorical uses. The literal uses can be attested to in the abundance of complementation with *figure*, *graph* or *table*. An interesting verb is *observe*, with a surprising number of metaphorical uses. No clear pattern for sub-corpus-specific attribution emerges. Finally, to compare the major registers represented in the corpus, the different profiles created by the frequencies and distribution of the main V_{visual} are presented.

FIGURE 2. DISTRIBUTION OF V_{VISUAL} IN PHYSICS (A) AND IN THE BIOSCIENCES (B)

a)   b)
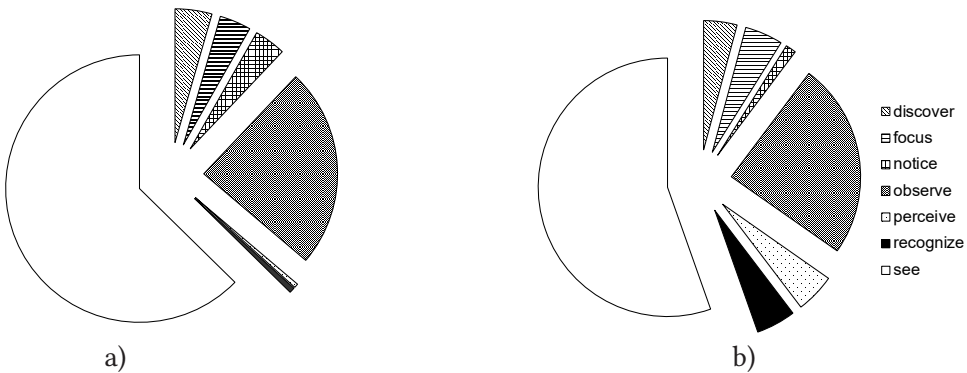
Most strikingly, both distributions are relatively similar in the shares for *see* and *observe*, however physics texts operate with negligible amounts of *recognize* and *perceive*. A real register difference seems only to emerge when going beyond the main data set and looking at the profile that emerges when the data is plotted for the psychology subcorpus:

FIGURE 3. DISTRIBUTION OF V_{VISUAL} IN THE PSYCHOLOGY SUBCORPUS
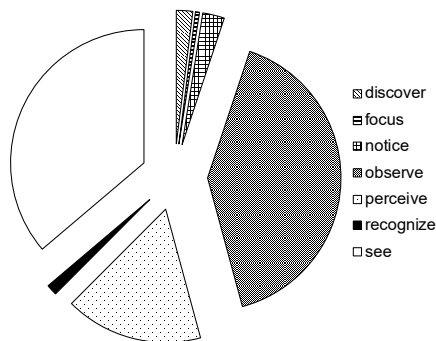
In psychology, the low scores for *focus* and *recognize* surprise. The low incidence of *discover* may be due to the objects and topics of research that rely less on discovery than on observation of behavior or performance under controlled conditions. As in the other sub-corpora, *observe* is a substantial component, as in:

(8) 0208PS A similar but nonsignificant trend was also **observed** on four of the five remaining amygdalar electrodes within the same time window.
An intermediate result of this is that the true dividing line may not persist between the registers but the global science disciplines (see §4).

4. Conclusion

The data discussed in this contribution tried to assess general register differences (specialized-academic versus popular-science writing) against the background of two divergent disciplines, physics and biosciences. This was investigated in the case of verbs of perception, which can be used literally but also figuratively. It was hypothesized that a marked difference between those registers would emerge. In sum and on average, literal uses still dominate, but this was attributed to the nature of the fields as natural-science disciplines. The register differences overall were small. A true contender for showing marked differences could be obtained by plotting the data against a social science, psychology. However, it needs to be emphasized that the data discussed here gave a survey over academic disciplines that are extremely diverse. For example, the simple ontology used here for physics (three descriptors) is matched by a much more sophisticated ontology on arxiv (134 descriptors). A closer look at more refined text types therefore could reveal differences that are not covered in this study.

Works Cited

Aijmer, Karin, and Anna-Brita Stenström. 2004. "Discourse Patterns in Spoken and Written Corpora." In *Discourse Patterns in Spoken and Written Corpora*, edited by Karin Aijmer and Anna Brita Stenström, 1–13. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Benesch, Sarah. 2001. *Critical English for Academic Purposes: Theory, Politics, and Practice.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Biber, Douglas. 1995. *Dimensions of Register Variation: A Cross-Linguistic Comparison.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Biber, Douglas. 2006. "Stance in Spoken and Written University Registers." *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 5 (2): 97–116. doi:10.1016/j.jeap.2006.05.001.

Biber, Douglas, and Federica Barbieri. 2007. "Lexical Bundles in University Spoken and Written Registers." *English for Specific Purposes* 26 (3): 263–86. doi:10.1016/j.esp.2006.08.003

Gentner, Dedre. 1989. "The Mechanisms of Analogical Learning." In *Similarity and Analogical Reasoning*, edited by Stella Vodniadou and Andrew Ortony, 199–241. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gentner, Dedre. 2002. "Analogy in Scientific Discovery: The Case of Johannes Kepler." In *Model-Based Reasoning: Science, Technology, Values*, edited by L. Magnani and Nancy J. Nersessian, 21–39. New York: Kluwer Academic.

Gibbs, Raymond W. Jr., ed. 2008. *The Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gisborne, Nikolas. 2010. *The Event Structure of Perception Verbs.* Oxford: Oxford

University Press.

Grabe, William, and Robert B. Kaplan. 2010. "Regional Studies: North America." In *Concise Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*, edited by Margie Berns and Keith Brown, 59–65. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Haase, Christoph. 2010. "Mediating between the 'Two Cultures' in Academia: The Role of Conceptual Metaphor." *Discourse and Interaction* 3(1): 5–18.

Haase, Christoph. 2013. "The Science of Science in SPACE." In *English for Academic Purposes: Practical and Theoretical Approaches*, edited by Christoph Haase and Josef Schmied, 1–18. Göttingen: Cuvillier.

Haase, Christoph. 2014. "A Register Approach to Analogy in Science Texts: Popular Vs. Specialized Text Types." *Discourse and Interaction* 7(1): 33–48. doi:10.5817/DI2014-1-33.

Haase, Christoph. 2016. "Analogy and Causation in Natural Science English: A Cross-Register View." *International Journal of Language and Applied Linguistics* 2 (3): 105–126. http://www.khatesefid.com/journal/wp-content/uploads/2016/12/105-126.pdf.

Haase, Christoph. Forthcoming. "Verbs of Perception as Metaphorical Devices in the Natural Sciences: A Corpus Study of Specialized and Popular Text Types." In *Metaphor and Metonymy in the Sciences*, edited by Tom Smith and Anke Beger. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Harrison, Allan G., and David F. Treagust. 2006. "Teaching and Learning with Analogies." In *Metaphor and Analogy in Science Education*, edited by Peter J. Aubusson, Allan G. Harrison, and Stephen M. Ritchie, 11–24. Berlin: Springer.

Huang, Ju Chuan. 2017. "What Do Subject Experts Teach about Writing Research Articles? An Exploratory Study." *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 25: 18–29. doi:10.1016/j.jeap.2016.10.004.

Hyon, Sunny. 1996. "Genre in Three Traditions: Implications for ESL." *TESOL Quarterly* 30 (4): 693–722. doi:10.2307/3587930.

Johns, Angela. 2010. "Pedagogy of Languages for Specific Purposes." In *Concise Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*, edited by Margie Berns and Keith Brown, 318–23. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Monaghan, Padraic, and Morten H. Christiansen. 2008. "Integration of Multiple Probabilistic Cues in Syntax Acquisition." In *Corpora in Language Acquisition Research: History, Methods, Perspectives*, edited by Heike Behrens, 139–164. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Smith, Tom, and Anke Beger., eds. Forthcoming. *Metaphor and Metonymy in the Sciences*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Swales, John M. 1990. *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Swales, John M. 2004. *Research Genres: Explorations and Applications*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Trim, Richard. 2007. *Metaphor Networks: The Comparative Evolution of Figurative Language*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Corpora and data sources

Cornell University. *arXiv*. e-print service. Cornell University Library. http://arxiv.org.

Haase, Christoph. 2013. *The Corpus of Scientific and Popular Academic English* (SPACE). Corpus built for "The Science of Science in SPACE," by Christoph Haase, in *English for Academic Purposes: Practical and Theoretical Approaches*, edited by Christoph Haase and Josef Schmied, 1–18. Göttingen: Cuvillier.

Lawrence, Anthony. 2016. *AntConc* (version 3.4.4). http://www.laurenceanthony .net/ software/ antconc/.

The Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE). The Regents of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/micase/.

The Michigan Corpus of Upper-level Student Papers (MICUSP). The Regents of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. http://micusp.elicorpora.info/.

The Penn Treebank Project. *Penn Treebank and TreeTagger*. University of Pensylvania. https://www.cis.upenn.edu/~treebank/.

Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. *PNAS*. National Academy of Sciences. http://pnas.org.

Public Library of Science – Medicine. *PLoS*. PLoS nonprofit 501(c)(3) corporation, San Francisco. http://plos.org.

The Themes of Strangeness and Familiarity in British and Slovak Tourist Texts: A Study of Evaluative Adjectives

Danica Maleková

Catholic University, Faculty of Arts, Department of English Language and Literature, Hrabovská cesta 1, 034 01 Ružomberok, Slovakia. Email: danica.malekova@ku.sk

ABSTRACT: This paper examines the use of evaluative adjectives semantically associated with the themes of strangeness and familiarity as employed in British and Slovak tourist texts, as well as that of the nouns that they modify. The analysis is data-driven, based on a comparison of two equivalent corpora in both languages. The cross-cultural comparison is instructive from the point of view of understanding cultural biases stemming from differing value prioritization. The research shows that while the inclination on the British side seems to be towards the strange and more active, the Slovak cultural setting favours the familiar associated with the values of peace and quiet.

KEYWORDS: tourist industry; tourist texts; evaluative adjectives; cultural value bias; stranger-hood; familiarity

1. INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of mass tourism can be traced to the rise of modernity fuelled by industrialization, with the Anglophone cultures thus playing a crucial role in both its origination and proliferation. Urry (2002, 2) points out that "acting as a tourist is one of the defining characteristics of being 'modern' and is bound up in major transformations in paid work." He highlights the notion of a "tourist gaze," a particular way of seeing the world, which is somehow extraordinary, or opposite to the ordinary daily life.

In fact, extensive reflections on tourism were made by sociologists throughout the second half of the twentieth century. In general terms, four major themes were identified – *authenticity*, *stranger-hood*, *play* and *constructivism*. The four socially defined themes are factors underlying discourse manifestations, giving rise to a distinct tourist language with specific features and modes (cf. Dann 1996). Dann's observation has since been endorsed by numerous recent studies, e.g., Gotti (2006), Cappelli (2006), Francesconi (2007), Palusci and Francesconi (2006), Fodde and Denti (2005).

Authenticity as a dominating theme is highlighted in the works of MacCannell (1976) and Graburn (1977) who explain it as a reaction of the "modernity man" to the deterioration of the social structures. A more authentic lifestyle is thus sought in the foreign countries or secluded areas, which can be evidenced by words such as *pure* or *panenský* [virgin] which frequently occur in texts promoting tourism.

The importance of *stranger-hood* has been asserted in the scholarship of Cohen (1972, 1979), attributing the main motivation to travel to the desire for strangeness,

with familiarity as a compensating factor. Tourist texts face the challenge of finding strategies to reconcile the two opposite goals, which can be detected in expressions such as *a cosy apartment with extraordinary views*. Although there are grounds for *authenticity* and *stranger-hood* to feature as distinct categories, they are both closely related to the socio-psychological motives of escape from the routine, clutter and busyness of the modern industrial life (Dann 2012, 60).

The themes of *play* and *constructivism* are linked to the ideology of consumerism. The perspective of play derives from the notion of "conspicuous consumption" (Dann 2011) as well as from the observations of later modern and postmodern thinkers such as Huizinga, Foucault and Baudrillard. Similarly, *constructivism* aims at critique of the dominant ideology permeating the working of tourist industry reiterating "restrictive, monological and heavily capitalized worldviews which tend to help concretise pseudo-colonialist, urban-industrial and pungently North-Atlantic/Jeudo-Christian certitudes upon alterity" (Hollinshead and Jamal 2001, 64).

Dann's outline of four guiding themes is complemented by Pagano's (2014, 180) three-tier classification of theoretical positions permeating scholarly thought on tourism, i.e., *authenticity*, *stranger-hood* and *conflict*, with the latter pertaining to the power relations constituting the imagery central to the tourist industry (cf. Said 1978). In fact, however, the premises are akin to the two previously mentioned paradigms, as the ideological stance is that of strong criticism of the Western values and attitudes, which makes the framework perfectly compatible with that of Dann.

The language of tourism, as well as its social context, has also been treated by a number of scholars in Central European academia, witnessing a very dynamic development of the discourse. Jettmarova, Piotrowska and Zauberga (1997) see the rise of commercial tourism after the fall of the Iron Curtain as a major force driving unusual linguistic processes, redefining generic norms, which sometimes leads to a "clash of linguistic and cultural norms" (1997, 186).

This paper explores the key theme of stranger-hood. In sociology, the perspective of stranger-hood is mostly traced in the works of Cohen (1972; 1979), who highlights the interplay between the desire for strangeness on the one hand and familiarity on the other. In terms of language use, this can be evidenced by phrases such as *x is a perfect base for exploring the countryside*, where the semantics of the lexeme *base* combines both security and the possibility of adventure. By detailed analysis of actual linguistic data in tourist texts operating in two distinct cultural environments, British and Slovak, light will be shed on the prominent role of the theme(s). Moreover, this will allow the uncovering of cultural biases, if any.

2. DATA AND METHODOLOGY

For the purposes of the present study, the research data consist of two corpora of short blurbs promoting small-scale accommodation (mostly cottages) in the areas of the Lake District and the Scottish Highlands in Great Britain and the mountainous parts of northern Slovakia. They include 53 and 72 short descriptions respectively. The number

of words in each corpus is 10,000. The texts were selected by applying a location/ type of facility filter for searching on websites promoting recreational facilities (www. tripadvisor.co.uk and www.ubytujsa.sk). All the data were collected in 2015. The two corpora provide fair and fertile ground for comparison owing to generic compatibility, the same length, and almost identical mode of presentation via websites.

In terms of linguistic structures analysed, the study focuses on evaluative adjectives, which, besides their clear evaluative function, constitute one of the most important stylistic markers of tourist discourse. According to Fairclough (2003, 172), the cognitive structuring of desirability/undesirability assumes the form of "evaluative statements." These are "in the most obvious cases realized as relational processes [...] the evaluative element is in the attribute, which may be an adjective or a noun phrase." However, "evaluations are often embedded within phrases [...] rather than made as statements. We can say that 'this awful book' presupposes the evaluative statement 'this book is awful'" (Fairclough 2003, 172–73). Arguably, the former structure could be classed as a more sophisticated, or concealed persuasive means, as it is less open to questioning by the recipient. Compare

a. This book is *awful*.

b. This *awful* book is lying on my table.

That the proposition is embedded in a noun phrase makes it more implicit and thus harder to doubt. For this reason, Jeffries (2014, 413) finds the cognitive structuring of noun phrases to be a relevant target for checking ideological/value-based biases. Although evaluation is not restricted to adjectives, they are, with their semantic role of attributes, its most prototypical carriers, e.g., *good/bad* for moral evaluation, *beautiful/ ugly* for aesthetic evaluation or *pleasant/disgusting* for affective evaluation. As summed up by Huddlestone and Pullum (2002, 527), "if a language has adjectives, it will always have one that means 'good' [...] and nearly always another meaning 'bad'."

The present corpus-based study thus collects the list of evaluative adjectives semantically related to the strangeness – familiarity dichotomy as employed in the premodifying position within noun phrases, which form the basis for a cross-linguistic comparison. Although not all evaluative adjectives in the corpus appear in an attributive position as premodifiers of nouns, it is still true in most cases. In the English corpus, 94% of evaluative adjectives act syntactically as premodifiers, while in the Slovak analogue the ratio is 91%. The major semantic category of evaluative adjectives positioned predicatively is "absolutes", i.e., words such as *ideal*, *perfect*, *ideálny* [ideal] or *výborný* [excellent]. Lexical items connoting the targeted dichotomy are marginal in terms of frequency, counting 3 units in English and one in Slovak. These were disregarded in the present study, as it focuses on the NP structure, and NP heads are taken into account as the targets of evaluation. Even though the proportion of the analysed evaluative adjectives in the English corpus is much higher than in the Slovak one – approximately 3% (311 tokens) and 2% (209 tokens) respectively, the selected linguistic data should provide a sound basis for comparing the relative prominence of the selected themes in the discourses hosted by the two cultures.

3. Data analysis

The adjectives classed under the category "strange" connote the out-of-the-ordinary experience as a motivating factor in tourism, including lexical items such as d*ramatic, awe-inspiring, exceptional, úžasný* [stunning]. On the other hand, the label "familiar" is applied here to cover associations with concepts where no out-of-the-ordinary experiences are sought represented by words such as *quiet, relaxing, comfortable, tichý* [quiet], *príjemný* [pleasant], *komfortný* [comfortable]. Alongside the sense of familiarity, it also covers the meaning of peace and quiet as found in the values of home and private as opposed to the public.

The importance of the two categories in terms of general distribution of semantic categories featured by evaluative adjectives varies in the two corpora. While in English the themes of strangeness and familiarity play a crucial role, occupying the top two ranks, this is not the case in Slovak, where the most salient category is "beautiful", followed by "familiar". The category "strange" does not gain prominence in terms of frequency. Absolute distribution of the categories "strange" and "familiar" in both languages is shown in the following Table 1.

Table 1 Absolute distribution of premodifying evaluative adjectives featuring in the semantic categories "strange" and "familiar" in the English and Slovak data.

	English	Slovak
"strange"	0.72%	0.12%
"familiar"	0.58%	0.49%

In English, both themes can be classified as prominent, with the difference between their respective ranks not very marked. Such a finding would confirm the prominence of the theme highlighted by the previously noted sociological reflections. The pattern, however, is not confirmed by the Slovak data, where the importance of the theme related to "extraordinary experience", a factor so frequently stressed by the sociology scholarship, is quite low, and does not seem to be the leading element in terms of holidaymaking desires. This could lead to questioning (and possible revision) of the sociology findings, possibly reflecting what might be an Anglophone bias.

The comparison is striking when relative frequencies of the categories of evaluative adjectives (i.e., the proportional representation of the given semantic category in the total of evaluative adjectives) are shown side by side; see Table 2.

Table 2. Relative distribution of attributive evaluative adjectives featuring in the categories "strange" and "familiar" in the English and Slovak data.

	English	Slovak
"strange"	23.2%	5.7%
"familiar"	18.6%	23.4%

While the theme of familiarity is highly represented in Slovak (almost every fourth evaluative adjective), asserting its position of the key motivator, it cannot really be viewed as a pendant to its strangeness counterpart the way it is configured in the English corpus. The overall comparison rather confirms Urry's claim (2002, 1) that "there is no single tourist gaze as such. It varies by society, by social group and by historical period." Let us now take a more detailed look at what meaning patterns can be traced in relation to the adjectives used.

3.1 The strange

The category of strangeness displays relatively high lexical variability in both corpora, i.e., 29.2% in English and 41.7% in Slovak. This means that the level of type repetition is relatively low, while account needs to be taken of the greater amount of both types and tokens in the English data. In concrete terms, the category covers 21 types with 72 tokens in English, and 5 types with 12 tokens in Slovak. The following Table 3 shows a list of all the respective types, and the number of their occurrences in the two corpora.

Table 3. List of types subsumed under the category "strange" in English and Slovak and the number of their occurrences in the respective data, ordered by frequency.

English	No. of occurrences	Slovak	No. of occurrences
stunning	20		
wonderful	6	*romantický* [romantic]	7
romantic	6		
spectacular	5	*úžasný* [stunning]	2
exceptional	5	*netradičný* [non-traditional]	1
amazing	4	*svojrázny* [peculiar]	1
dramatic	3	*rázovitý* [characteristic]	1
fantastic	3		
lush	3		
impressive	2		
fabulous	2		
character	2		
outstanding	2		

special	2	
awe inspiring	1	
breath-taking	1	
vibrant	1	
ever-changing	1	
exclusive	1	
incredible	1	
mysterious	1	
TOTAL	72	12

As can be seen from the choice of the respective lexical units, the English ones, in general, tend to score higher on the intensity scale, while their Slovak counterparts are more neutral in this respect. Even more importantly, however, the English adjectives are in greater proportion derived from verbs that still operate in the current lexicon: *stunning – to stun; wonderful – to wonder; amazing – to amaze; impressive – to impress; awe inspiring – to inspire (awe); breath-taking – to take (breath); vibrant – to vibrate; ever-changing – to change*; compared to only one such unit in Slovak, i.e., *úžasný – žasnúť* [stunning – to stun]. Judged by the number of tokens, the difference is even more pronounced, where in English the deverbal adjectives represent 36 out of the total of 72 units, which amounts to one half, the analogous ratio in Slovak is 2 out of 12, which is only one-sixth. This leads to the observation that the conceptual sources of the semantic category strangeness are more intensely sourced by action and dynamism, while the Slovak conceptual information behind the category is almost exclusively related to the static end of the scale. This finding can be further supported by the number of *-ing* suffixes in English (5 types with 29 tokens), akin to the active participle structure, while they have no pendant in the Slovak data, which would be represented by the suffix *-úci* and its variants.

Further interesting inferences can be made when comparing the lexico-semantic features of the head nouns modified by the adjectives in question. These have been classified into 9 categories, covering PERCEPTION (e.g., *view*), TIME (e.g., *evening, chvíle* [moments]), ACTIVITY (e.g., *walk*), ACCOMMODATION (e.g., *terrace, chalupa* [cottage]), AREA/NATURE (e.g., *countryside, prostredie* [setting]), ASPECT (e.g., *feature*), ESCAPE (e.g., *hideaway*), RELATIONSHIP (e.g., *couples*), and RELAXATION (e.g., *oddych* [relaxation]). The following table shows proportionate representation of each sememe in the given selection of head nouns.

Table 4. The number of head nouns premodified by evaluative adjectives of the category "strange" according to the semantic categories that dominate their meaning.

	English	%	Slovak	%
PERCEPTION	17	23.6	0	0
TIME	3	4.2	5	41.6
ACTIVITY	8	11.1	0	0
ACCOMMODATION	8	11.1	1	8.3
AREA/NATURE	18	25	5	41.6
ASPECT	4	5.6	0	0
ESCAPE	3	4.2	0	0
RELATIONSHIP	1	1.4	0	0
RELAXATION	0	0	1	8.3
TOTAL	72	100	12	100

Apart from ACCOMMODATION, which is the object of promotion, the selection of categories is revealing of the preferred values. As can be seen from the table, the English data stress the sememes of AREA/NATURE (25%) and PERCEPTION (23.6%), while in Slovak the focus is on AREA/NATURE (41.6%) and TIME (41.6%). The inherently static concept referring to PLACE (AREA/NATURE) is, relatively, almost twice as pronounced in the Slovak data as it is in the English analogue. Further, in English, importance is granted to PERCEPTION on the part of the traveller, largely visual (*views, vistas*), a concept that is not associated with strangeness in the Slovak data at all. Here, emphasis is placed on TIME largely in the sense of BEING (*pobyt* [stay], *prežitie* [spending (time)], *chvíle* [moments]). Last but not least, the frequent combination of strangeness descriptors with ACTIVITY in English (mostly connected to walking) is not matched in Slovak, where RELAXATION is more prominent. It can be concluded that in the Slovak data, the aspect of time and space is preferred, while the English corpus features a more balanced distribution including the more anthropocentric perspective (PERCEPTION, ACTIVITY).

3.2 The familiar

As for the category "familiar", lexical variability differs between the two corpora, reaching 31% in English and 18.3% in Slovak. This means that in the latter case the level of repetition is quite high. Table 5 shows the distribution of types with the respective number of tokens in the given category.

Table 5. List of types subsumed under the category "familiar" in English and Slovak and the number of their occurrences in the respective data, ordered by frequency.

English	No. of occurrences	Slovak	No. of occurrences
comfortable	10	*tichý* [quiet]	15
	10	*príjemný* [pleasant]	14
cosy	8	*komfortný* [comfortable]	6
quiet	6	*pokojný* [peaceful]	4
relaxing	5	*kľudný* [peaceful]	3
secluded	4	*útulný* [cosy]	3
secure	4		2
delightful	4	*typický* [characteristic]	2
peaceful	3	*nenápadný* [inconspicuous]	1
tranquil	2	*pasívny* [passive]	1
home	2		
homely	2		
warm	2		
rural	1		
relaxed	1		
idyllic	1		
getaway	1		
"getaway-from-it-all"	1		
pleasant	1		
TOTAL	58		49

Although in absolute terms, the theme seems to be slightly more prominent in the English corpus, this is not so if relative representation of each category is taken into account, as shown in Table 2, where familiarity is slightly more represented in Slovak (23.4% versus 18.6% in English). This is because there is a stronger tendency towards

positive evaluation in the English genre of tourist texts, as has been shown in another study dealing with premodification in general (cf. Maleková 2016).

In terms of lexical units feeding the category "familiar", the concept of quiet (*quiet, peaceful, tranquil, tichý* [quiet], *pokojný* [peaceful], *kľudný* [peaceful]) is more strongly present in Slovak than in English (see Table 5 above). In English, on the other hand, the theme of escape is lexicalized (*secluded, getaway, "getaway-from-it-all"*), which is not mirrored in the Slovak data. Contrary to English, Slovak endows the lexemes *pasívny* [passive] as in *pasívny oddych* [passive relaxation] and *nenápadný* [inconspicuous] as in *nenápadná dedina* [inconspicuous village] with positive evaluation, which could hardly be the case in the Anglophone cultures. The tendency towards more passive and static, present in the conceptual sources of the evaluative adjectives in Slovak, can also be traced if NP heads are considered; see Table 6.

Table 6. The number of head nouns premodified by evaluative adjectives of the category "familiar" according to the semantic categories that dominate their meaning.

	English	%	Slovak	%
TIME	2	3.4	2	4.1
ACTIVITY	6	10.3	2	4.1
ACCOMMODATION	24	41.4	14	28.6
AREA/NATURE	13	31	24	49
ASPECT	1	1.7	0	0
ESCAPE	7	12.1	1	2
RELATIONSHIP	5	8.6	0	0
RELAXATION	0	0	6	12.2
TOTAL	58	100	49	100

Again, disregarding the ACCOMMODATION related head nouns, where the marketed object is promoted directly, the divergent inclinations in the two cultures are noticeable. While almost half of the Slovak head nouns associated with the positive evaluation of familiarity are sourced by the inherently static concept of AREA/NATURE (dominated by the lexeme *prostredie* [setting]), the respective proportion in the English data only amounts to one third of the units. In English, on the other hand, the themes of EMOTION (*feel, atmosphere*), ACTIVITY (*walks*) and ESCAPE (*hideaway, retreat*) are frequently evoked, which is unparalleled in the Slovak selection. Their compensation could be sought for in the lexemes subsumed under the category of RELAXATION (*pohoda* [wellbeing], *oddych* [relaxation], *posedenie* [sit-down, get-together]), which connote non-activity rather than escape. Finally, the category of ACTIVITY is highlighted three times as frequently in English as it is in the Slovak corpus. All of this gives grounds to conclude that the importance placed on activity in the Anglophone setting is significantly higher than it is in the Slovak one.

4. Conclusion

The data-driven research into linguistic coding of the themes of strangeness and familiarity in the tourist discourse functioning in two cultural settings has revealed stark differences between the values drawn on by the British and the Slovak cultures. While the former gravitates towards the strange and activity, the latter gives more prominence to the values of the familiar coupled with peace and quiet. This has been made evident from the relative distribution of the evaluative adjectives designating the opposing values of strangeness related to out-of-the-ordinary experience and familiarity aligned with the values of peace and quiet, where no extraordinary experiences are sought, in the two corpora, as well as by a more detailed analysis of the actual adjectival lexemes employed and the semantics of the nouns that they modify. Furthermore, the findings reveal a certain bias in the sociology of tourism towards universalizing the Anglophone perspective.

Works cited

Cappelli, Gloria. 2006. *Sun, Sea, Sex and the Unspoilt Countryside: How the English Language Makes Tourists Out of Readers*. Paris: Pari.
Cohen, Erik. 1972. "Towards a Sociology of International Tourism." *Social Research* 39 (1): 164–82.
Cohen, Erik. 1979. "Rethinking the Sociology of Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 6 (1): 18–35. doi:10.1177/004728758001800368.
Dann, Graham. 2011. "Enlightening Tourism." *A Pathmaking Journal* 1 (1): 1–30.
Dann, Graham. 2012. "Remodelling a Changing Language of Tourism: From Monologue to Dialogue and Trialogue." *PASOS* 10 (4): 59–70.
Dann, Graham. 1996. *The Language of Tourism: A Sociolinguistic Perspective*. Wallingford: CAB International.
Fairclough, Norman. 2003. *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.
Fodde, Luisanna, and Olga Denti. 2005. "Cross-cultural Representations in Tourist Discourse: The Image of Sardinia in English Tourist Guides." In *Cross-cultural Encounters: Linguistic Perspective*, edited by Marina Bondi and Nick Maxwell, 116–29. Roma: Officina Edizioni.
Francesconi, Sabrina. 2007. *English for Tourism Promotion: Italy in British Tourism Texts*. Milano: Hoepli.
Gotti, Maurizio. 2006. "The Language of Tourism as a Specialized Discourse." In *Translating Tourism: Linguistic / Cultural Representations*, edited by Oriana Palusci and Sabrina Francesconi, 15–34. Trento: Editrice Universitá delgi Studi di Trento.
Graburn, Nelson. 1977. "Tourism: The Sacred Journey." In *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, edited by Valene L. Smith, 21–36. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Hollinshead, Keith, and Tazim Jamal. 2011. "Delving into Discourse: Excavating the In-

built Power-Logic(s) of Tourism." *Tourism Analysis* 6 (1): 63–73.

Huddlestone, Rodney, and Geoffrey K. Pullum. 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jeffries, Lesley. 2014. "Critical Stylistics." In *The Routledge Handbook of Stylistics*, edited by Michael Burke, 408–20. London: Routledge.

Jettmarova, Zuzana, Maria Piotrowska, and Ieva Zauberga. 1997. "New Advertising Markets as Target Areas for Translation." In *Translation as Intercultural Communication: Selected Papers from the EST Congress Prague 1995*, edited by Mary Snell-Hornby, Zuzana Jettmarova and Klaus Kaindl, 185–94. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Maleková, Danica. 2016. "'Stunning Views' vs. 'Pleasant Surroundings': What Values Do the British and Slovak Tourist Texts Promote?" In *Discourse and Ideology: Studies in Critical Stylistics*, edited by Milan Ferenčík and Klaudia Bednárová-Gibová, 71–82. Prešov: Filozofická fakulta Prešovskej univerzity.

MacCannell, Dean. 1976. *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pagano, Ninfa. 2014. "Tourism Destination Image and Irish Websites." *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 5 (8-1): 178–88.

Palusci, Oriana, and Sabrina Francesconi, eds. 2006. *Translating Tourism: Linguistic / Cultural Representations*. Trento: Editrice Universitá degli Studi di Trento.

Said, Edward W. 1978. *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Urry, John. 2002. *The Tourist Gaze*. 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Natural Kind Terms
and Folk Taxonomies

Radek Vogel

Masaryk University, Faculty of Education, Department of English Language and Literature,
Poříčí 9, 603 00 Brno, Czech Republic. Email: vogel@ped.muni.cz

Abstract: Folk knowledge of the world differs from scientific knowledge. Folk taxonomies are considerably simpler than their scientific counterparts, with only a partial overlap between names of classes in science and so-called life forms in (not only) biological sciences. Although both are polytypic, life forms must be distinguished from folk genera, which are only sometimes conceived as having different kinds (i.e., polytypic), usually when they are culturally central to the speakers of the given language. This paper considers the correspondence between natural kind terms (Cruse 1986) and life forms as well as terms at the taxonomically generic level, and seeks to identify the position of periphrastic nominal kind terms at the subgeneric and more abstract levels of hierarchies. Gaps caused by classificatory misconceptions in folk taxonomies are highlighted and a comparison is made between English and Czech folk biological taxonomies.

Keywords: folk genera; folk taxonomies; life forms; natural kind terms, polytypic; scientific taxonomies

Premises of the research

Semantic and anthropologic linguistic theories distinguish between non-linguistic and linguistic knowledge of the world or, in other words, between folk knowledge and its scientific counterpart (Apresjan 1992). The language can help to identify the dividing line between "meaning" and "knowledge", which correspond to the linguistic (or folk) and encyclopaedic (or scientific) knowledge, respectively. Names of classes used in science overlap only partially with the so-called life forms typical of biological sciences. Taxonomically, life forms represent the first level underneath the "unique beginner" (Atran 1987). They are characterised by being polytypic, i.e., consisting of several kinds. They sometimes share this property with folk genera, another level in folk taxonomies, which are, however, polytypic only when they are of special cultural importance to the speakers of the language. Otherwise, folk genera should be the lowest generic category used in non-scientific reference to the entities of the world (There was a *bird*. We had some *wine*. Put away the *book*.).

This paper examines the relation between natural kind terms (as defined by Cruse 1986; Cruse 2011; Lyons 1977), which tend to be primary, simple lexemes, and life forms together with taxonomically generic terms. Consequently, the position of periphrastic (nominal kind) terms will be addressed to determine if they strictly denote concepts

other than at "life form" or "kind" levels. Gaps in hierarchies are significant in this respect as they indicate classificatory misconceptions in folk (typically biological) taxonomies.

Besides the correspondence between natural and nominal kind terms and taxonomic levels at which they are typically used, attention is paid to equivalents to life forms in taxonomies of non-living entities, for they seem to reveal many analogies with folk biological taxonomies. Their study has been neglected since semanticians traditionally do not consider them as capable of forming transitive taxonomies with true life forms and generic levels; e.g., Atran (1987, 48) says that "living kind terms are conceived as 'phenomenal kinds' whose intrinsic nature, or (to use Locke's notion) 'real essence' is presumed, even if unknown." Artefacts or cultural kind things (Lyons 1977) are denied this property as well as the resulting taxonomic properties.

The research questions that arise from the division of knowledge and division of terms are as follows:

(1) Is there really a clear correspondence between natural kind terms and life forms (along with terms at the generic level, which are supposed to be realised by the same type of terms)?

(2) What is the position of periphrastic nominal kind terms? Do they prevail at the subgeneric level and, conversely, also at more abstract, higher levels of hierarchies? Do gaps in folk taxonomies correspond to taxonomic levels with nominal kind terms?

(3) What tests work to determine life forms (or so-called "kinds" in the case of non-biological taxonomies) and generic levels?

(4) Are non-biological hierarchies so different from biological ones (those of living things) in that they are not transitive (i.e., taxonomic) and lack "life forms" (more precisely, their equivalents with identical properties) and generic-level terms?

(5) The author's assumption is that if hierarchies of artefacts prove to be taxonomic, realised by natural kind terms, and if equivalents of life forms and generic level terms in them stand the same tests as their counterparts in biological taxonomies, the distinction between them (discussed further) will prove to be artificial and unsubstantiated.

Folk knowledge

The so-called "folk knowledge" is language-related, as it tends to convey the meaning of denotates differently in various languages, depending on the cultural specifics, history and experience of speakers. Such meaning is the real world meaning, found in dictionaries. On the other hand, scientific knowledge is universal and independent of language (and therefore should be analogous in different languages). Its typical realisations are entries in encyclopaedias.

Apresjan (1992) states that, "folk pictures of the world, obtained through analysis of meanings of words in various languages, may differ in details, whereas a scientific

picture of the world does not depend on the language used to describe it" (quoted in Wierzbicka 1996, 338). Bloomfield (1935) supposes that names of the "living kinds" (i.e., the names of plants and animals) derive their meaning from science, which is nowadays not considered compatible with the way natural languages work.

There is also a contradiction between linguists who claim that natural kind words contain a great deal of "cultural knowledge" and thus can be defined (Haiman 1982), and those who believe that natural kind words are like proper names and are therefore undefinable, e.g., earlier claims of Kripke (1972), Putnam (1975) and Wierzbicka, all quoted in Wierzbicka (1996, 348–49). Lexicalisation of concepts in natural languages proves their existence and enables their study. Words (and concepts) are grouped by some relevant shared properties. Thus, "lexical sets, sharing a similar semantic structure, provide evidence for the existence of cohesive conceptual wholes (or fields)" (Wierzbicka 1996, 349).

Languages contain unmarked words for objects and entities, used for general reference (i.e., without being unnecessarily over- or underspecific). These are called "folk genera" and differ from language to language.

Hierarchical organisation within lexical sets, the taxonomic principle, is ascribed a special link with the domain of "living things" and is deemed to prove "domain specificity in human cognition in general" (Wierzbicka 1996, 352). Many key semanticians, anthropologists and language psychologists stress the role of "essences" in the human cognition (contrasted with "surface properties"), the belief that folk-biological taxonomies inherently "include a presumption of 'underlying natures' or hidden essences" (Medin 1989, Medin and Ortony 1989, quoted in Wierzbicka 1996, 352), and that this presumption is restricted to natural kind concepts (Atran 1990, quoted in Wierzbicka 1996, 353).

TAXONOMY OF LIVING THINGS

A characteristic biological focus is reflected in the names referring to levels, particularly because they originate from classifications of living things. The suggested five biology-inspired levels in "natural" (or folk) taxonomies are the *unique beginner > life-form > generic > specific > varietal* (Cruse 1986, 145). Similarly, Leach (1964, 41) suggests a taxonomic tree of "the English language discriminations of living creatures": *pigs* < a kind of *farm animals* < a kind of *livestock* < a kind of *tame beast* < a kind of *beast* < (a kind of) *land creature*.

However, a problem with this theory is that form-based concepts (e.g., *animal*, *tree* and *bird* – so-called "morphotypes") behave differently from functional ones (e.g., *fruit*, *vegetable* and *pet*), and possibly differ also linguistically.

Life forms are characterised by the following properties (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1973, Berlin 1981):

(1) They are few.
(2) They invite the question, "What kind of (*animal*, *bird*, …) is X?" and reply to the question, "What is a (*panda*, *finch*, *trout*, …)?" The answer to the first

question (e.g., "What kind of *animal* is *grey squirrel*?") is an explanation or description, in other words the provision of the linguistic (cultural/folk) knowledge concerning the entity in question. The question (e.g., "What is *grey squirrel*?") arouses an explanation or description too, albeit shorter and optional, having an attributive role in relation to the noun denoting the respective life form (in this case "*an* (EXPL. / DESCR.) *animal*"). Another test of life forms may be the impossibility of using other general categories (e.g., "What kind of *living creature / *mammal / **vertebrate is grey squirrel*?") since they are scientific, not folk terms.

(3) Life forms are polytypic (also linguistically, i.e., a normal speaker can name several hyponymic representatives) – e.g., life form *birds* involves *eagles*, *vultures*, *sparrows*, *ravens*, *parrots*, *finches*, …

(4) Life forms are the superordinate items in folk taxonomies.

(5) They are linguistically congruent: names of life forms must be able to refer to individuals; this property applies to the more specific terms at generic and specific levels as well, e.g., This is *an animal*. ~ This is *a reptile*. ~ This is *an emerald lizard*.

(6) They are primarily part of folk, not scientific discourse. The opposite is certainly true (that scientific terms cannot be used in non-scientific, folk discourse). Thus, it is not possible to say, "I saw a fast *mammal / *vertebrate yesterday."

Criterion (6) includes negation of the original statement and characterises life forms by their use in expressing folk knowledge. However, this rule is not very strict, as some life forms are also fundamental scientific terms (e.g., *plant*, *animal*, which refer to biological taxonomic kingdoms, cf. Czech *rostlina* [plant]; but *zvíře* [animal], not its more formal (yet similarly non-taxonomic) equivalent *živočich* [animal, animate being]).

Apart from evidence stemming from the presence of the listed properties, life forms can be determined by several tests, which also work for generic level terms, i.e., the folk taxonomic level directly below life forms:

(1) The morphological structure of life forms does not have identical meaning with paraphrases (so the paraphrased equivalents cannot be considered as synonymous: *bird* ~ *winged animal*, *child* ~ *non-adult human*, *cow* ~ *female bovine*).

(2) Life forms are realised by "primary lexemes," regardless whether their structure is complex, analysable (e.g., Czech *rostlina* [plant]), or unanalysable, (e.g., *tree*, *bird*). From this follows that secondary lexemes (modified by attributes and not used in folk discourse) (cf. Cruse 1986, 73) cannot serve as realisations of life forms (e.g., *blue spruce* and *scrub oak*) (Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven 1973).

(3) Phraseological evidence is also suggested: as collocations differ between languages, then two folk concepts are different as well (Wierzbicka 1996, 357).

(4) Lexical evidence can be seen in the existence of various exonyms of a life form or a generic level word (*bird* associates its exonyms *nest, plummage, beak, tweet, chirp, …*).

Scientific vs. folk taxonomy

Biological classifications of plants and animals and their classes imply a transitive taxonomic hierarchy (Wierzbicka 1996, 372). Nevertheless, as there is a difference between scientific and folk knowledge, there is also a lack of complete overlap between scientific and folk taxonomies (Taylor 2003, 75), e.g., in the folk hierarchy, *trees* and *mushrooms* are not thought of as a kind of *plant* since *a plant* is standardly conceived of as small and green. As a result, "in English folk taxonomy, then, plant is not a 'unique beginner'; rather, it is a category comparable to *bush*, *shrub*, *grass*, or *moss*" (Wierzbicka 1996, 364).

Some concepts, such as *cactus*, *toadstool*, *caterpillar*, or *slug*, remain isolated as "unaffiliated folk genera" since they are "more like life forms than like folk genera, but … they are not taxonomic (polytypic) life forms" (Wierzbicka 1996, 364; she also labels them "quasi-life forms"). *Mammal* is not a life form since it is not part of English folk taxonomy. As one cannot say "What a beautiful **animal*!" when referring to, e.g., a *spider*, *animal* is not a unique beginner in folk English (Wierzbicka 1996, 359). *Creature* is thus a unique beginner (or a covert, not named category if it sounds too formal), and *animal* is rather a life form. *Animal* is not just a colloquial equivalent to *mammal* (e.g., *spiders, snails, wasps, ants* and *butterflies* would not be referred to as *animals*; people are *mammals*, but not, colloquially, *animals*) (Wierzbicka 1996, 360).

Some general terms (*spiders*, *ants* and *snails*) are not (lexically) polytypic (unlike *birds*, *snakes*, *insects* and *fishes*, which are), i.e., there are no commonly used names (primary lexemes) for their different kinds. According to Berlin, Breedlove, and Raven (1973), such categories are "unaffiliated generics" rather than "monogeneric life forms" since they are not polytypic (Wierzbicka 1996, 361) and they are thus not conceived as part of hierarchies. Atran (1987, 32) says about such "isolates" that "when living kinds enter the space of concern with human function and use … they cease to be of taxonomic importance."

A notorious exception is a generic item *dog*, which is taxonomically clearly below *animal, fish, bird, insect*, etc. *Dog* is thought of as a kind of *animal*; however, *dogs* are thought of as coming in many different kinds, as if they were a polytypic life form. Wierzbicka suggests calling primary lexemes for dog breeds a subgeneric level (1996, 365) – such phenomena are found in taxa of cultural importance.

Similar inconsistences and gaps can be found in English folk botany. Whereas the only truly polytypic life form is apparently *tree*, the doubtful zone includes terms *bush, shrub, herb, vine, moss, grass, fern* and *mushroom*, which can be regarded as "life forms" in their own domain, botany. Unlike *tree* in botany or *bird*, *fish*, and *insect* in zoology, they are not taxonomic supercategories at the same time (Wierzbicka 1996, 362), and ordinary speakers do not know any named kinds of *grass*, *fern* or *moss* (which excludes

polytypicity). *Vine* is even no English folk taxonomic category (nor are *réva* [vine, grapevine] or *liána* [liana, bushrope] in Czech). On the other hand, *flower* is a polytypic taxonomic category in English folk botany, with two distinct senses.

Criteria of life forms and their validity

It would be useful to re-evaluate the criteria for determination of life forms because irregularities in their popular acceptance reveal insufficiency of some criteria. Starting with generally accepted life forms in biological taxonomies, they are *animal, bird, fish, snake, tree*, and possibly also *insect* and *flower*. There seem to exist more of them, but most are disqualified for some reason; e.g., *bug* and *worm* are not polytypic since normal users of the language lack interest in naming their subcategories by folk terms.

Conversely, nouns *bush, shrub, vine, moss, grass, herb, fern* or *mushroom* can be regarded as botanical "life forms" although most of them are not polytypic either. They even fail to meet another criterion, namely that they could be used in a question, "What kind of *bush /*shrub /*vine /*moss /etc. is X?". In addition, they do not correspond to any scientific taxonomic levels (whereas *bird*, *fish* and *snake* are all cohesive classes of *animals* (a true life-form), *bush, shrub, vine, grass* and *herb* are not taxonomic levels at all, and they are mere forms of *plants*). However, they denote so specific categories of organisms that they function as general names, specifically as life forms, despite the indicated drawbacks.

At the same time, a question arises why such words as *building, vehicle, device, book* and *food* cannot be regarded as a sort of life form (or its analogue) as well. Rigorously, all of them are *things/objects*, which is the hypernymous category in artefacts analogous to *animals, plants and fungi* in hierarchies of "living things". *Buildings, vehicles, devices* and *books* are certainly polytypic, so there exist generic level terms below each of them, e.g., *church, factory* and *house* as types of building; *car, motorcycle, bus, lorry, train* and *tram* as kinds of *vehicle*; *televison, radio, mixer, telephone* and *computer* as kinds of *device*, etc. Evidently, all these proposed analogues to "life forms" (and their generic level hyponyms) are natural kind terms, i.e., one-word and usually morphologically simple words, the denotations of which are not derived from other terms, but which display clear boundaries and no gradient of category membership (Taylor 2003, 47).

Let us recapitulate the five main criteria for life forms and check if the existing folk taxonomies confirm their validity.

Criterion 1: Life forms are few. To the life forms quoted in semantic literature (*animal, bird, fish, snake, tree* and possibly *insect* and *flower*) might be added analogous non-biological kinds (types) of things (/objects/artefacts), e.g. *building, vehicle/machine* and possibly *device, tool, food, drink, material*, and *job*. They are equally few. Life forms are defined as the second highest level in folk taxonomies (below *creature*, the unique beginner), and these kinds (types) assume the same position (below *thing* or *object*).

Criterion 2: Life forms are polytypic. Apart from consisting of several types, which is what polytypicity means, this property must be recognised lexically: folk terminology must contain primary lexemes for various kinds. Therefore, e.g., *spiders,*

snails, ants, worms, bugs, mosses, and *cactuses* cannot be life forms: they do not evoke any primary lexemes (i.e., folk "names") for their different kinds (of spiders, snails, ants, …). They are clearly names of classes in scientific terminologies, but lack generally known and lexically primary hyponyms, possibly due to the lack of practical need and, consequently, lack of interest in naming various kinds of such small animals and plants in a colloquial language.

Criterion 3: Life forms correspond to natural kind terms. Some philosophers of language (e.g., Kripke 1972, Putnam 1975) claim that natural kind words are like proper names and cannot be defined. This claim has changed in time, and even Wierzbicka in her later works believes they can indeed be defined (1996, 348–49). Even more than life forms, generic terms are regarded as true, not completely definable labels for concepts. Primarily generic terms are linked with natural kind terms, but this link is applicable also to life forms.

Table 1 manifests this association clearly in folk biological taxonomies of selected modern languages and Latin, but it fails to be so convincing in Czech hierarchies of artefacts, nor does it work for German. Not surprisingly, in English natural kind terms (and primary lexemes) prevail even in artefacts, which rather illustrates vernacular sources of basic English terminology and, conversely, a frequently complex structure of lexis in synthetic languages, such as Czech, German and Latin. However, the folk-biological life forms are morphologically simple in all examined languages.

Table 1. Realisation of life forms and kinds of non-living objects by natural kind terms (and by primary lexemes) in English, Latin, Czech and German. Note: morphologically complex names are italicised.

	English	Latin	Czech	German
Life forms – domain of **living things**	bird	avis	pták	Vogel
	fish	Piscis	ryba	Fisch
	tree	arbor	strom	Baum
	flower	flos	*květina/kytka*	Blume
	snake	serpens	had	Schlange
Suggested types (taxonom. equiv. to life forms) – domain of **artefacts**	*building*	*aedificium*	*budova/stavba*	*Gebäude*
	tool	*instrumentum*	*nástroj*	*Werkzeug/Instrument*
	food	*cibus / alimentum*	*jídlo/potrava/ potravina*	*Speise/Gericht/ Futter/ Nahrung/ Essen*

Criterion 4: Life forms correspond to (superordinate) scientific taxonomic levels. Also, this is basically true, although this general statement is impossible to define fully. Some folk taxonomical terms that are positioned quite high (e.g., *bush, shrub, vine, herb* and *grass*) are not taxonomic levels at all; they rather denote morphological types of plants, defined by their habitus. This is quite an analogy to *vegetables, fruit(s)* and *spices*, which

are also defined by non-scientific criteria, e.g., by gastronomic use, shape, colour and taste of edible parts, etc. Other terms that also refer to distinctive classes of organisms (e.g., *moss, grass, fern* and *mushroom*) are not ranked high in the taxonomic hierarchy.

Such a lack of correspondence between scientific and folk taxonomies creates gaps, i.e., empty slots (notionally and lexically) at corresponding levels in one or the other presumably analogous hierarchy. These gaps prove the autonomy of scientific and folk knowledge and their concepts.

Criterion 5: Life forms cannot be conjoined with taxonomically lower items. This seems to be a simple and convincing criterion. It is generally not possible to combine additively hypernyms and hyponyms (*people and women, *food and steaks). More specifically, life forms do not combine with lexemes (1) ranking as their subordinates, e.g., *trees and oaks; **vessels and boats*; (2) belonging to subordinate levels of other life forms, e.g., *I love art, animals and *daffodils*. However, in many propositions the mixing of different degrees of specification referring to different semantic areas is completely normal. Thus, it sounds perfectly correct that "There were lots of *flowers and bees*" or "Bring me some *food and coffee*".

Life forms can, of course, be conjoined with other life forms (e.g., *birds and snakes*, or *trees and flowers*). It also holds true even for the proposed equivalents to life forms from the realm of artefacts (*vehicles and vessels, devices and books*, etc.), but it fails to work when a doubtless life form is combined with some quasi-life form or an isolate, which would be hyponymous to it in a scientific hierarchy (e.g., **animals and snakes*) or which refers to entities at lower hierarchic levels although it is not part of hierarchy on its own (e.g., **plants and flowers*).

CRITICISM OF THE EXCLUSIVE FOCUS ON BIOLOGICAL TAXONOMIES

In addition to the discussed criteria, several objections can be raised that disprove some of the properties ascribed to individual types of taxonomic items. They prove that some statements quoted in the preceding theoretical chapter have, in fact, only limited validity.

Statement 1: Only living things form transitive hierarchies (i.e., taxonomies) (e.g., Atran 1987). Objection: Artefacts reveal the same distinctions between hypernyms and hyponyms as biological taxons, including transitiveness in taxonomies (e.g., a *mobile phone* is a kind of *(tele)phone*, and it is a kind of *device* and a kind of *thing* (or *object*) at the same time). Table 2 illustrates that simple transitive hierarchies can be established in folk taxonomies in both semantic domains (note the numerous levels in scientific biological taxonomy without any folk equivalents).

Table 2. Correspondence between scientific and folk taxonomy levels; comparison of occurrences of natural and nominal kind terms. Sources of botanical taxonomic levels: Rosypal (2003), Jelínek and Zicháček (2004).

Level (scientific)	Scientific-taxonomy - botany	Level (folk)	Folk taxonomy - botany	Folk taxonomy - machinery
N/A	cellular organisms	-	-	-
domain	eukaryote (*Eukaryota*)			
kingdom	plants (*Plantae*)	**unique beginner**	plant	thing/object
subkingdom	higher plants (Cormobionta)	-	-	-
division	angiosperms (*Angiospermae / Magnoliophyt(in)a*)	-	-	-
phylum/ division	flowering plants (*Angiospermophyta*) / *Magnoliophyta*	-	-	-
class	dicotyledons (*Dicotyledonae /Magnoliopsida*)	-	-	-
class	eudicots/tricolpates (*Rosopsida*)	-	-	-
subclass	*Rosidae*	-	-	-
superorder	*Rosanae*	-	-	-
order	rose order (*Rosales*)	-	-	-
family	rose family (*Rosaceae*)	-	-	-
N/A	-	**life form / kind**	tree	machine/ vehicle
genus	*Prunus*	**generic**	cherry	car
species	Japanese flowering cherry (*Prunus /Cerasus serrulata*)	**specific**	Japanese flowering cherry (*Prunus /Cerasus serrulata*)	hatchback
variety / cultivar	Kanzan	**varietal**	Kanzan	Škoda Fabia

Statement 2: There are no generic words and life forms in hierarchies of artefacts (e.g., Atran 1987, Wierzbicka 1996). Objection: Cruse's (1986, 145) five biology-inspired levels in "natural" (or folk) taxonomies (*unique beginner > life-form > generic > specific > varietal*) can be applied to non-biological taxonomies, except for the the life-form level. The category of "life form" can be easily substituted with the label "kind" (or "type"). Although, e.g., Atran (1987, 41) claims that, "hierarchical rating of living kinds is apparently unique to that domain," the levels in both domains correspond to

each other well (see Tab. 2). Still, Wierzbicka (1996, 372) asserts that "linguistic tests show that in the area of artefacts there are no 'supercategories' corresponding to the biological rank of life form."

From the tentative examination above (Tab. 2), it is clear that artefacts have few levels in hierarchies, which are equivalent to those in biological folk taxonomies. The biggest problem appears to be the rigorous identification of kinds (types), but a similar uncertainty characterises determination of life forms (see the discussion above concerning inconsistences in zoological and botanical folk taxonomies).

Statement 3: Life forms are not definable by a discrete set of features (e.g., Kripke 1972, Putnam 1975). Objection: As there exist "natural kind" terms (Lyons 1977, 76), Lyons coined the term "cultural kind" (Lyons 1977, 94) for such artefacts. He admits that the meaning of both can be derived from semantic prototypes. At the generic level, cultural kinds differ from folk genera of natural kind things, which are thought to contain some "hidden nature" or an "underlying essence" that rests in the minds of speakers and cannot be defined by a finite set of attributes (Wierzbicka 1996, 367). Quoting Berlin (1981, 96) and Hunn (1976, 518), Wierzbicka describes folk genera as indefinable holistic "gestalts, whereas life forms can be defined by means of a few abstract features" (1996, 367). She extends this holistic quality to life forms, implying thus global gestalts of a *tree*, a *bird*, etc. (Wierzbicka 1996, 366), but doubts if this can be applied to "cultural kind things" (i.e., artefacts).

However, if, e.g., a *horse* has some hidden essence that enables its identification in competition with similar animals (which are also big herbivorous mammals with four legs, hooves, a tail, a certain type of mouth, teeth and stomach, etc.), why cannot this be claimed about a generic artefact, e.g., a *car* or a *television*? Will anyone hesitate to tell what is still a car and not a *motor-riksha* or a small van, what is still a *computer* (or one of its types, e.g., a *tablet*) and not a *phone* (namely a *smartphone*), or where there is the boundary between a television and a monitor connected to a computer? This is exactly the point; it can indeed happen. However, most cars, computers, mobile phones, televisions, etc., fit the criteria derived from their prototypes. We might not confuse a *horse* with a *donkey* or a *mule* (even without a genetic analysis to prove our guess), but such a superficial assessment may fail with less known (and smaller) plants and animals. Thus, indefiniteness of identification, despite the "hidden essence", can be found in biological taxonomies too.

I differ in this respect from the opinion of Wierzbicka based on Lyons (1977), who stressed also the importance of the form, not only the function when defining artefacts. She claims, "it is only artefactual supercategories (such as *toy*, *weapon*, or *vehicle*) which are defined purely in terms of their functions – and these categories can indeed be 'fuzzy' (in their range of reference)" (Lyons 1977). Biological life form categories (such as *plant, animal*, or even *flower*) display a large variety of forms too, which disables easy identification by their external shape, and their defining features are rather functional.

Statement 4: Generic taxa are prototypical but life forms are not (e.g., Berlin 1981). Objection: Obviously, it is possible to claim, "this doesn't look like a *dog/sheep/cherry/*

snake. It has Y and it is rather an X." At the same time, including something in a class is easy: "it is a lovely *dog/carp/garden* …". There may be some truth in the fact that life forms cannot be so easily identified by their compliance with prototypes. Thus, it may happen that statements like, "this doesn't look like a *tree/animal/fish* …" will be used, although exceptionally.

The indeterminacy is evidently linked to the general meaning of life form concepts, but it does not seem to be inherent to life forms, since similar relations can manifest the difference between the generic and kind/type levels of artefacts: "this doesn't look like a *radio/lorry/church* … It has Y/It serves/is used for Z and it is rather an X." Such statements appear more likely at the superordinate (and fuzzier) level: "this doesn't look like a b*uilding/tool/drink* … It is not really a *job/feeling/* …".

Statement 5: Taxonomic hierarchies are based on common origin, inherited properties (Atran 1987). Objection: This property stems from the dictum by Atran (1987, 41, discussed also in Wierzbicka 1996, 372) that transitive taxonomic hierarchies are inherent to biological hierarchies. As was noted by Wierzbicka, "presumably, the idea of a 'real essence' has something to do with the notion of origin and of inherited hidden properties …" (1996, 370). Therefore, it should not apply to artefacts and to some extent to life forms.

The logical question is, however, if taxonomy is so strictly bound to living things. The principle of taxonomic hierarchies rests in having classes and their members, relations of dominance (functioning vertically) and difference (or incompatibility; functioning horizontally) (Cruse 1986, 113), and the relation of members to classes being "M is a kind/type/sort of C" (Cruse 1986, 137). Does this principle involve necessity of common origin and genetic relatedness? As it has been argued earlier, a complex bundle of ties, including the shape but also the function, underlie taxonomic relations.

Conclusions

Focusing particularly on the lexical properties established among life forms and their immediately subordinate level, generic level terms, in biological folk taxonomies, and their equivalent levels in hierarchies of artefacts, it appears that there is a convincing link to a specific type of language means, namely natural kind terms and primary lexemes. This observation is necessarily limited to English and only partly to Czech, as naming in folk hierarchies is language- and culture-dependent (see Tab. 1, demonstrating preference for descriptive, nominal kind terms at the generic level in taxonomies of artefacts in Czech, Latin and German). Also, as shown in Tables 1 and 2, more specific categories (specific, varietal) in folk hierarchies, as well as both more general and more specific categories in scientific hierarchies, depend formally on periphrastic and complex means of lexical expression, namely on nominal kind terms and secondary lexemes.

I have provided arguments demonstrating that (a) supercategories of folk biological taxons can be easily matched with their counterparts in similarly structured hierarchies of artefacts, (b) identification of supercategories can be equally problematic in both

semantic domains, namely in that of living things and that of non-living things/entities, (c) "hidden nature" and "hidden essence" are apparently not an indispensable defining property of taxonomies or any of their levels, (d) there is always an interplay of several criteria when taxonomic classifications are formed, and lastly, (e) the lexical properties, namely the close relationship between life forms (as well as many generic level terms) in folk taxonomies and natural kind terms and primary lexemes as their linguistic realisations, function along similar lines in the domains of living and non-living things.

It seems that the division between biological folk taxonomies and those of non-living things was drawn artificially. Not only that folk taxonomies of artefacts composed of cultural kind terms do exist, but the obvious preference for natural kind terms for naming the generic level terms and life forms (or its cultural equivalents "kinds"), and periphrastic nominal kind terms for the levels hierarchically below reveal that this type of taxonomy possesses properties analogous to biological taxonomies. In Statements 1–5 many restrictive criteria have been critised and partially rejected, since all types of folk taxonomies are characterised by gaps and structural inconsistencies. This only highlights their conceptual and structural autonomy from scientific taxonomies.

Works Cited

Apresjan, Jurij D. 1992. *Lexical Semantics: User's Guide to Contemporary Russian Vocabulary*. Ann Arbor: Karoma.

Atran, Scott. 1987. "Ordinary Constraints on the Semantics of Living Kinds: A Commonsense Alternative to Recent Treatments of Natural-Object Terms." *Mind and Language* 2: 27–63. doi:10.1111/j.1468-0017.1987.tb00107.x.

Berlin, Brent, Dennis E. Breedlove, and Peter H. Raven. 1973. "General Principles of Classification and Nomenclature in Folk Biology." *American Anthropologist* 75: 214–42. doi:10.1525/aa.1973.75.1.02a00140.

Berlin, Brent. 1981. "The Concept of Rank in Ethnobiological Classification: Some Evidence from Aguaruna Folk Botany." In *Language, Culture and Cognition: Anthropological Perspectives*, edited by Ronald W. Casson, 92–113. New York: Macmillan.

Bloomfield, Leonard. 1935. *Language*. London: George Allen and Unwin.

Cruse, Alan. 2011. *Meaning in Language: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cruse, David A. 1986. *Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hunn, Eugene S. 1987. "Science and Common Sense: A Reply to Atran." *American Anthropologist* 89 (1): 146–49.

Jelínek, Jan, and Vladimír Zicháček. 2004. *Biologie pro gymnázia*. Olomouc: Nakladatelství Olomouc.

Kripke, Samuel. 1992. "Naming and Necessity." In *Semantics of Natural Languages*, edited by Donald Davidson and Gilbert Harman, 253–355. Dordrecht: Reidel.

Leach, Edmund. 1964. "Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse." In *New Directions in the Study of Language*, edited by Eric H.

Lenneberg, 23–63. Cambridge: The MIT Press.

Lyons, John. 1977. *Semantics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Putnam, Hilary. 1975. "The Meaning of Meaning." In *Minnesota Studies in the Philosophy of Science* VII, edited by Keith Gunderson, 131–93. Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Rosypal, Stanislav. 2003. *Nový přehled biologie.* Praha: Scientia.

Taylor, John R. 2003. *Linguistic Categorization.* 3rd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wierzbicka, Anna. 1996. *Semantics: Primes and Universals.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

LITERATURE AND CULTURAL STUDIES

John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester: A Philosopher in the Shadow of a Libertine

Tetyana Varvanina

Charles University, Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, Department of Anglophone Literatures and Cultures, nám. Jana Palacha 2, 116 38 Praha 1, Czech Republic. Email: tanya_varvanina@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT: In Charles II's entourage of dissipated court jesters, who diverted the sovereign and his retinue with stories of their drunken frolics and sexual accomplishments, a figure stood out whose controversial legacy has endured. John Wilmot, the second Earl of Rochester, was the most notorious Restoration troubadour of pleasure-seeking, a libertine sophist, an inimitable wit and Hobbes's professed apostle. Based on Rochester's works, correspondence, and some accounts of his life, this paper reveals the complexity and intellectualism of his personality. It also demonstrates that this radical freethinker's self-indulgence and sensualism had a sound philosophical and theoretical basis, on which he built his godless universe and which inspired him to pursue pleasure in the here and now.

KEYWORDS: atheism; John Wilmot; libertinism; Restoration; Rochester; satire

Libertinism … had more philosophical and theological complexity than tends to be appreciated.[1]

This paper reflects on the controversial legacy and life of John Wilmot, the second Earl of Rochester (1647–1680). A freethinker who vigorously expressed his irreligion and anticlericalism (documented both in his own writings and contemporaries' accounts of him), he was arguably one of the most idiosyncratic poets, the most well-read wits and powerful satirists of the Restoration, who lived a full but short life, dying in 1680 at the age of only 33. Before embarking on a three-year grand tour of Europe, he "fuck'd from the breafts of his Mother the Univerfity [of Oxford] thofe perfections of Wit, and Eloquence, and Poetry."[2] After serving with distinction in the Second Anglo-Dutch War and returning a hero, the young Earl was appointed a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to His Majesty King Charles II and married. There followed a decade-long saturnalia of dissipation and excess, but also a period of literary creativity, stage patronage, reflection, and spiritual search. This makes Rochester of crucial importance to our understanding of the sexual, religious and ideological climate and developments in post-Puritan England: "to the ways in which libertinism is bound to the history of toleration and to the way courtly verse at once reifies and critiques the conduct of

---

1 Sarah Ellenzweig, *The Fringes of Belief: English Literature, Ancient Heresy, and the Politics of Freethinking, 1660–1760* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008), 15.
2 Robert Parsons, *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of … John Earl of Rochester: Who Died … July 26. By 1680, and Was Buried … Aug. 9. By Robert Parsons …* (Oxford: Printed at the Theater for Richard Davis and Tho: Bowman, 1680), 6.

Restoration politics."[3]

Often used in relation to Rochester and other court wits of the time, the word "libertine," which came to English in the fourteenth century, originally meant "freedman" (a freed slave). By the end of the sixteenth century, it had begun to denote "religious and secular freethinker,"[4] after being popularized by John Calvin, for whom libertines (or *libertins* in French) were all those who had departed from his ideals in different aspects of doctrine and conduct.[5] During the Enlightenment, "the conflation of ideas by grouping the terms 'atheist', 'freethinker,' 'voluptuary,' and 'vagabond' under the same heading – libertine"[6] led to a general confusion and ambiguity. The polysemy of "libertine" is well illustrated by Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*, which contains the following interpretations of the word: "one unconfined," "one who lives without reſtraint or law," "one who pays no regard to the precepts of religion," and "a freedman."[7] The word later underwent a slow transformation in meaning, which eventually resulted in the older definition of "a freethinker in matters of religion" losing its lead to the sense of "a person … who freely indulges in sensual pleasures without regard to moral principles."[8] Though both readings of the term apply to the author in focus, it is the latter image of bon vivant, womanizer and bawdy scribbler that tends to resurface in the public consciousness whenever his name is mentioned, to the detriment of the intellectuality of his multifaceted personality and literary heritage.

Another factor which contributes to the distorted image of Rochester is the fact that his canon is elusive and amorphous. Its definitive version does not exist and will never come into being as it does not seem possible to establish what exactly he produced. The noble Earl composed for pleasure, without any intention of publication through the printing press, for which he held "a genteel disdain."[9] He was not careful with his texts, often undated, the contents of which were far too often modified by scribes who, inadvertently or on purpose, transformed his writings. These were publicized through what Harold Love calls "scribal publication," employed in its three modes: "author publication, entrepreneurial publication and user publication."[10] Rochester's

---

3   Matthew C. Augustine and Steven N. Zwicker, eds., introduction to *Lord Rochester in the Restoration World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 1.

4   "Libertine," Merriam-Webster.com, accessed August 28, 2016, http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/libertine.

5   See Herman J. Selderhuis, *John Calvin: A Pilgrim's Life* (Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 2009), 143.

6   Michel Delon, s.v. Atheism, in *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, ed. M. Delon (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2013), 124.

7   Samuel Johnson, "Libertine," in *A Dictionary of the English Language: … Prefixed, A History of the Language, and an English Grammar. By Samuel Johnson, … in Two Volumes*, vol. 2 (London: Printed by W. Strahan, for J. and P. Knapton, T. and T. Longman, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, A. Millar, R. and J. Dodsley, 1755).

8   "Libertine," OxfordDictionaries.com, accessed December 5, 2016. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/libertine.

9   Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 69.

10   Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, 47.

works circulated in manuscript and never went to print in his lifetime. However, it does not imply that the poet was unknown in the outer reaches of England. As Love notes, "Rochester must by the close of his career have been fully aware that the placing of a poem into circulation at court would eventually lead to its distribution throughout the entire kingdom."[11] In his biography of the man of letters, titled *Passion for Living*, Ronald E. Pritchard gives a summary of the ever-changing inventory of the Earl's compositions:

> In 1926, John Hayward presented 120 poems as being by Rochester; in 1953, Pinto's edition presented 67 poems as by Rochester, with 21 considered doubtful; in 1968, David Vieth saw 75 poems as by Rochester, with 8 possibles; in 1984, Keith Walker printed 83 as by Rochester with 5 possibles. In student editions, Paddy Lyons in 1993 offered 105 by Rochester, and in 1994, Frank Ellis, 92. In 1999, Harold Love, after monumental editorial labors, offered 75 pieces as probably by Rochester, with another 41 described as disputed, attributed or associated.[12]

It is still a matter of debate as to whether Rochester penned *Sodom*, a pornographic closet drama satirizing the promiscuity of the court, which a vast readership has always found too obscene. No matter whether banned or admired, condemned or lauded, the Earl represented the epitome of a reformed sinner. He also became the subject of a myth, first developed by his ecclesiastical biographers Gilbert Burnet, his deathbed confessor and author of *Some Passages of the Life and Death of … John Earl of Rochester*, and Robert Parsons, whose sermon delivered at the Earl's funeral was later published. Spun by popular imagination, the fiction was grossly inflated by further pseudo-biographers and redesigned by unscrupulous publishers, who attributed even more indecent works to the writer, thus capitalizing on his legendary notoriety. As Jonathan Sawday concisely concludes, "[t]he figure of Rochester emerged from a vast body of Rochester attributions, licentious 'memoirs' and the literature of edification composed after the poet's death."[13]

Often disregarded as an individual and a penman, Rochester tends to be hastily rejected, based only on his erotic verses, which can be vulgar in their openness and sensual hyperexpressivity. His poems "were nearly always the result of direct emotions, whether of scorn, love, intellectual doubt, lust or malice."[14] A foul-mouthed bard of love, a godless moralizer, and a voluptuous exposer of the futility of sexual triumphs, he was woven from contradictions. As Graham Greene observes, "[t]he religious background, the doubt of his own atheism, may have been the origin of his mental conflict, and it was the conflict which produced the poet."[15] At the same time, his self-indulgent lifestyle seems to have been the conscious life choice of a materialist

---

11 Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*, 81.
12 Ronald E. Pritchard, *Passion for Living: John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester* (Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2012), 166–67.
13 Jonathan Sawday, "John Wilmot and the Writing of 'Rochester,'" in *Lord Rochester in the Restoration World*, ed. Matthew C. Augustine and Steven N. Zwicker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 26.
14 Graham Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey: Being the Life of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester* (London: Bodley Head, 1974), 33.
15 Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey*, 50.

sceptic, a product of continuous contemplation on love and sexual intimacy, faith and irreligion, virtue and vice, the King's duty and irresponsibility towards his people. These are the common topics that this flamboyant lover of life and all its delights addressed in his libertine – in both senses of the word – writings.

Rochester was the protagonist of Restoration libertinism, which "like all intellectual movements, does not easily yield a consistent body of thought or a single point of origin" and the principal features of which were to "ignore social conventions …; question social institutions …; and elevate physical sensation over formal learning." [16] As far as learning is concerned, the future writer spent a spell at Oxford's Wadham College and was well read both in the classics and contemporary authors. According to one testimonial, "he had made himſelf Maſter of the Ancient and Modern Wit, and of the Modern *French* and *Italian*, as well as the *Engliſh* … [and] loved to talk and write of Speculative Matters, and did it with ſo fine a Thread." [17] Rochester's keen interest in philosophy and religion is attested to by his contemporaries' references to it, as well as by his own works and correspondence – for example, with Charles Blount, an adherent of deism (i.e., "the view that there is a God who created the universe but who avoids interacting with it" [18]). Together with atheism, it was commonly regarded to be "caused by stupidity, ignorance and immorality," and their serious, or as they were called "thinking" or "speculative" forms, based on contemplation and reason, were rejected by many contemporaries as non-existent. [19]

It should be noted that in the latter part of the seventeenth century Latin was still commonly utilized by the intellectual elite: Thomas Hobbes, John Milton, and John Locke, to name but a few, all wrote in this tongue. Rochester was a good Latinist, too, and "acquired the *Latin* to ſuch perfection, that to his dying-day he retained a great relliſh of the Fineneſs and Beauty of that Tongue," [20] which enabled him to adapt, imitate and translate. The ancients were his mentors – such as Horace, Tacitus, Ovid, or Seneca, a fragment (*Trodes*, Act II, Chorus) of one of whose works he translated. Opening with "After death nothing is," [21] the excerpt constitutes a hymn to materialism and evokes some thoughts voiced by Hobbes, such as, "[t]he world, (I mean … the *universe*, that is, the whole mass of all things that are) is corporeal." [22] Rochester's own poetry – for instance, a melancholy song titled "Love and Life"– often conveys a similar mood of the transience of human life.

In addition, Seneca's lines conjure up another undeniable influence on Restoration

16   Deborah Payne Fisk, introduction to *Four Restoration Libertine Plays*, by Thomas D'Urfey et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), xii–xiii.

17   Gilbert Burnet, *Some Passages of the Life and Death of … John Earl of Rochester: … by Gilbert Burnet,…* (London: Printed for Richard Chiswell, 1700), 7.

18   Jack J. C. Smart and John Haldane, *Atheism and Theism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1996), 8.

19   David Berman, *A History of Atheism in Britain: From Hobbes to Russell* (London: Routledge, 2013), 2.

20   Burnet, *Some Passages*, 3.

21   John Wilmot Rochester, *The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. David M. Vieth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 150.

22   Thomas Hobbes and Edwin Curley, *Leviathan: With Selected Variants from the Latin Edition of 1668*, ed. Edwin Curley (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994), 459.

freethinkers – Lucretius's work *On the Nature of Things*, which enjoyed a great deal of attention, celebrating and popularizing the Greek philosopher Epicurus's doctrine of materialism, atomism, and severely misinterpreted hedonism. This six-book poem was fully translated into English at least three times in the last half of the seventeenth century – by Lucy Hutchinson, the diarist John Evelyn and the Oxford don Thomas Creech. Apart from these three full-length versions, there appeared other adaptations and translations of shorter Lucretian fragments at this time.[23] ochester admired Lucretius and rendered two excerpts from the latter's celebrated work into English, one of them (lines I. 44–49)[24] being the Roman poet's evocation of the gods' imperturbably tranquil existence, of their unapproachability, and indifference to human deeds, which are neither rewarded nor punished by the deities.

The choice of the texts which the Earl transformed into English demonstrates the preoccupation of his mind with the timeless motifs of human mortality, afterlife, and faith. They show his leanings towards deism and materialism and his lack of conviction regarding revealed religion, which "he was ſure … was either a mere Contrivance, or the moſt important thing that could be."[25] Undoubtedly, these were not chance verses for Rochester the translator, but carefully chosen existential signposts, whose guiding authority played a pivotal role in his life. They confirmed the materiality not only of the human body but also that of the mind and soul, boosted disbelief in the afterlife and shattered the concept of divine retribution for sins. They emancipated and liberated. Moreover, they may also appear to have misguided, corrupted and driven to extremes.

An addiction to excess, "a violent love of Pleaſure, and a diſposition to extravagant Mirth"[26] were an inextricable part of the man of letters, who himself claimed (if Gilbert Burnet's account can be trusted) to have continually been drunk for five years during his early twenties, and continued indulging in the habit throughout his life. This routine intoxication seems to have been an escape for the poet, tired of the fakery, duplicity, and hollowness of the court life and hungry for sincerity and candor. In his letter to Henry Savile, Rochester, for whom *veritas* was truly *in vino*, eulogizes drinking, describing it as "the sincerest, wisest, & most impartiall, downright friend," which "tells us truth of our selves, & forces us to speake truth of others, banishes flattery from our tongues, and distrust from our Hearts."[27]

The same letter, a model of epistolary ease and wit, demonstrates another part that "the spoilt Puritan"[28] played in the society of the day – that of a moralizer, social commentator and "publick Cenſor of Folly,"[29] the role which best manifested itself in his

---

23 See David Hopkins, "The English Voices of Lucretius from Lucy Hutchinson to John Mason Good," in *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius*, ed. Stuart Gillespie and Philip Hardie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 254–56.

24 See Rochester, *The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, 35.

25 Burnet, *Some Passages*, 120.

26 Burnet, *Some Passages*, 13.

27 Rochester to Henry Savile, Bath, 22 June 1671, in *The Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*, ed. Jeremy Treglown (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1980), 66–68.

28 Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey*, 92.

29 Robert Wolseley, preface to *Valentinian: A Tragedy. As 'tis Alter'd by the … Earl of Rochester, … with a Preface Concerning the Author and His Writings. By One of His Friends*, by John Fletcher, and John

satires. For many of his contemporaries, the Earl was first and foremost "a register of the political"[30] and a master of scathing lampoons, which at that age "aimed to deride and deface, to explode pretensions and obliterate reputation."[31] The satirist mocked literary rivals, made hypocrites shed pretense and drop their masks and even ridiculed the sovereign's neglect of state affairs, political weakness, and overindulgence, becoming "the King's worst critic"[32] and daring to pen:

> All monarchs I hate, and the thrones they sit on,
> From the hector of France to the cully of Britain.[33]

In conclusion, it is worth reasserting that Rochester's philosophicalness and the depth of the existential dilemmas that he addressed in his writings tend to be underestimated. The Earl's sexually, politically, and religiously transgressive works, as well as his real-life "trespasses," seem to have stemmed, to a great extent, from his engagement with metaphysical problems, rejection of the afterlife, and disillusionment with the amoral realities, experienced at the corrupt court. Focusing on the obscene and consigning the speculative in Lord Rochester's works to oblivion distorts his nature, reducing him to a mere promiscuous drunkard with a certain misused poetic quality.

Works Cited

Augustine, Matthew C., and Steven N. Zwicker, eds. Introduction to *Lord Rochester in the Restoration World*, 1–16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Berman, David. *A History of Atheism in Britain: From Hobbes to Russell.* London: Routledge, 2013.

Burnet, Gilbert. *Some Passages of the Life and Death of … John Earl of Rochester: … by Gilbert Burnet, …* London: Printed for Richard Chiswell, 1700.

Delon, Michel. "Atheism." In *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*, edited by Michel Delon, 124–27. Abingdon: Routledge, 2013.

Ellenzweig, Sarah. *The Fringes of Belief: English Literature, Ancient Heresy, and the Politics of Freethinking*, 1660–1760. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

Greene, Graham. *Lord Rochester's Monkey: Being the Life of John Wilmot, Second Earl of Rochester.* London: Bodley Head, 1974.

Hobbes, Thomas, and Edwin Curley. *Leviathan: With Selected Variants from the Latin Edition of 1668*, edited by Edwin Curley. Indianapolis: Hackett, 1994.

Hopkins, David. "The English Voices of Lucretius from Lucy Hutchinson to John Mason Good." In *The Cambridge Companion to Lucretius*, edited by Stuart Gillespie and Philip Hardie, 254–73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Johnson, Samuel. "Libertine." In *A Dictionary of the English Language: … Prefixed, A*

Wilmot, Rochester (London: Printed for Timothy Goodwin, 1685).

30 Augustine and Zwicker, introduction to *Lord Rochester in the Restoration World*, 8.
31 Augustine and Zwicker, introduction to *Lord Rochester in the Restoration World*, 8.
32 Greene, *Lord Rochester's Monkey*, 45.
33 Rochester, "A Satyr on Charles II," lines 32–33, in *Complete Poems*, 61.

History of the Language, and an English Grammar. By Samuel Johnson, ... in Two Volumes. Vol. 2. London: Printed by W. Strahan, for J. and P. Knapton, T. and T. Longman, C. Hitch and L. Hawes, A. Millar, R. and J. Dodsley, 1755.

Love, Harold. *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Merriam-Webster.com. "Libertine." Accessed August 28, 2016. http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/libertine.

OxfordDictionaries.com. "Libertine." Accessed December 5, 2016. https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/libertine.

Parsons, Robert. *A Sermon Preached at the Funeral of ... John Earl of Rochester: Who Died ... July 26, 1680, and Was Buried ... Aug. 9. By Robert Parsons ...* Oxford: Printed at the Theater for Richard Davis and Tho: Bowman, 1680.

Payne Fisk, Deborah. Introduction to *Four Restoration Libertine Plays* by Thomas D'Urfey et al., xi–xliv. Oxford: Oxford University Press , 2005. eBook Collection (EBSCOhost), EBSCOhost. Accessed December 29, 2016.

Pritchard, R. E. *Passion for Living: John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*. Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 2012. eBook Collection (EBSCOhost), EBSCOhost. Accessed December 29, 2016.

Rochester, John Wilmot. *The Complete Poems of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*. Edited by David M. Vieth. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

Rochester, John Wilmot. *The Letters of John Wilmot, Earl of Rochester*. Edited by Jeremy Treglown. Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1980.

Sawday, Jonathan. "John Wilmot and the Writing of 'Rochester.'" In *Lord Rochester in the Restoration World*, edited by Matthew C. Augustine and Steven N. Zwicker, 17–39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Selderhuis, Herman J. *John Calvin: A Pilgrim's Life*. Downers Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 2009.

Smart, Jack J. C, and John Haldane. *Atheism and Theism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996.

Wolseley, Robert. Preface to Valentinian: *A Tragedy. As 'tis Alter'd by the ... Earl of Rochester, ... with a Preface Concerning the Author and His Writings. By One of His Friends* by John Fletcher and John Wilmot, Rochester. London: Printed for Timothy Goodwin, 1685.

Caribbean Don Speaking:
Poetry of Diaspora by John Agard

Pavlína Flajšarová

Palacký University Olomouc, Faculty of Arts, Department of English and American Studies,
Třída Svobody 26, 771 80 Olomouc, Czech Republic. Email: pavlina.flajsarova@upol.cz

ABSTRACT: British-Guyanese poet John Agard asks, "Explain yuself / wha yu mean / when yu say half-caste." Similarly to other Anglophone Caribbean poets living in Great Britain, Agard is concerned with themes of assimilation and racial discrimination. In his poetry he frequently engages Creole to voice social and racial inequality. He claims that he "do[es] not] need no hammer / to mash up yu grammar." This paper examines the language Agard utilises to show the special potential of Caribbean literature in exile. In addition, the paper concentrates on his critical views of British xenophobic cultural stereotypes. Such stereotypes are evaluated through the lens of diaspora and are contextualized within the canon of British postcolonial literature. Furthermore, the paper examines the ethnic aspects of his poetry.

KEYWORDS: John Agard; diaspora; British poetry; Caribbean poetry; black British literature; xenophobia; alterity; Creole; retrospective hallucination

The changing face of modern Britain in the 1980s and 1990s resulted in the intensifying emergence and appreciation of what is often labelled as Black British literature. Anthologies that introduced representative authors, individual poets, and among them John Agard, helped to form interest in immigrant or diasporic writing in the postcolonial era. Some critics, such as Roy Summer, believe that

> several interdisciplinary and international conferences and publications ... have contributed to the ongoing process of canon formation by putting new topics and issues on the agenda, bringing together writers and scholars working in the field, and intensifying transatlantic cooperation. These initiatives have not only raised the profile of black writing but also increased the visibility and status of diasporic and black British literature studies in European English literature departments.[1]

Despite such optimistic views, most diasporic authors still must fight for their permanent place in the British literary canon. However difficult and problematic the position of immigrant poetry within the British canon might be, the poetry of John Agard has in many ways paved the way to its modern appreciation. Agard, who is of Guyanese origin, settled in England in 1977. Having two volumes published prior to his arrival to Europe, in Great Britain he developed the reputation of being a highly respected poet, performer, and entertainer. As Morag Styles recognises, Agard is "famous for his biting wit and mischievous use of irony .... His sense of fun and the

warmth of his personality make him a great favourite …. Some of Agard's poems have already gained canonical status."[2] Despite being humorous and witty, Agard's poetry does often address the serious issues of acculturation, immigration, and Caribbean-British diaspora.

Agard is not a victim of what Gayatri Spivak in 1989 called "retrospective hallucination," i.e., the way middle-class inteligentsia creates its view of history in the colonial world from within the colonial society. Spivak explains that "we produce historical narratives and historical explanations by transforming the socius, upon which our production is written into more or less continuous and controllable bits that are readable."[3] Agard with his poetry tries to avoid the pitfalls of "producing and simulating the effect of an older world constituted by the legitimizing narratives of cultural and ethnic specificity and continuity, all feeding an almost seamless national identity – a species of 'retrospective hallucination.'"[4] On the contrary, Agard as a diasporic individual attempts to profit from "'internal colonization,' the way the metropolitan countries discriminate against disenfranchised groups in their midst. The diasporic postcolonial can take advantage (most often unknowingly, …) of the tendency to conflate the two …. Thus this frequently innocent informant, [is] identified and welcomed as the agent of an alternative history."[5] Agard provides an alternative view on history by pointing out the most relevant social discrepancies between white and immigrant Britons.

Social subordination and hierarchisation in modern British society is the focus of Agard's poem "Half-Caste" included in his collection *Alternative Anthem*. Agard, himself being of mixed Guyanese-Portuguese origin, opens with excusing himself for "standing on one leg."[6] This metaphorically signifies that he is "half-caste," i.e., a person of low social status, an immigrant who is not considered a full-fledged British citizen. The angry tone of the poem's opening changes into a sarcastic and ironic one. As Jennifer M. Brabander argues, Agard is capable of a "skilful use of humour to get his serious points across."[7] In the second stanza, which in Caribbean creole urges the fictitious partner in the dialogue to "explain yuself/ wha yu mean / when yo say half-caste,"[8] the speaker strictly objects to being looked at only as an inferior human being. In fact, the speaker feels offended. What Agards wants to achieve with this poem is the change of attitude in the perception of immigrants, in particular of immigrants from former British colonies and dependent territories. As Taniguchi points out, this poem in its entirety is a "powerful plea for tolerance, [Agard] insists that readers re-

2   Morag Styles, "The Power of Caribbean Poetry: Word and Sound," *Bookbird: A Journal of International Children's Literature* 51, no. 1 (2013): 53, doi:10.1353/bkb.2013.0012.
3   Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Who Claims Alterity," in *Remaking History: Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, ed. Barbara Kruger and Phil Mariani (Seattle: Bay Press, 1989), 269.
4   Spivak, "Who Claims Alterity," 275.
5   Spivak, "Who Claims Alterity," 274–75.
6   John Agard, "Half-Caste," in *Alternative Anthem: Selected Poems* (Tarset: Bloodaxe Books, 2009), 123.
7   Jennifer M. Brabander, "John Agard *Half-Caste and Other Poems*," *Horn Book Magazine* 82, no. 1 (2006): 94.
8   Agard, "Half-Caste," 123.

examine their own stereotypes."[9] The repetitive use of the phrase "explain yuself/ wha yu mean / when yo say half-caste"[10] should motivate the reader to change the ways/ he thinks of immigrants. Agard chooses the method of analogy to show indirectly that an individual can profit from being of ethnically mixed background. To provide an example of an inappropriate treatment of any kind of mixture, the poet further argues, "yu mean when picasso / mix red an green / is a half-caste canvas."[11] In the case of Picasso, most readers would in all probability not even consider him and his art as potentially half-caste in spite of the fact that his name is spelled with a small initial letter. By using the example of the painter, Agard manifests that mixing of colours not only in a painting is an art which can be appreciated for its beauty. Agard extends the Picasso analogy by juxtaposing it to an example of proverbial English weather, "yu mean when light an shadow / mix in de sky / is a half-caste weather / well in dat case / england weather / nearly always half-caste."[12] English weather is, of course, used as a metaphor to show that to consider something as only being half-valid only because it is a mixture is a nonsense. Rather, you should appreciate the full potential of the individual parts forming the effect of the whole. Both in the case of Picasso's paintings and in the case of the English weather, the parts on their own if not put together would not be able to create a meaningful and organic whole.

To conclude his series of analogies, Agard references another field of creative human activity, namely music composition and its production of meaningful mixtures: "yu mean when tchaikovsky / sit down at dah piano / an mix a black key / wid a white key / is a half-caste symphony."[13] A standard piano has black and white keys, and no one questions their co-existence, as a piano with only white keys does not enable harmony. Moreover, there is no discussion about whether the white or the black keys are more significant. In addition, Tchaikovsky is generally considered a master composer, and Agard chose him deliberately, as Tchaikovsky's mother, maiden name d'Assier, was of mixed French-Russian descent. The last stanza of Agard's poem changes the role of the speaker from the subordinate position to the position of a person in charge: "and when I'm introduced to you / I'm sure you'll understand / why I offer yu half-a-hand."[14] The speaker has gained the confidence to urge a change of attitude towards immigrants and hopes that if you understand their story as a whole and not only in bits and pieces, you will not look upon them as half-caste, but "wid de whole of yu eye / an de whole of yu ear / an de whole of yu mind" will see "de other half."[15] In other words, Agard demands through his poetic speaker that immigrants should be regarded as full-fledged human beings and that they should be given full attention. In his view, the racial question should not be publicly side-lined; rather, the status of immigrants should be solved adequately

---

9   Marilyn Taniguchi, "Agard, John. *Half-Caste and Other Poems*," *School Libary Journal* 52, no. 1 (2006): 145.
10   Agard, "Half-Caste," 123.
11   Agard, "Half-Caste," 123.
12   Agard, "Half-Caste," 123.
13   Agard, "Half-Caste," 123.
14   Agard, "Half-Caste," 123.
15   Agard, "Half-Caste," 123.

with respect to their past achievements, especially in relation to their services to the British Empire. Similarly, Morag Styles argues that "although the language and ideas … appear initially very accessible, they invite deep engagement with ideas of identity and place, history and voice."[16] As a result, open mindedness and the rejection of racial prejudice are the only ways to achieve a multicultural society where various ethnic and culturally diverse groups may peacefully coincide.

Language and language variety is the central focus of "Listen Mr Oxford don." The speaker juxtaposes an immigrant who is "only armed with [his] human breath," and an anonymous Oxford don speaking in "Queen's English."[17] The variety of Creole the immigrant speaks is one of the few signifiers of his Caribbean origin. As Manolachi postulates, "the use of Creole English and other forms of the so-called 'broken English,' the free indirect speech combined with lyricism, specific vocabulary and the extensive use of the enjambment are some of the techniques that transmit the existence of an experience type completely different than that usually perceived by the British."[18] The immigrant is accused "of assault / on de Oxford dictionary,"[19] yet, in his view, he is not competing with it in any sense. He is confident that English Caribbean Creole is unique and should not be judged against the matrix of Oxford English as both varieties should be viewed as self-sustained and independent languages enabling a full-fledged communication. They should be evaluated as complete, correct, adequate and valid geographical varieties of English rather than being scrutinized by the dichotomy of complete vs. incomplete, proper vs. improper, or appropriate vs. inappropriate languages.

In a follow up poem, Agard extends the absurdity of distinguishing what is proper English and what is a borrowing. In a mocking tone, he shows that if "all words of foreign origin / return[ed] to their native borders," then consequently the "English dictionary [would] grow so thin" and would be "weeping between its covers." Moreover, "linguists" would be "rioting in the streets. / Crossword lovers [would be] on hunger strike."[20] If all the words that are borrowed stopped being used in English, it would truly be the day when "a dictionary [would mourn] its language."[21] Agard foregrounds the absurdity of any initiative to cleanse the English language, as its historical development makes it an amalgam of all possible influences and borrowings. The sarcasm and irony that Agard uses in the poem are employed not only to amuse the reader. On the contrary, he points out the hardships of immigration. As Manolachi argues,

> due to the effects of migration, … the poets compare their place of origin and their new place of residence, attempting to find points of belonging, which has led to both nihilistic attitudes and

16 Styles, "The Power of Caribbean Poetry," 54.
17 John Agard, "Listen Mr Oxford don," in *Alternative Anthem: Selected Poems* (Tarset: Bloodaxe Books, 2009), 16.
18 Monica Manolachi, "Caribbean Poetry in Britain, A Literary Site of Cultural Change," *Studia UBB Philologia* 58, no. 3 (2013): 167, http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/indexing/details/A15796/pdf.
19 Agard, "Listen Mr Oxford don," 16.
20 John Agard, "Reporting from the Frontline of the Great Dictionary Disaster," in *Alternative Anthem: Selected Poems* (Tarset: Bloodaxe Books, 2009), 17.
21 Agard, "Reporting from the Frontline of the Great Dictionary Disaster," 17.

forms of double belonging, to split literary identities and schizoid forms of expression … the poetic discourse often becomes winged, more balanced, intense, based on double codification, with subtle spelling and phonetic games.[22]

Through the deliberate use of Caribbean Creole, Agard draws attention to its phonetic and creative potential, and the contrast between this variety of English and the standard British English becomes clear. At the same time, Agard does not draw any dividing line between the two as he switches freely between them, by which act he in the subtext suggests the multi-ethnic and therefore multilinguistic nature of today's British society.

A more comforting view of the social discrepancies in postcolonial Britain is voiced in "From Britannia To Whom It May Concern." The speaker is Britannia, both referring to the country and the royal yacht, which is personified as the motherland. It recapitulates her past achievements: "When I ruled the waves, all the world seemed pink. / I manipulated maps with sword and cross. / Shifted boundaries with seal of royal ink."[23] Britannia acknowledges that it conquered foreign countries by force and imposed her religious order upon indigenous populations. Due to British colonisation, the boundaries of former independent territories shifted. Moreover, Britannia "enthroned [her] language as a rule of tongue."[24] Although English as a lingua franca might have worked as a means of mutual communication, it was also a clear sign of colonial superimposed power and a language that the colonizer spoke. Britannia even admits that she has exploited her colonies, she "gathered India's jewels into [her] crown," and that without African slaves, the glory of the empire could never have been achieved, "Africa blood still haunts my monuments."[25] Although sugar was an expensive and exclusive commodity in the colonial period, now Britannia admits that "sugar holds a bitter past."[26] Britannia continues her monologue by consenting to the fact that "the voiceless voice that righteous fires,"[27] and thus the process of former colonies gaining their independence is an inevitable political development because she has "learnt how the sun sets on empires."[28] Therefore, she understands that her glorious past is over. Nostalgia is overcome by a glimpse into the future: "I feel horizons throbbing at my doorstep. / My streets pulse with a plurality of tongues."[29] As a consequence, the once superimposed English as a lingua franca of the British empire has been replaced by the creoles of the former colonies in addition to the languages of the immigrants from all possible countries of the world, altogether creating a "plurality of tongues." This last phrase refers not only to the languages spoken currently in Britain; in the subtext it identifies the plenitude of social and cultural backgrounds of the current inhabitants

---

22 Manolachi, "Caribbean Poetry in Britain," 167.
23 John Agard, "From Britannia To Whom It May Concern," in *Alternative Anthem: Selected Poems* (Tarset: Bloodaxe Books, 2009), 122.
24 Agard, "From Britannia To Whom It May Concern," 122.
25 Agard, "From Britannia To Whom It May Concern," 122.
26 Agard, "From Britannia To Whom It May Concern," 122.
27 Agard, "From Britannia To Whom It May Concern," 122.
28 Agard, "From Britannia To Whom It May Concern," 122.
29 Agard, "From Britannia To Whom It May Concern," 122.

of Britain. However, there is still a long way to go before all immigrant issues are settled, as the "mother country has much work to do. / I must prepare my cliffs for new homecomings."[30] Yet, by the end of the poem, Agard through the speaker of Britannia voices the hope that Britain will be able to cope with the new waves of postcolonial immigration.

Although the main theme of the poem "Talking to Plants" is flora, in the subtext, Agard creates an analogy between flourishing plants and surviving immigration. The prerequisite for mutual understanding of cultures is communication. In this poem, Agard urges, "Always talk to your plants," i.e., government and immigrants must communicate to solve problems and to live in mutual harmony. The speaker believes that it is necessary to "speak slowly, watch them [immigrants] bloom. / If necessary shout each syllable. / Their ears are ready vessels / for a shower of the Queen's vowels."[31] The immigrants are ready to listen, only they need time to adapt and to be given space to retain at least partially their cultural heritage. As a consequence, assimilation is not the best method of adaptation, as the lines towards the end of the poem show: "So I spoke like an Oxford don / to my wilting rhododendron. / It wilted more. As for my drooping shrub, / my words only seem to draw more slugs …. Tell me, plants, must I address you in Punjabi?"[32] Agard's final line in the form of a sarcastic question summarizes the current status quo of the immigrant issues in contemporary Britain. The poet wanders what the best language and ground would be for discussing the issues and, moreover, for finding a mutual understanding between the nations, races, ethnicities and languages of all the various inhabitants of the British Isles.

To conclude, Agard in his poetry offers poignant interpretations of colonial and postcolonial British immigration. His poetry is imbued with new interpretations of the past from the point of view of the immigrants, especially from the Caribbean. The linguistic variety and complexity that are used in his poems foreground the uneasy nature of the language situation – the hesitation of usage, the labelling and the simultaneous tension between standard British English and Caribbean Creole. Agard utilizes humour and irony in order show the most striking social discrepancies. Yet, his poetry is also full of hope that in the future Britain will be able to adapt to a new society that will be made of people from all over the world cherishing their native cultural and linguistic heritages.

---

30 Agard, "From Britannia To Whom It May Concern," 122.
31 John Agard, "Talking to Plants," in *Alternative Anthem: Selected Poems* (Tarset: Bloodaxe Books, 2009), 12.
32 Agard, "Talking to Plants," 12.

WORKS CITED

Agard, John. *Alternative Anthem: Selected Poems.* Tarset: Bloodaxe Books, 2009.

Brabander, Jennifer M. "John Agard *Half-Caste and Other Poems.*" *Horn Book Magazine* 82, no. 1 (2006): 94.

Manolachi, Monica. "Caribbean Poetry in Britain, A Literary Site of Cultural Change." *Studia UBB Philologia* 58, no. 3 (2013): 165–82. http://www.diacronia.ro/ro/indexing/details/A15796/pdf.

Sommer, Roy. "'Black' British Literary Studies and the Emergence of a New Canon." *Orbis Litterarum* 66, no.3 (2011): 238–48. doi:10.1111/j.1600-0730.2011.01012.x.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty. "Who Claims Alterity." In *Remaking History: Discussions in Contemporary Culture*, edited by Barbara Kruger and Phil Mariani, 269–92. Seattle: Bay Press, 1989.

Styles, Morag. "The Power of Caribbean Poetry: Word and Sound." *Bookbird: A Journal of International Children's Literature* 51, no. 1 (2013): 51–59. doi:10.1353/bkb.2013.0012.

Taniguchi, Marilyn. "Agard, John. *Half-Caste and Other Poems.*" *School Library Journal* 52, no. 1 (2006): 145.

Caught Looking: The Poetics of the Suburban Gaze in American Driving Poems

white middle-class detached single family house ownership in a pleasant community that combines the best of the country and the city while avoiding the problems of both environments.

This paper will examine three American lyric poems that explore the environment of affluent suburbia which functions as the target for meditative description. The speakers of these poems adopt the perspective of suburban gazers whose observations condition the interpretation of social, ethnic, racial, and gender aspects of identity within American suburbia. In poetry, the gaze is typically synonymous with the view of reality such as described through the vision of the poem's speaker. J. D. Reed defines the gaze of the poet in an epic poem such as *The Aeneid* by Virgil as "an emotionally charged visual description, often assimilable to what and how a particular viewing characters sees" while the seen, in turn, "implies a series of conceptual oppositions: male and female, maturity and youth, lover and beloved, self and other."[3] Reed's list of oppositions inherent in the poet's gaze might be broadened to include the oppositions of the private and public sphere, inside and outside, social recognition and exclusion as pertaining to the identity of the suburban gazer and to the object(s) of his or her gaze.

Monacell argues that Americans who have written about suburbia have faced the existentialist challenge of trying to write poems while being entrenched within an environment that seems inimical to the individualistic arts and culture for, "the suburbanite poet is a persona both of the suburbs – resident there – and not of the suburbs – a poet, who ostensibly speaks apart from his anti-poetic surroundings; and it is this duality which engenders the dialogic nature of the suburban poem."[4] The following survey will, however, show that even those American poets of suburbia whose gazes have attributes of social commentary and self-imposed ostracization from the environment which they portray have nonetheless felt that their choice of viewpoint and setting allow for the production of important lyric commentary about the American society and culture.

An early American poem, the rhetorical effect of which rests upon the utilization of the suburban gaze as an agent of the gendered self-definition of the gazer, is "The Young Housewife" by William Carlos Williams. In this short lyric from the 1910s, the author presents a chance suburban meeting, told from the perspective of a male car driver who passes through a strange neighborhood in the morning: "At ten A.M. the young housewife / moves about in negligee behind / the wooden walls of her husband's house. / I pass solitary in my car."[5] The woman, an object of the driver's short-lived, admiring gaze, is caught unawares, partly shielded by the relative solidity of her home. Her social and material position is defined by her husband, presumably

---

its history in architecture, society, and the arts is John Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005).

3   J. D. Reed, *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 17.

4   Monacell, "Poetry of the American Suburbs," 5. He consciously genders the suburban poet as male.

5   William Carlos Williams, "The Young Housewife," in *The Collected Poems of William Carlos Williams: Volume 1, 1909–1939*, ed, A. Walton Litz and Christopher MacGowan (New York: New Directions, 1991), 57.

the family breadwinner who works in the city and leaves the household to her during the day. Rachel Blau Duplessis explains the strange effect of the poem's viewpoint for the interpretation of gender roles and the power these effect upon the identity of the gazer and the woman he gazes at, for the male speaker "is paradoxically both freer and more constrained than the depicted woman."[6] To preserve decorum, the poet has to resume driving after a while and keep the enjoyment of the woman's inviting image to himself. The next two stanzas of the poem suggest another drive-by visit of the poet-gazer to the woman's street later on the same day as the woman, by now dressed, "comes to the curb / to call the ice-man, fish-man, and stands / shy, uncorseted, tucking in / stray ends of hair,"[7] giving preening signals to the delivery men. The viewpoint has changed from the earlier case of the one-dimensional voyeuristic gaze of the poet in the direction of the woman. The second visit to her street allows the poet to further elaborate on the woman's charm as she, while still ignorant of his gaze, happily interacts with delivery men in front of the house. By now a public figure within the limits of her neighborhood, the woman prompts the poet to use a conscious literary gesture as he lovingly compares her "to a fallen leaf."[8] The adjective suggests the woman's potential for becoming fallen, or, seduced into acquiescence with the poet's erotic fantasies, yet this desire is at best implied, locked within the boundaries of his genteel imagination. As Jon Chatlos explains, in the car driving poems by Williams, "there is an interconnection, however tenuous, between the speaker and the images that he encounters from his passing roadster,"[9] underlying the repressed, internalized desire for the observed, or gazed-at, other.

In the final stanza of "The Young Housewife," Williams again emphasizes the driver's confidence as a car owner and someone whose daily schedule makes it possible to drive through American suburbs in the morning on a whim, casting admiring glances at strange women whose absent husbands will not interfere. However, Williams's poet-gazer realizes the joy of observing the woman's presumed availability may not exceed the limits of propriety, so the "noiseless wheels" of his car again "rush with a crackling sound over / dried leaves" as he decides to drive off again, mustering the courage to "bow and pass smiling,"[10] which is the only gesture of the speaker that has the potential to be reciprocated by the woman. On the one hand, the driver might be seen as a despicable intruder who encroaches upon the woman's privacy, on the other hand, his gentle admiration for her renders him a tactful agent of diversion in the woman's otherwise routine suburban morning. The identity of the poet-gazer in "The Young Housewife" is that of a male suburban insider and car owner whose voyeuristic gaze directed at strangers in neighborhoods outside his own seems morally questionable,

---

6   Rachel Blau DuPlessis, *Genders, Races, and Religious Cultures in Modern American Poetry, 1908–1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 33.
7   Williams, "The Young Housewife," 57.
8   Williams, "The Young Housewife," 57.
9   See Jon Chatlos, "Automobility and Lyric Poetry: The Mobile Gaze in William Carlos Williams's 'The Right of Way,'" *Journal of Modern Literature* 30, no. 1 (2006): 148, http://www.jstor.org/stable/4619318.
10   Williams, "The Young Housewife," 57.

yet it is justifiable on account of its relative innocence.[11] As Jo Gill has argued, much of American suburban poetry focuses on strategies of "gendered viewing" of the other, with the resulting "fetishization of the (female) body, and in strategies of resistance to such processes."[12] In "The Young Housewife," Williams provides an early example of the male gaze that exploits the suburban woman's semi-private face. Ultimately, the poem is what Monacell terms the staple poetic utterance about American suburbia, namely, a portrait of "bourgeois persons who avail themselves of the overlapping economic, educational, and civic advantages that many Americans are denied."[13]

In "Beverly Hills, Chicago," Gwendolyn Brooks perpetuates the stereotype of African Americans as people excluded from the suburban version of the American Dream of house ownership and domestic idyll.[14] The poem utilizes the collective viewpoint of a group of gazers, whose identity is presented as marginalized on the basis of race and class from the suburban community being portrayed.[15] The period is 1940s segregated America, the season is summer turning to fall, and the glorification of the white suburbanites and their material and social achievement enables Brooks to comment upon racial and class inequality in America of her time, marking the complete reversal of power from the privileged gazing perspective that is adopted in the Williams poem discussed above: "These people walk their golden gardens. / We say ourselves fortunate to be driving by today."[16] The collectivist nature of Brooks's group of speakers, passengers in a car that is only allowed to pass through the attractive community of whites, highlights another difference between the nature of the suburban gaze as employed by Williams and by Brooks. While the gazer in "The Young Housewife" is a lone male car owner and driver whose command of the wheel and ample free time allows him to become a desirable knight on a horse whose attractive social status may please the woman he sees outside beyond a mere mutual exchange of pleasantries on the street, the unnamed group of riders in "Beverly Hills, Chicago" are marked by their riding together, presumably as carpoolers, trying to save money by splitting the expense of car usage. The suburbanites which they observe are portrayed as glamorous

---

11 Williams adopts the viewpoint of a suburban gazer who comments on his suburb and/or household even in other poems. See "Danse Russe," in *The Collected Poems of William Carlos Williams, Volume 1, 1909–1939*, ed. A. Walton Litz and Christopher MacGowan (New York: New Directions, 1991), 86, and "To a Chinese Woman," in *The Collected Poems of William Carlos Williams, Volume II, 1939–1962*, ed. Christopher MacGowan (New York: New Directions, 1986), 28.

12 Gill, *The Poetics of the American Suburbs*, 136.

13 See Monacell, "Poetry of the American Suburbs," 65.

14 See Gwendolyn Brooks, "Beverly Hills, Chicago," in *Selected Poems* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), 61–62.

15 Several scholars have argued, however, that the stereotypization of twentieth-century American suburbia as purely white, racist, affluent, and exclusionary is misleading as African American suburbs had existed, to a lesser and more segregated degree, widely by the time of Brooks's poem (whose early publication was in her Pulitzer Prize-winning 1949 volume, *Annie Allen*), in many American metropolitan areas. See Mark Clapson, *Suburban Century: Social Change and Urban Growth in England and the United States* (Oxford: Berg, 2003); Andrew Wiese, *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and Rosalyn Baxandall and Elizabeth Ewen, *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

16 Brooks, "Beverly Hills, Chicago," 61.

movie stars, aristocratic in their habitual motion as they "flow sweetly into their homes" to have tea while even their "refuse is a neat brilliancy."[17] In her understated portrayal of the suburb's glamor, Brooks shows the depths of the chasm that existed in the mid-twentieth century between white America and the minorities as whites had been, for decades, leaving the cities for the suburbs. The privileged identity of the suburbanites in "Beverly Hills, Chicago" is communicated, as Monacell explains, by a description of the outward signs of wealth and material success,[18] while the speakers of the poem, barred from participation in the suburban dream, may only resort to envious gazing, irony, and understatement as the only viable substitute for anger: "Not that anybody is saying that these people have no trouble. / Merely that it is trouble with a gold-flecked beautiful banner."[19] Perhaps an ultimate example of understated commentary on the segregation in mid-century America and social inequality derived of discriminatory practices in American housing and job markets occurs later in the poem, as Brooks wryly notes that the suburbanites who are the objects of the group's collective gaze would "make excellent corpses, among the expensive flowers" of their immaculate establishments.[20] The drive through the affluent suburb of Chicago becomes, to the group of gazers in the poem, an exercise in self-imposed suburban victimization wherein the suburban community they observe functions as an unwitting agent of the gazers' criticism that stops just short of calling for social reform and redistribution of material possessions. The speakers claim that they "do not want them [ie the suburbanites being observed] to have less. / But it is only natural that we should think we have not enough."[21] The poem's resolution is inevitable – the speakers drive away in their shared car, and when conversation resumes, their voices "are a little gruff."[22] The poem is a testimony to the degree to which, as Robert Beuka has shown, "race issues figure prominently in the cultural dynamics of suburbia."[23] To Brooks, the African American gazer at suburbia remains invisible, excluded from its cultural narrative, being allowed only to observe and comment on the lifestyle that he or she, may never attain for himself or herself.

Another poem about American suburbia which utilizes the gaze of a passing-by driver is "Sleet Storm on the Merritt Parkway" by Robert Bly, a poet of long-term commitment to deep image poetics and literature of political activism.[24] The title, referring to a historic scenic road in the state of Connecticut, is incidental to the poem's real focus which is on portraying Scarsdale, an upper class suburb of New York City.

---

17 Brooks, "Beverly Hills, Chicago," 61.
18 See Monacell, "Poetry of the American Suburbs," 23.
19 Brooks, "Beverly Hills, Chicago," 61. For poetic stance that is more openly militant and radical, see "Political Poem" by Amiri Baraka, in *Transbluesency: The Selected Poems of Amiri Baraka/LeRoi Jones (1961–1995), ed. Paul Vangelisti* (New York: Marsilio, 1995), 107. Baraka claims, in the poem's introduction, that "Luxury is a way / of being ignorant." The portrait of American suburbia by Brooks, however, does not go as far in terms of the racially motivated anger at the inherent social inequality.
20 Brooks, "Beverly Hills, Chicago," 62.
21 Brooks, "Beverly Hills, Chicago," 62.
22 Brooks, "Beverly Hills, Chicago," 62.
23 Beuka, *Suburbia Nation*, 188.
24 See Robert Bly, "Sleet Storm on the Merritt Parkway," in *Stealing Sugar from the Castle: Selected and New Poems, 1950–2013* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2013), 33.

The community has "many comfortable homes stretching for miles, / Two and three stories, solid, with polished floors, / With white curtains in the upstairs bedrooms, / And small perfume flagons of black glass on the window sills."[25] As in the Williams and Brooks poems above, Bly adopts the gaze of the iconoclastic outsider who drives past the quiet, affluent, and self-confident community in his car, the movable space whose power to shape one's contemplation he elsewhere likens to "solitude covered with iron,"[26] while he attempts to juxtapose the peacefulness and idyll of the Scarsdale suburbs to the far-away world of poverty and suffering: "Last night we argued about the Marines invading Guatemala in 1947, / The United Fruit Company had one water spigot for 200 families, / And the ideals of America, our freedom to criticize, / The slave systems of Rome and Greece, and no one agreed."[27] Monacell argues that the beautiful suburbanites in this poem "lack empathy" as their bourgeois smugness insulates them from any suffering in the world, and the poet's invocation of the heated suburban conversation with his guests about the poor and downtrodden in another country is too incongruous to be effective.[28] Bly's gaze towards the Scarsdale suburbs thus fails to place the driver within the tradition of American driving poems about suburbia as his criticism of suburban affluence sounds like ideological biting the hand which has just fed him. Deborah Nelson argues that the attraction of American suburbanization in the postwar era lies precisely in the "opportunity to live out the democratic dream of privacy."[29] In this light, Bly's heavy-handed criticism of suburban affluence and his refusal to identify with the suburbanites and their ruthless pursuit of social exclusivity sounds unconvincing as does his jarring attempt to expose the ruthlessness of suburbia by contrasting its peaceful glamour with dire images of Guatemalan economic and political problems.

While American poetry has seen other major car driving poems wherein the solitary drive helps the poet as departure towards an exploration of deeper truths of about self and existence, such as "Travels in North America" by Weldon Kees and "The Far Field" by Theodore Roethke,[30] Marianne Boruch explains the attraction of the car drive conceit in a poem as activity which sets in motion "the pure kinetics that gives confidence, the body moving however it can through time and space."[31] The gazers in "The Young Housewife," "Beverly Hills, Chicago," and "Sleet Storm on the

---

25 Bly, "Sleet Storm," 33.
26 See Robert Bly, "Driving Toward the Lac Qui Parle River," in *Silence in the Snowy Fields* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1962), 20.
27 Bly, "Sleet Storm," 33.
28 Monacell argues that the speaker of Bly's "Sleet Storm" poem has clearly been the guest of a suburban family and enjoyed its welcome, only to wax self-righteous about the insularity of their material achievement and lack of feeling for the poor and downtrodden in elsewhere in the world. See Monacell, "Poetry of the American Suburbs," 36.
29 Deborah Nelson, *Pursuing Privacy in Cold War America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 85.
30 See, for example, Weldon Kees, "Travels in North America" in The Collected Poems of Weldon Kees, ed. Donald Justice (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960), 114–19; and "The Far Field" by Theodore Roethke, in *The Collected Poems of Theodore Roethke* (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 199–201.
31 Marianne Boruch, *In the Blue Pharmacy: Essays on Poetry and Other Transformations* (San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2005), 55–56.

Merritt Parkway" all benefit from the identity and posturing of drivers whose foot on the gas pedal may manipulate the length of their suburban driving encounters, yet whose gender, race, and social affiliation also limits the degree to which they may identify with the suburban communities which they probe. As Boruch also notes, albeit in a different context, in American poems about driving, "what opens the world to endless discovery also closes it."[32] Such physical as well as intellectual limitation of perception is nowhere more evident than in the prison-like, enclosed space of the car used by the suburban gazer whose observation of various suburban scenes is seems but an extension of the tradition of walking meditative poems that stretches back to the Romantics. Although Robert von Hallberg still felt, in the mid-1980s, the need to apologize for the existence of viable suburban poetry in America, arguing that "poets who have turned to the suburbs for subject matter are honestly engaging experiences that are indeed familiar,"[33] younger writers of the last three decades have felt no such qualms about choosing to focus their celebratory gaze upon the residential enclaves in the suburbs. In "Suburban Pastoral," Dave Lucas provides a fitting follow-up to the dilemma of the earlier American poets from Williams to Bly who chose to observe suburbia as outsiders by choice or necessity. Instead, Lucas consciously positions the speaker of his poem as an insider to the suburban community who is proud of its achievement and happy to belong there: "Twilight folds over houses on our street; / its hazy gold is gilding our front lawns, / delineating asphalt and concrete / driveways with shadows."[34] While the gazer in the three previously discussed poems invariably is positioned as an outsider, the panoramic gaze of the omniscient observer in "Suburban Pastoral" suggests that American poets nowadays have gone way beyond the earlier mode of existentialist doubt and critique of suburbia on account of its bourgeois uniformity and intellectual deadness. Quite the contrary, American suburbia today, for poets like Lucas, has become the racially and ethnically mixed ideal of a good, worthy, and exciting environment to live in.[35] Gone is the tone of condescension that could be found in earlier postwar suburban insider poets such as Richard Wilbur and Louis Simpson.[36] From the vantage point of the 2000s, Lucas paints a realistic picture of what Angus Fletcher disparagingly calls "homesteading in dubious suburbs,"[37] a life choice

32   Boruch, *In the Blue Pharmacy*, 66.

33   von Hallberg, *American Poetry and Culture*, 228.

34   Dave Lucas, "Suburban Pastoral," *Poetry* 184, no. 4 (2004): 281, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20606672.

35   Of the many recent and contemporary examples of the way in which suburban poetry has embraced hybrid identities of racially and ethnically mixed community, see Suji Kwock Kim, "The Couple Next Door," in *Notes from the Divided Country: Poems* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003), 49–50. Kim's poem features an ethnic suburbanite who lovingly observes the plight of her neighbors, none of whom seem to fit the traditional pattern of WASP heterosexual middle-class house owner that dominated the earlier suburban narratives in twentieth-century American literature.

36   The best-known scathing portraits of suburban ennui, conformity, and lifelessness in postwar American poetry occur in Richard Wilbur, "To an American Poet Just Dead," in *New and Collected Poems* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988), 329; and in Louis Simpson, "In the Suburbs," in *At the End of the Open Road* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1963), 12. These poems, however essential for any historical treatment of American suburban poetry, do not utilize the perspective of a suburban driver, which is why their discussion is omitted here.

37   Angus Fletcher, *A New Theory for American Poetry: Democracy, the Environment, and the Future of Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 68.

which deserves, and increasingly gets, an affirmative representation in contemporary American poetry.

Works Cited

Archer, John. *Architecture and Suburbia: From English Villa to American Dream House, 1690–2000*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Baraka, Amiri. *Transbluesency: The Selected Poems of Amiri Baraka/LeRoi Jones (1961–1995)*. Edited by Paul Vangelisti. New York: Marsilio, 1995.

Baxandall, Rosalyn, and Elizabeth Ewen. *Picture Windows: How the Suburbs Happened*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.

Beuka, Robert. *SuburbiaNation: Reading Suburban Landscape in Twentieth-Century American Fiction and Film*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.

Bly, Robert. "Driving Toward the Lac Qui Parle River." In *Silence in the Snowy Fields: Poems*, 20. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1962.

Bly, Robert. "Sleet Storm on the Merritt Parkway." In *Stealing Sugar from the Castle: Selected and New Poems, 1950–2013*, 33. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2013.

Boruch, Marianne. *In the Blue Pharmacy: Essays on Poetry and Other Transformations*. San Antonio: Trinity University Press, 2005.

Brooks, Gwendolyn. *Annie Allen*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.

Brooks, Gwendolyn. "Beverly Hills, Chicago." In *Selected Poems*, 61–62. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.

Chatlos, Jon. "Automobility and Lyric Poetry: The Mobile Gaze in William Carlos Williams' 'The Right of Way.'" *Journal of Modern Literature* 30, no. 1 (Autumn 2006): 140–54. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4619318.

Clapson, Mark. *Suburban Century: Social Change and Urban Growth in England and the United States*. Oxford: Berg, 2003.

Dickinson, Greg. *Suburban Dreams: Imagining and Building the Good Life*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015.

Donaldson, Scott. *The Suburban Myth*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.

DuPlessis, Rachel Blau. *Genders, Races, and Religious Cultures in Modern American Poetry, 1908–1934*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Gill, Jo. *The Poetics of the American Suburbs*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.

Flajšar, Jiří. "Poetry of the American Suburbs: A Postwar Exercise in Non-conformity." In *Conformity and Resistance in America*, edited by Tomasz Lebiecki and Jacek Gutorow, 89–96. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007.

Fletcher, Angus. *A New Theory for American Poetry: Democracy, the Environment, and the Future of Imagination*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004.

Hayden, Dolores. *Building Suburbia: Green Fields and Urban Growth, 1820–2000*. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.

Jackson, Kenneth T. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Jurca, Catherine. *White Diaspora: The Suburb and the Twentieth-Century American Novel*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001.

Kees, Weldon. "Travels in North America." In *The Collected Poems of Weldon Kees*. Edited by Donald Justice, 114–19. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1960.

Kim, Suji Kwock. "The Couple Next Door." In *Notes from the Divided Country: Poems*, 49–50. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2003.

Knapp, Kathy. *American Unexceptionalism: The Everyman and the Suburban Novel after 9/11*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014.

Lucas, Dave. "Suburban Pastoral." *Poetry* 184, no. 4 (2004): 281–82. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20606672.

Monacell, Peter. "Poetry of the American Suburbs." Master's thesis, University of Missouri, 2004.

Nelson, Deborah. *Pursuing Privacy in Cold War America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2002.

Reed, J. D. *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the Aeneid*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Riley, Kathryn Louise. "The Use of Suburbia as a Setting in the Fiction of John O'Hara, John Cheever, and John Updike." PhD diss, University of Maryland, 1981.

Roethke, Theodore. "The Far Field." In *The Collected Poems of Theodore Roethke*, 199–201. New York: Doubleday, 1965.

Simpson, Louis. "In the Suburbs." In *At the End of the Open Road*, 12. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1963.

von Hallberg, Robert. *American Poetry and Culture, 1945–1980*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Wiese, Andrew. *Places of Their Own: African American Suburbanization in the Twentieth Century*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Wilbur, Richard. "To an American Poet Just Dead." In *New and Collected Poems*, 329. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988.

Williams, William Carlos. "Danse Russe." In *The Collected Poems of William Carlos Williams: Volume 1, 1909–1939*. Edited by A. Walton Litz and Christopher MacGowan, 86. New York: New Directions, 1991.

Williams, William Carlos. "The Young Housewife." In *The Collected Poems of William Carlos Williams: Volume 1, 1909–1939*. Edited by A. Walton Litz and Christopher MacGowan, 57. New York: New Directions, 1991.

Williams, William Carlos. "To a Chinese Woman." In *The Collected Poems of William Carlos Williams, Volume II: 1939–1962*. Edited by Christopher MacGowan, 28. New York: New Directions, 1986.

Tartan Noir: Mapping the Genre's Characteristics from McIlvanney to Rankin and MacBride

Markéta Gregorová

Independent scholar, Olomouc, Czech Republic. Email: info@marketagregorova.cz

Abstract: Tartan noir is an established critical label for a specifically Scottish strain of crime writing that has more affinities with American hard-boiled fiction (American noir) and contemporary Scandinavian crime fiction (Nordic noir) than with genteel English country house mysteries. Tartan noir, currently Scotland's major literary export product, was introduced in 1977 with William McIlvanney's *Laidlaw*, a novel that laid down the genre's conventions, which are observed, with minor modifications, up to the present. What sets tartan noir apart from other crime fiction subgenres is particularly the centrality of the setting to the story, an underlying dark humour and, perhaps paradoxically, an emphasis on the humanity of criminals and detectives alike. Besides dealing with the criminal investigation, tartan noir seeks to portray psychologically complex characters: criminals are depicted as erring human beings rather than dismissed as monsters, and detectives are shown as deeply flawed rather than as paragons of virtue. Other characteristics of tartan noir include a pervasive sense of nostalgia accompanied by the detectives' preference for old-time, hands-on investigation methods; often unusually violent crimes; and grittiness in the form of old-fashioned, seedy pubs frequented by the detectives, who typically indulge in rough language, heavy drinking and chain smoking. This paper aims to provide a survey of major features of tartan noir and illustrate these features in use on the representative examples of McIlvanney's Glasgow-set *Laidlaw*, Ian Rankin's Edinburgh-set *Knots & Crosses* (1987) and Stuart MacBride's Aberdeen-set *Cold Granite* (2005).

Keywords: tartan noir; crime fiction; Scottish literature; William McIlvanney; Ian Rankin; Stuart MacBride

Scotland provides a particularly nourishing environment for the growth of crime fiction. Scotland's natural landscapes of rugged mountains and wind-whipped moors, its urban areas of grey granite historical buildings and pallid modern developments and its dank and drab climate all create an appropriately bleak backdrop for dark scenes of crime. As members of a stateless nation that lost its political sovereignty in the 1707 union with England, Scottish writers have been traditionally deeply attuned to the value of the land. The setting is a vital constituent in much Scottish writing to the extent that it commonly becomes promoted to the role of a character in its own right. This is typically the case in tartan noir, a marketing label for current Scottish crime fiction, the wide popular appeal and critical acclaim of which stem in large part from the writers' conscious utilisation of the peculiarities of Scottish settings. This paper explores the main features of the genre and illustrates them through the representative examples of three novels set in different cities and written in different decades: William

McIlvanney's Glasgow-set *Laidlaw* (1977), Ian Rankin's Edinburgh-set *Knots & Crosses* (1987) and Stuart MacBride's Aberdeen-set *Cold Granite* (2005).

Scotland's literary legacy in fiction rests on Walter Scott's heavily romanticised versions of his nation's violent past; on James Hogg's seminal novel of crime, sin and duplicity – *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824); and on Robert Louis Stevenson's novella of mystery, morality, and duality – *Strange Case of Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* (1886). What transpires from these cornerstones of Scottish writing is the recurrent preoccupation with violent acts, the nature of crime and divided individual and national identities. Gill Plain argues that Scottish "hard-boiled fiction represents an assertion of both masculinity and national identity: it constitutes a manifestation of the frontier spirit in the modern age, and its detectives are hard-edged but honourable, tough-talking, blue-collar figures uncorrupted by power and intractably opposed to the decadent forces of wealth. This is the fiction of identities forged in opposition."[1] Plain goes on to observe that "nearly every self-respecting crime novel carries an obligatory reference to Stevenson or his seminal novel."[2] Indeed, the currently bestselling tartan noir author, Ian Rankin, embarked on his career as a crime writer with the self-declared intention to "update *Dr Jekyll and Mr Hyde* to 1980s Edinburgh," and when *Knots & Crosses* was published, Rankin recalls, "I found to my astonishment that everyone was saying I'd written a whodunnit, a crime novel."[3]

Tartan noir does not qualify as a deliberate literary movement, and even when applied as a loose critical category, it accommodates a greatly heterogeneous group of works, which may seem to have little in common apart from their origin from the pen of a Scottish author. Another contemporary tartan noir practitioner, Stuart MacBride, asserts defiantly that "Tartan Noir doesn't exist," yet he does find a number of shared traits among books described as tartan noir, specifically the manifestation of "key parts of the Scottish psyche," including "a black sense of humour that runs through a lot of Scottish life – possibly to do with the weather."[4] MacBride also comments on the characteristically subversive vein of tartan noir, when he explains, "We have an extremely healthy disrespect for authority, which probably comes down to our political nationhood over the past forty or a hundred years, possibly longer. We are incredibly 'thrawn' as culture. It's a Scottish word that means if you tell us to do something we will do exactly the opposite, given the opportunity."[5]

The dark humour which often underlies tartan noir and which MacBride views as "a coping mechanism for the characters" points to the deeply human dimensions permeating the genre.[6] Tartan noir turns on the premise of a crime being committed,

---

1   Gill Plain, "Concepts of Corruption: Crime Fiction and the Scottish 'State,'" in *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature*, ed. Berthold Schoene (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 132–33.

2   Plain, "Concepts of Corruption," 133.

3   Ian Rankin, "Introduction: Exile on Princes Street," in *Rebus: The Early Years* (London: Orion, 2004), vii.

4   Quoted in Len Wanner, "Stuart MacBride: Laughing in the Dark," in *Dead Sharp: Scottish Writers on Country and Craft* (Isle Uig: Two Ravens, 2011), 55.

5   Quoted in Wanner, "Stuart MacBride," 55.

6   Quoted in Wanner, "Stuart MacBride," 49.

investigated and solved, but the focus relies on character development rather than the procedural. Furthermore, neither the perpetrator nor the investigator are portrayed as anything more or less than a human being, the criminal does not get to be vilified, neither is the frequently seriously flawed detective glorified. Discussing his successful Logan McRae crime series, counting eleven books to date, MacBride emphasises that his detective "was never meant to be this big, heroic character. He was meant to be a normal guy doing the best he could in a challenging job."[7] Along the same lines, the foundational novel of tartan noir, William McIlvanney's *Laidlaw*, has the detective protagonist memorably state, "Monstrosity's made by false gentility. You don't get one without the other. No fairies, no monsters. Just people ... Other people can afford to write 'monster' across this and consign it to limbo ... We can't afford to do that. We're the shitty urban machine humanised. That's policemen."[8]

While not a ubiquitous characteristic, a hint of nostalgia accompanies the atmosphere of much tartan noir writing. The characters gravitate towards anachronistic settings, avoiding fashionable areas and frowning upon modern developments. The detectives prefer basic, old-fashioned investigation methods, tend to shun advanced technologies and operate instead on the basis of legwork, house-to-house inquiries and a net of informants. They seek out old, dingy pubs, and indulge in heavy drinking, chain smoking and rough talk. A typical scene in MacBride's *Cold Granite*, the first novel in the Logan McRae series, depicts the eponymous detective protagonist meeting a journalist to discuss a case in such a shabby establishment: "The Prince of Wales was an old-fashioned place: all wood panelling and real ale, the low ceiling yellowed by generations of cigarette smokers. ... The pub was made up of little rooms stitched together by short corridors. Logan and Miller sat in one at the front, next to the window. Not that the view was up to much, just the other side of a tall alley, the granite grey and dull and wet from the freezing-cold rain."[9] Besides several similar scenes set in seedy drinking holes, McIlvanney's *Laidlaw* features another layer of nostalgic longing for the lost past in frequent references to the then-recent redevelopment of Glasgow, which involved clearances of inner-city slums, their replacement by a motorway and the relocation of the tenement dwellers to new housing schemes at the outskirts of the city. Bud Lawson, father of a young girl whose murder the novel investigates and one of those affected by the relocation policy, reminisces about the demolished Gorbals slums, which "to him ... felt like a lost happiness," as he approaches "the three-storey grey-stone tenements of Drumchapel," an outer-city housing estate, which "didn't feel like home."[10]

Evaluating McIlvanney's contribution, Keith Dixon concludes that "he has laid his own stone in the rebuilding of a more nuanced and less stereotyped representation of contemporary urban life than that inherited from the virulently anti-working-class and misogynous tradition of *No Mean City*."[11] Alexander McArthur and H. Kingsley Long's

7   Quoted in Wanner, "Stuart MacBride," 50.
8   William McIlvanney, *Laidlaw* (1977; Edinburgh: Canongate, 2013), 85.
9   Stuart MacBride, *Cold Granite* (2005; London: HarperCollins, 2011), 269.
10 McIlvanney, *Laidlaw*, 15–16.
11 Keith Dixon, "'No Fairies. No Monsters. Just People.' Resituating the Work of William McIlvanney," in *Studies in Scottish Fiction: 1945 to the Present*, ed. Susanne Hagemann (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996),

No Mean City (1935) stands out as the first notable attempt in Scottish fiction to deal with the urban realities of a country undergoing a process of rapid industrialisation and urbanisation. The novel has more value as a historical document than as a work of any literary merit, and its schematic representation of Glasgow's Gorbals dwells excessively on all imaginable unsavoury aspects, choosing to portray materially as much as spiritually deprived characters engaged in crime, corruption and violence. In contrast, McIlvanney's perception of Glasgow is endowed with genuine insight and open-minded admission of the multifaceted and often ambivalent nature of the city. Detective Laidlaw's junior partner, Brian Harkness, contemplates Glasgow with mixed feelings of affection, confusion and concern: "He had always liked the place, but he had never been more aware of it than tonight. Its force came to him in contradictions. ... It was the right hand knocking you down and the left hand picking you up, while the mouth alternated apology and threat."[12]

Harkness does not embrace Glasgow unreservedly and is clearly uncomfortable moving around its more shadowy areas, where his line of work often leads him. Pursuing an investigation in a "waste of slum tenements hopefully punctuated with redevelopments, like ornamental fountains in a desert," Harkness feels oppressed by "the sense of siege" that the place conveys.[13] Uninviting local businesses are equipped with "small, netted windows about ten feet above the ground," and the walls of one particularly forbidding pub are "rough grey plaster, obviously quite recently applied, not so much redecoration as refortification."[14] Harkness does not open up entirely to the experience of the place, he does not see past the barred windows literally and figuratively, therefore, his perception and understanding of his surroundings remain limited. In a sharp contrast, "Laidlaw likes to lose himself in the city," immersing in it fully, and it is through his open-minded acceptance and insider knowledge of the city and its people that he succeeds in solving the criminal case.[15] A personified setting is the staple of tartan noir, and as much attention is devoted to building on the particulars of the setting as to developing the characters and pursuing the story line.

Ian Rankin's contribution to tartan noir is significant not least because of his pioneering choice of the touristy, UNESCO heritage Edinburgh as "the crime capital of Europe," as the city comes to be dubbed in *Knots & Crosses*, the first book in the Inspector Rebus series, currently comprising twenty novels.[16] Rankin notes that his intention in setting *Knots & Crosses* in Edinburgh was "to try and tell people in the wider world that there was more to Edinburgh than the castle, tartan, shortbread and whisky. That there was actually a real, living, breathing city ... with real, living, breathing problems."[17] Ranking elaborates on the motif of duality throughout the novel, which he weaves

---

197.

12 McIlvanney, *Laidlaw*, 71.

13 McIlvanney, *Laidlaw*, 113.

14 McIlvanney, *Laidlaw*, 115.

15 McIlvanney, *Laidlaw*, 54.

16 Ian Rankin, *Knots & Crosses*, in *Rebus: The Early Years* (London: Orion, 2004), 117.

17 Quoted in Julian Earwaker and Kathleen Becker, *Scene of the Crime: A Guide to the Landscapes of British Detective Fiction* (London: Aurum, 2002), 26.

into his portrayal of Edinburgh as a constitutionally divided city. He has his inspector protagonist contemplate the familiar landmarks of Scotland's capital with detached scepticism springing from the inspector's first-hand experience of criminal exploits flourishing beneath the impeccable facade that Edinburgh offers for consumption to its visitors. Inspector Rebus relentlessly draws attention to "some of Edinburgh's seedier bars, bars the tourist never sees," to the peripheral housing estates where police act on their duty "to make an arrest in a piss-drenched tenement," to "Leith's pushers and junkies" and to "the deft-handed corruption of the city gents."[18] However, as Caroline Jones emphasis, "Rankin produces an Edinburgh that is more than simple dichotomies of rich and poor, old and new, giving the city a rich texture. ... Rankin's Edinburgh is a complex, changing entity, at times breathtakingly beautiful, at others cold and cruel."[19]

Stuart MacBride, whose writing seems to some extent indebted to that of Rankin, succeeded in establishing Aberdeen as a fruitful location on the literary map of tartan noir. Aberdeen as a place of "grey stone weeping in the neverending rain," the inhabitants of which "looked murderous and inbred" so that "the whole city looked like a casting call for *Deliverance*," indeed provides the perfect setting for a gory crime novel shot through with unflinching mordant humour.[20] *Cold Granite* focuses on the hunt for a serial killer of young children and with its particularly aggravated crime, monotonously bleak setting and morose middle-aged male detective, it qualifies as a classic representative of the genre. Like McIlvanney and Rankin, MacBride seeks to capture the city of his choice in its sheer complexity, avoiding reductionist vision and finding redeeming qualities in "the dead kiddie capital of Scotland," as Aberdeen comes to be known in the novel.[21] Throughout the book, Aberdeen is described in terms of granite, concrete and glass materials and in dull grey and jaundiced yellow colours, yet, even the unsentimental Detective Logan McRae is momentarily moved by the city's potential for transient beauty when a downpour abates and Logan stops to notice the Christmas decorations: "The whole scene was washed with amber and sparkling-white from the festive lights. It was almost beautiful. Sometimes the city reminded him why he still lived here."[22]

The centrality of the setting in tartan noir distinguishes this uniquely Scottish strain of crime writing from the rest of hardboiled fiction, which rarely promotes the setting on par with the characters as to the attention devoted to their development and their importance to the story. To tartan noir writers, "the city is a death-wielding machine," as Marie Odile Pittin-Hédon appositely remarks, though one not completely devoid of positive value – after all, a crime novel typically concludes on a hopeful note with the perpetrator apprehended and order restored, even if only for the time being.[23] Much of

18 Rankin, *Knots & Crosses*, 45, 69.
19 Caroline Jones, "Mapping Edinburgh," in *Boundless Scotland: Space in Contemporary Scottish Fiction*, ed. Monika Szuba (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2015), 55.
20 MacBride, *Cold Granite*, 106, 33.
21 MacBride, *Cold Granite*, 176.
22 MacBride, *Cold Granite*, 99.
23 Marie Odile Pittin-Hédon, "Re-imagining the City: End of the Century Cultural Signs in the Novels of McIlvanney, Banks, Gray, Welsh, Kelman, Owens and Rankin," in *The Edinburgh History of Scottish*

tartan noir writing continues in the Scottish literary tradition of duality in the sense of the Jekyll-and-Hyde conflict, but it moves the basic concept of polar opposites a step further and creates a more ambitious, complex tapestry allowing for a scale of qualities, rather than simply two polarities, to coexist. Tartan noir looks back to tradition and history also in its often-nostalgic mood and deliberate anachronisms: the investigators tend to be middle-aged men who stick to time-tested, hands-on investigation methods and do not rely on modern technology to supply the answers. For all its graphic violence, gritty settings, tough characters and rough language, tartan noir stands out as a deeply humane genre which is preoccupied not so much with the mechanics of criminal investigation as with the nature of people.

WORKS CITED

Dixon, Keith. "'No Fairies. No Monsters. Just People.' Resituating the Work of William McIlvanney." In *Studies in Scottish Fiction: 1945 to the Present*, edited by Susanne Hagemann, 187–98. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1996.

Earwaker, Julian, and Kathleen Becker. *Scene of the Crime: A Guide to the Landscapes of British Detective Fiction*. London: Aurum Press, 2002.

Jones, Caroline. "Mapping Edinburgh." In *Boundless Scotland: Space in Contemporary Scottish Fiction*, edited by Monika Szuba, 45–58. Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2015.

MacBride, Stuart. *Cold Granite*. 2005. London: HarperCollins, 2011.

McIlvanney, Williams. *Laidlaw*. 1977. Edinburgh: Canongate, 2013.

Pittin-Hédon, Marie Odile. "Re-imagining the City: End of the Century Cultural Signs in the Novels of McIlvanney, Banks, Gray, Welsh, Kelman, Owens and Rankin." In *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, edited by Ian Brown, vol. 3, *Modern Transformations: New Identities (from 1918)*, 253–61. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

Plain, Gill. "Concepts of Corruption: Crime Fiction and the Scottish 'State.'" In *The Edinburgh Companion to Contemporary Scottish Literature*, edited by Berthold Schoene, 132–40. Edinburg: Edinburgh University Press, 2007.

Rankin, Ian. "Introduction: Exile on Princes Street." In *Rebus: The Early Years*, vii–viii. London: Orion, 2004.

Rankin, Ian. *Knots & Crosses*. 1987. In *Rebus: The Early Years*, 1–182. London: Orion, 2004.

Wanner, Len. "Stuart MacBride: Laughing in the Dark." In *Dead Sharp: Scottish Crime Writers on Country and Craft*, 38–69. Isle Uig: Two Ravens Press, 2011.

Literature, ed. Ian Brown, vol. 3, *Modern Transformations: New Identities (from 1918)* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 256.

Unpredictable: Crime Fiction in Louis Owens's *Dark River*

Hana Sobotková

Palacký University Olomouc, Faculty of Arts, Department of English and American Studies, Křížkovského 10, 771 80 Olomouc, Czech Republic. Email: sobotkovah@seznam.cz

Abstract: The Native American author and scholar Louis Owens explores clichéd action-adventure plots that are easily predictable in his last and most violent novel, *Dark River* (1999). The protagonist, Jake Nashoba, a mixedblood [*sic*] displaced from his own background and living in a community of Apaches, has to defend himself and his granddaughter against a patriotic militia group of ex-veterans camping on the tribal lands. While the story has a potential for clichéd violence and retribution, Owens opts for an ending that contradicts genre expectations. My aim in this paper is to examine how the author challenges the genre, what is the effect of these changes on the story as well as on the perception of the role of the Indian in crime fiction.

Keywords: Native American literature; Louis Owens; *Dark River*; crime fiction; violence; storytelling

Louis Owens's literary work is significantly affected by the theme of mixedbloodedness [*sic*]. Owens uses the word "mixedblood" to describe his Choctaw-Cherokee-Irish-Cajun descent, and the theme of what it means to be a mixedblood often appears in his novels in both their content and in their formal side. At the same time, he adopts Euromerican writing forms to communicate Native themes. *Dark River* (1999) is a good example of a mixedblooded novel, as it is not only an Indian novel, but also a novel that employs strategies of the crime fiction genre. Owens addresses themes that are distinctly Native and at the same time draws from the genre and its rules, following them at first to break them purposefully later in the novel. The beginning of the novel sees the protagonist's observation that "[e]verything was unpredictable except the daily afternoon thunderstorm,"[1] which foreshadows a twist in the plot. The final scene, in its complexity, evades predictable endings and the stereotypical roles of characters typical for crime fiction novels. Chris LaLonde claims that *Dark River* "will not tolerate a simplistic reading of the end,"[2] as it embodies the clash between the inevitability of the genre convention that the Indian character perishes, and the contradictory Native American perspective which stresses the ultimate survival of the Indian characters. Defining the genre of Owens's novels is a complicated task due to Owens's play with the novels' structures and their position in between the Indian and the Euromerican

---

1 Louis Owens, *Dark River: A Novel* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999), 6. Hereafter cited parenthetically in the text as DR.
2 Chris LaLonde, *Grave Concerns, Trickster Turns: The Novels of Louis Owens* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002), 182.

cultural traditions. James Ruppert, in his monograph *Mediation in Contemporary Native American Fiction* (1995), claims that Native American authors "[a]s participants in two cultural traditions … pattern their art with discursive acts of mediation at many levels."[3] Mediation, Ruppert explains, is a constantly flexible standpoint adopted by contemporary Native American writers that uses both the frameworks of Native American and more general Western cultural traditions.[4] Ruppert further contends that it is better to understand the positions of the writers and their works not as between two cultures, but "as participants in two rich cultural traditions."[5] The texts that emerge from such practice have a disposition to enrich both cultures as they draw on "different spheres of discourse to create a new context for meaning and identity."[6]

Jennifer Andrews and Priscilla L. Walton describe Owens' novels as variations on the hard-boiled detective genre.[7] The authors refer primarily to his first novel, *The Sharpest Sight* (1992), claiming Owens does not follow the typical hard-boiled scenario, but "epitomizes some of his key reformulations of the hard-boiled detective genre, by employing the language of the tough-talking detective but rejecting the logical and chronological patterns of traditional hard-boiled novels and creating a protagonist who does not view himself as a lone hero, womanizer, or redeemer."[8] The protagonist works with intuition, dreams and visions and has to deal with his own identity in order to solve the crime. Owens works with a similar scenario in the sequel to *The Sharpest Sight, Bone Game* (1994). In *Dark River*, however, he modifies the scenario and the genre inclines more towards the crime thriller.

John Scaggs points out that the central aspect of the crime thriller is its focus on the crime rather than on the investigation. The detective may be absent in such novels or plays a secondary role. Additionally, the plot of crime thrillers "emphasizes present danger rather than reflecting on, or investigating, past action,"[9] which indicates that the focus is on the current events and not on what happened in the past, which is typical for the detective genre. The main interest is directed at the present behavior of the characters, their psychology and their motivation for violence towards others. Crime thrillers also develop a social perspective by commenting on or questioning certain aspects of society. Furthermore, the setting becomes a central point; it significantly contributes to the atmosphere of the story, and it is often connected with the nature of the crime itself.[10]

Authors of Native American crime fiction use the genre to reveal the perspectives

3   James Ruppert, *Mediation in Contemporary Native American Fiction* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), 3.
4   See Ruppert, *Mediation*, 3.
5   Ruppert, *Mediation*, 3.
6   Ruppert, *Mediation*, 33.
7   See Jennifer Andrews and Priscilla L. Walton, "Revisioning the Dick: Reading Thomas King's Thumps DreadfulWater Mysteries," in *Detecting Canada: Essays on Canadian Crime Fiction, Television, and Film*, ed. Jeannette Sloniowski and Marilyn Rose (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014), 105.
8   Andrews and Walton, "Revisioning the Dick," 105.
9   John Scaggs, *Crime Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 107.
10 See Scaggs, *Crime Fiction*, 107–108.

of Natives, not whites. In his monograph *Murder on the Reservation: American Indian Crime Fiction* (2004), Ray B. Browne points out that the genre "necessarily incorporates new materials and people in their own setting and cultures. Thus it is a new and different total environment for the age-old treatment of crime and punishment."[11] Apart from using the Native cultural background, according to Browne, in general the genre is stylistically less self-consciously literary, more candid and realistic, as well as more open in depicting violence and sex.[12]

Owens's *Dark River* offers such Native positions, all of which affect the author's treatment of the crime. Owens refers heavily on mythology in the novel, especially on the Apache Monster Slayer Story, which stands as a parallel to the fight between the protagonist and the antagonist.[13] Further, ghosts and animals appear as helpers, and characters gain knowledge through dreams and intuition.

Owens, nevertheless, is not the only Native American author whose work draws from crime fiction. Ray B. Browne claims that "[i]n the rapidly developing field of literature by and about Native Americans, ethnic crime fiction is a vigorous genre."[14] According to Browne, Native crime fiction follows the traditional genre plots and developments, while at the same time includes new characters, cultures and settings, and thus creates a new environment in which the narratives are set.[15]

Perhaps the best-known author of Native crime fiction is Tony Hillerman, who is not of Native American descent. Stephen Knight asserts that Hillerman's novels portray Native culture well, as he draws from his life on the Navajo reservation. Nevertheless, he has been accused of romanticizing and not presenting the Indian grievance and resistance adequately.[16] In contrast, Browne points out Owens's own consideration that it is not necessary to be Indian to write about the Indian experience: "one does not have to be 'Indian' to write about Indians. An author has to be writing within his experience … he must know what he or she is talking about and write truthfully and realistically."[17] Thus Browne refers to authors that have emerged in this field without making distinctions between authors Native by descent and non-Native. Knight adopts a similar approach and does not focus on the difference in his study.[18]

The protagonist of *Dark River*, Jacob Nashoba, is an isolated character. His solitude is in accord with the crime fiction formula; however, it is caused primarily by circumstances that are distinctive of the Native experience. Jake is a mixedblooded Choctaw working in Arizona as a tribal game keeper in a fictitious Apache Black

11 Ray B. Browne, *Murder on the Reservation: American Indian Crime Fiction: Aims and Achievements* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press / Popular Press, 2004), 3.
12 See Browne, *Murder*, 6.
13 See Gretchen Ronnow, "Secularizing Mythological Space in Louis Owens's *Dark River*," in *Louis Owens: Literary Reflections on His Life and Work*, ed. Jacquelyn Kilpatrick (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 140 and 142.
14 Browne, *Murder*, 3.
15 Browne, *Murder*, 3.
16 See Stephen Knight, *Crime Fiction since 1800: Detection, Death, Diversity* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 197.
17 Browne, *Murder*, 17.
18 For a list of authors of ethnic crime fiction, see Knight, *Crime Fiction*, 196.

Mountain Tribe. Jake married into the tribe as a young man, but the marriage to his wife, Tali, was short-lived, as it was affected by Jake's inability to overcome the trauma that he suffered in the Vietnam War. Despite Tali's attempts to help him recover, Jake continued to be afflicted by the war trauma and his constant struggles with identity. When the couple separated, his status of an outsider in the community became more prominent. This was, to a large extent, due to the fact that Jake has intentionally kept the boundaries between himself and the tribe. He has refused to learn their stories, which would provide him with an understanding of their cultural background. At the same time, however, he is disconnected from his own Choctaw culture and only has a "shadowy notion of what it means to be Choctaw" (*DR*, 37). He is being referred to as the Lone Ranger, or L. R., by some community members, especially by the trickster character Jessie. His name, which means "wolf" in Choctaw (See *DR*, 13), points to the "lone wolf" of the Euromerican cultural mythology.[19] In Owens's novels, however, the wolf is frequently associated with the hunter and it emphasizes a link to the natural world.[20] Jake has developed a close relationship with the wilderness. The tribal leaders assigned him the job of the game warden of a "remote and wild river canyon … [so that] they could ensure that he was isolated as much as possible from human beings" (*DR*, 46). Paradoxically, Jake finds content in the wilderness, where he spends considerable time by the Dark River, until people begin to suspect that he "fell in love with the river" (*DR*, 45).

The novel begins with a violation of the law. Jake chances upon an illegally killed elk while patrolling the tribal wilderness area. The discovery leaves him puzzled, because the "eight or ten thousand bucks" (*DR*, 11) worth of elk rack was left on the spot while the meat was taken away. Jake examines the scene and finds an owl feather tied to one of the antlers. Owens explains that owls are considered dangerous in the belief of both the Choctaw and the Black Mountain tribe, and that for the Choctaw this animal signifies death, ghosts, and the possibility of sorcery (see *DR*, 6). From the beginning of the novel Jake has an idea of who has committed the crime, so detection as an activity of the protagonist is not fundamental to the development of the story. The mystery, nevertheless, and Jake's intention to solve it, leads him further into tribal politics. He ponders what to do next, since "[n]o politics in the world were as complicated as tribal politics" (*DR*, 10). Later he discovers that the kill was an act of demonstration committed by the tribal storyteller Shorty Luke and his friend Avrum Goldberg, a Jewish anthropologist who is living as a traditional Indian outside the tribe. Their motivation was to point out the corruption of the tribal chairman, Xavier Two-Bears, who has been selling illegal permits for hunting on the tribal grounds to rich whites and keeping the profits. At the same time, they were giving the meat to families, not only Indian, who suffered from a shortage of food. As such they were trying to restore

---

19 David Brande, "Not the Call of the Wild: The Idea of Wilderness in Louis Owens's *Wolfsong* and *Mixedblood Messages*," in *Louis Owens: Literary Reflections on His Life and Work*, ed. Jacquelyn Kilpatrick (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 212.

20 See Raymond Pierotti, "Connected to the Land: Nature and Spirit in the Novels of Louis Owens" (*Indigenous Nations Studies Journal* 3, no. 1, 2002), 80.

a cultural balance. According to Avrum, "[t]raditionally a man hunted for his family and the community. People shared what they had. … Shorty and I have been trying to rectify a situation of cultural imbalance and feed people at the same time" (*DR*, 86). When Two-Bears begins to suspect that Jake may be learning information that would lead to a disclosure of his illegal actions, he discharges him from his post and orders him to keep silent, stressing that from now on he is forbidden to patrol his district, including the canyon of the Dark River.

Jake, however, disobeys the chairman's orders and goes into the canyon to look for Alison, a sixteen-year-old girl from Tali's family whom he regards as his granddaughter. While searching for her in the wilderness, he encounters a group of ex-soldiers and military enthusiasts who are taking part in paramilitary training. During the training they unintentionally kill the trickster figure Jessie, a crime which is witnessed by Alison. In the wilderness Jake and Alison confront the antagonist, Lee Jensen, who subsequently launches his own hunt for them since they are the witnesses of the crime.

In spite of the revelations that come to Jake after he confronts the mystery, Jake's role is not that of a detective, as he does not actively investigate a crime. Instead, the attention turns to the characters' motivation for violence, to its escalation, and to the themes that occur throughout the novel: stereotypes of Natives and whites, storytelling, mixedblood identity, alienation, survival through stories as well as survival *per se*. The social perspective of the novel and its interest in the characters' psychology are typical characteristics of the crime thriller, which often closely reflects a society's illnesses. *Dark River*, however, does not address only issues that are connected to the Native American experience. The social commentary within the novel covers themes ranging from paranoia, extreme right-wing philosophy and terrorism, to America's involvement in the Vietnam War and the conditions of war veterans.

Furthermore, the setting of *Dark River* differs in certain ways from what is typical for the crime thriller. Scaggs points out that the setting of crime fiction in modern novels is usually the modern urban city, "a dark, brooding place of threatening shadows and old buildings, a contemporary wasteland."[21] For Scaggs, this locale is a parallel to the landscape of the Gothic novel with its wild mountain peaks and valleys, ruined castles and hidden passages. The criminal action that unfolds in *Dark River*, however, is set on the reservation: it is the wilderness of the canyon with the river running through it that witnesses the escalation of violence between the characters. The characters fight at night, and although the physical environment differs from what is typical for the crime thriller, the setting does resemble the "dark brooding place" that Scaggs mentions in his delineation of the genre.

It is important to note, however, that there is a contrast in the significance of the setting for white and Indian characters. The white characters remain on the tribal grounds illegally and they are strangers to the environment. They regard the surroundings with a feeling of alienation and animosity, yet as a place where their fantasies may materialize and, in the case of Lee Jensen, as a place where it is possible

---

21 Scaggs, *Crime Fiction*, 17.

to satisfy their desire for violence. The Indian characters, on the other hand, are familiar with the land and they are aware of its significance. The land does not represent an alienated space for any of them, not even for Jake, whose cultural roots can be found elsewhere, in Mississippi in the Choctaw culture and in Ireland. Of all the Indian characters, it is Jake who becomes the most familiar with the nature of the reservation wilderness. He acquires a deep knowledge of and a connection to the land due to his work of patrolling the tribal grounds, and as a consequence of his isolation and deliberate separation from the Apache community. Jake is forced into a fierce fight for survival by the antagonist and his supporters, and the violence in the novel escalates. Toward the end of the novel, after he defeats most of the enemies, Jake is shot and ends up lying seriously wounded in a hole in the ground in the forest and thus becomes a passive character who cannot participate in the development of the plot. The novel's fast pace slows and another character, Shorty Luke, becomes the protagonist of the book, although he assumes the role without the violence that is attached to it. At this point in the narration Owens puts forward an ending of the story that defies genre conventions, i.e. one that does not result in the destruction of the Indian characters.

Shorty Luke is the tribal storyteller and a story thief, who knows every story and makes himself the protagonist of each story that he tells. Mrs. Edwards, a powerful and feared old lady who is "the center of the Black Mountain community, an important person in politics all across the reservation and beyond" (*DR*, 43), comments on Shorty's knowledge of stories: "Shorty Luke knew every story and therefore understood how almost everything began and ended. And Shorty took every story into himself and made it new each time" (*DR*, 269).

His ability to mold stories into new forms while he makes himself their protagonist makes Shorty the character that is entitled to acquire a major role in shaping the development of the plot when Jake is not able to perform as protagonist. Additionally, Jake remarks at the beginning of the novel that "someone else would have to tell the whole story" (*DR*, 29) as he is unable to tell the tale himself.

Owens develops the theme of storytelling and how stories might be modified also with regard to Jake's presence in Black Mountain. Since Jake came to the tribe, Shorty and Mrs. Edwards have been following his story and, significantly, reshaping it:

> [Mrs. Edwards] had watched [Shorty] take Jake Nashoba's story from her and begin to knead and work it as he came to know the stranger, recognizing the shadows and forms of old stories in this one. And when she felt Shorty had worked his strong hands deeply into the story she invited him to coffee, where they tried to comprehend how the story might conclude this time. (*DR*, 269)

Mrs. Edwards and Shorty recognize that Jake's story bears a similarity with the Apache Monster Slayer Story and she hints that this is not the first time that this story is unfolding. She refers to the Native belief that "[h]uman beings bore an insubstantial form that might shift and change as what white people called time turned and crawled back inside its own coils. Jacob Nashoba had come many times to Black Mountain, and time and again the old lady had worried his story within her hands like a wet clay pot" (*DR*, 269). In her view, stories may repeat over time. Jake returned to the community

many times and she tried to influence his story each time.

At the point when Shorty acquires the role of the protagonist, all characters become aware of the fact that they are taking part in a story, and that they can influence its development. Their aim is to avoid and deflect predictable scenarios and "cleeshayed plots" (*DR*, 212). All characters are given space in the discussion how to finish the story, including the antagonist Lee Jensen and other negative characters.

When the discussion opens, it becomes apparent that the characters have to deal with the theme of stereotypes and the stereotypical roles that are assigned to Indians. In his critical essays, Owens often thoroughly explores the role of Indians in films, saying that Indians

> have a long and unhappy history in Hollywood films. Indians in movies have always had two roles: bloodthirsty savage or noble companion. In both of these roles, the one unchanging obligation of the Indian is to die by the movie's end. These three expectations—savagism, nobility, and death (with none of the three mutually exclusive)—delineate neatly the role of the indigenous Native in the Euramerican imagination, and they are expectations founded upon a metanarrative that insists upon the mythic and tragic "otherness" of Native Americans. Above all, the media have always been careful not to portray the Indian as a living, viable inhabitant of contemporary America.[22]

While the films that Owens analyses in his essays[23] focus on the limited portrayal of Native Americans as people that are bound to vanish, *Dark River* offers a point of view that stresses survival. Owens often alludes to the film industry in the novel, especially to films in which the Indian is showed as a reduced, shallow character whose purpose is to play a genre role. The character who frequently remarks on the role of the Indian in Hollywood films is Shorty Luke. He used to work in Hollywood as "an extra hired only to ride and die like always" (*DR*, 270) together with other American and Italian actors who portrayed Indians. He mentions that the role of the Indian in the films was unchanging and points out the inaccuracy of such a portrayal: "it was always the same old thing. You'd think the guys who wrote the scripts would worry about it. They should have had the white man scalping the Indian the way it really was and falling off his horse, since Indians didn't fall off horses too much" (*DR*, 212). Alison is another character who is aware of the false image of the Indian in films and who alludes to clichéd plot scenarios, hoping that "this isn't going to be one of those stories … where the white person comes and saves the Indians" (*DR*, 222). The trickster character Jessie, however, develops another point of view, and instead of trying to fight against the stereotypical images of Indians in films, he teaches the tribal youth to be conscious of the role of the Indian and to accommodate to it: "I'm just trying to make sure the kids know their roles, develop their sense of irony so they'll know how to function" (*DR*, 31). Jessie's idea stresses the necessity to adapt to the conditions in the society in order to survive. Jake, nevertheless, does not accept his point of view and neither do the other characters who are trying to break free from the roles that are imposed on them.

---

22 Louis Owens, *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 117.

23 See Owens, "The Invention of John Wayne" and "Apocalypse at the Two-Sock Hop: Dancing with the Vanishing American," in *Mixedblood Messages*.

The stereotypical roles or characters in films are favored by Jensen. He represents an opposition to the Indian characters, and gradually acquires an extreme attitude that reaches beyond stereotypes, as he wants to avoid "the predictable Stallone chase sequences, where the good guy runs, struggles, lots of camera close-ups, seems about to succumb, and somehow, someway manages to … destroy his pursuers" (*DR*, 183). His proposed way of ending the story defies stereotypes, but at the same time is unacceptable to the Indian characters. He suggests destruction that would include everybody but himself: "How about if I shoot you all? … Nobody would expect that … the bad guy just killing everybody and going home … The good guys all dead as hell and the bad guy unpunished. You've never seen that on television" (*DR*, 282). Jensen's suggestion, however, already operates with the Indian characters as with the positive ones, whose triumph he wants to prevent. In reaction to his proposal, other characters, both Indian and white, form an opposition. They call for such an ending that would defy the roles expected from them as from Indian characters and ensure their survival. The surrender of the antagonist and his subsequent arrest seems to be a rather simplistic way of ending the story. Similarly, when the tribal chairman Two-Bears finally appears in the scene and shoots Jensen, Shorty says that this ending is "[t]oo predictable … everybody knew it would happen" (*DR*, 282), and the story returns to the scene before that event.

Shorty finally finds a way to end the story: "The earth opened up, two enormous mandibles framed by spider legs reached out and seized Jake. In a moment he was gone, dragged into a hole that closed at once" (*DR*, 284). The characters agree that it is a good ending, and the novel closes with Shorty's remark that "Jacob Nashoba went home" (*DR*, 286).

The motif of the spider occurs frequently in the novel as a reference to the process of creating stories. By taking hold of Jake, the spider incorporates Jake into the story. Susan Bernardin mentions that through becoming part of the story that Shorty Luke has created, Jake acquires a place in the community, and therefore becomes "reconnected to his own stories and people."[24] The reconnection helps him to finally establish his identity. Furthermore, Bernardin claims that the ending ensures survival, as the novel "refuse[s] narratives of closure, stasis, [and] immobility that have proved so threatening to American Indian survival."[25]

Gretchen Ronnow claims that by letting the characters discuss and shape the story, Owens disappears as an author. She points out that the "narrator, storyteller, author/authorial function become so entangled that they all but disappear."[26] In her view Owens tests the edges and possibilities of storytelling and "transgresses all the boundaries of form and content, creating a plentitude of entangled voices and existences."[27]

Owens acknowledges that he made use of deconstruction in the novel's final scene.

24 Susan Bernardin, "Moving in Place: *Dark River* and the 'New' Indian Novel," in *Louis Owens: Literary Reflections on His Life and Work*, ed. Jacquelyn Kilpatrick (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), 110.
25 Bernardin, "Moving," 104.
26 Ronnow, "Secularizing," 149–50.
27 Ronnow, "Secularizing," 152.

In an interview, he stated that he "wanted to deconstruct the novel … and the whole process of storytelling. Explore what it means to say that stories have no ends."[28] This is in accordance with Shorty's observations that he can see a story, but he does not know how it ends (See *DR*, 226) and that the story is "going to take improvisation" (*DR*, 257).

Owens uses the genre to strengthen the theme of mainstream American culture's stereotypization and misapprehensions about the Indians. Although Bernardin does not focus principally on the use of crime fiction in the novel, she explains that in the final scene "the characters re-make themselves, deflecting any predictable turn in the metanarrative of Euramerica and Native Americans," adding that the novel "both acknowledges and tries itself to resist reinscribing story lines implicated in the appropriation and invention of Indians."[29]

In *Dark River*, Louis Owens makes use of themes that are distinctly Native, such as storytelling, identity, alienation, and mythology. Although the genre remains an integral part of the novel, the disruption of genre conventions in the final scenes of the novel breaks the stereotypical and static roles that have traditionally prevailed in the portrayal of the Indian in literature and the film industry. Owens masterfully avoids the stasis that results in disappearance and highlights the dynamics of change, features that work against genre expectations and lead the Indian characters to survival.

Acknowledgment

Works Cited

Andrews, Jennifer, and Priscilla L. Walton. "Revisioning the Dick: Reading Thomas King's Thumps DreadfulWater Mysteries." In *Detecting Canada: Essays on Canadian Crime Fiction, Television, and Film*, edited by Jeannette Sloniowski and Marilyn Rose, 101–121. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014.

Bernardin, Susan. "Moving in Place: *Dark River* and the 'New' Indian Novel." In *Louis Owens: Literary Reflections on His Life and Work*, edited by Jacquelyn Kilpatrick, 103–118. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.

Brande, David. "Not the Call of the Wild: The Idea of Wilderness in Louis Owens's *Wolfsong* and *Mixedblood Messages*." In *Louis Owens: Literary Reflections on His Life and Work*, edited by Jacquelyn Kilpatrick. 175–213. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.

Browne, Ray B. *Murder on the Reservation. American Indian Crime Fiction: Aims and Achievements*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press/Popular Press, 2004.

Knight, Stephen. *Crime Fiction since 1800: Detection, Death, Diversity*. New York:

---

28 John Purdy and Louis Owens, "Clear Waters: A Conversation with Louis Owens," *Studies in American Literatures* 10, no. 2 (1998): 13, http://www.jstor.org/stable/20739449.

29 Bernardin, "Moving," 113.

Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

LaLonde, Chris. *Grave Concerns, Trickster Turns: The Novels of Louis Owens.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002.

Owens, Louis. *Dark River: A Novel.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.

Owens, Louis. *Mixedblood Messages: Literature, Film, Family, Place.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001.

Purdy, John, and Louis Owens. "Clear Waters: A Conversation with Louis Owens." *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 10, no. 2 (1998): 6–22. http://www.jstor.org/stable/20739449.

Ronnow, Gretchen. "Secularizing Mythological Space in Louis Owens's *Dark River.*" In *Louis Owens: Literary Reflections on His Life and Work*, edited by Jacquelyn Kilpatrick, 139–53. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004.

Ruppert, James. *Mediation in Contemporary Native American Fiction.* Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995.

Scaggs, John. *Crime Fiction.* New York: Routledge, 2005.

Stereotypes, Minorities and *Fear the Walking Dead*: A Power Analysis

Veronika Briatková

Palacký University Olomouc, Faculty of Arts, Department of English and American Studies, Křížkovského 10, 771 80 Olomouc, Czech Republic. Email: briatkova.veronika@gmail.com

Abstract: The representation of people from historically oppressed groups has long been problematic because the portrayals often reinforced stereotypes about these groups. This paper concerns portrayals of minorities in the American horror drama TV series *Fear the Walking Dead* (2015–present). Historically, the leading characters in zombie films and TV series have been predominantly white, with few exceptions, the most notable being the character of Ben in George A. Romero's *Night of the Living Dead* (1968). Having non-white characters as the main characters in zombie films might not mean that these shows are challenging stereotypes because the majority is not defined only by their race and ethnicity, or gender, but by their hierarchical position with regards to how much power they possess.

Keywords: zombies; minorities; Latino; *Fear the Walking Dead*; Robert Kirkman; stereotypes; gender; race; ethnicity; violence; television series

Fear the Walking Dead is an American television series on AMC that first ran in 2015.[1] Its opening scene introduces a young drug addict, Nick, who wakes up in a church surrounded by his friends' bodies and stumbles upon his girlfriend devouring one of the them. Scared and confused, Nick runs into traffic and gets hit by a car. The camera then rises above Nick to a wide shot of Los Angeles's skyline accompanied by the sound of sirens and helicopters in the background. This picture and sound mirror Los Angeles's busy life and foreshadow the upcoming chaos caused by a zombie virus. *Fear the Walking Dead* follows the story of families which are struggling to accustom to a world populated by an increasing number of the walking dead. This paper discusses episodes from the first season, during which unusual circumstances lead families which previously did not know each other to band together for survival. The characters must accept that they will need to use violence and possibly act contrary to their pre-zombie world moral beliefs.

The beginning of the twenty-first century has witnessed a cultural revival of zombies. The television format offers additional space for the exploration of humanity because it enables the production of a quantity of stories and means of testing characters' beliefs over a greater period.[2] *Fear the Walking Dead* promised to explore the downfall of

---

1 *Fear the Walking Dead*, Season 1, created by Robert Kirkman and Dave Erickson (2015; New York: AMC, 2015), Amazon Video.
2 See William Kyle Bishop, *American Zombie Gothic: The Rise and Fall (and Rise) of the Walking Dead in Popular Culture* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2010), 204.

trusted institutions necessitated by the need to stop a zombie outbreak,[3] but some reviewers have remarked that the show failed in its original premise (and promise) by progressing too quickly.[4] This failure might stem from viewers' high expectations of institutions, but *Fear the Walking Dead* adequately explores how people process and accept the existence of zombies at their own pace at the outbreak's onset when zombies are fresher and resemble humans more than the decaying corpses in later episodes.[5]

Zombies are scary, but people can be scarier, and *Fear the Walking Dead* places people in the forefront of interest. Thus, the series follows in the footsteps of George Romero's tradition, which began with his original trilogy of zombie films: *Night of the Living Dead* (1968),[6] *Dawn of the Dead* (1978),[7] and *Day of the Dead* (1985).[8] *Night of the Living Dead* features dangerous human characters, but the fear of zombies which is enhanced by its claustrophobic setting inside a house becomes the movie's primary focus. The second and third installments in the series dedicated significantly more time to the relationship and hierarchy between survivors and zombies. Dan O'Bannon's 1985 *The Return of the Living Dead* cemented zombie comedy as the next popular zombie genre.[9] Horror became a popular zombie genre again in the beginning of the twenty-first century with Danny Boyle's British movie *28 Days Later* (2002)[10] and Zack Snyder's remake of *Dawn of the Dead* (2004),[11] but zombie movies of different genres sparked the interest of audiences, too. The direction of the genre on the television screens appears to be shifting from being focused on zombies to being focused on the people left alive.[12] Serialization enabled the additional exploration of the impact of destabilization and deconstruction of the established society on human beings.

Academics approach zombie films from a variety of perspectives, among them consumerism, human relationships, state and international politics, race, and gender.[13]

---

3   See Ross Dalton, "*Fear the Walking Dead*: Robert Kirkman Says New Show Contains Clues to the Original," *Entertainment Weekly*, June 9, 2015, http://ew.com/article/2015/06/09/fear-walking-dead-robert-kirkman-says-new-show-contains-clues-original.

4   See Ben Travers, review of *Fear the Walking Dead*, AMC Studios, August 5, 2015, http://www.indiewire.com/2015/08/review-fear-the-walking-dead-is-a-slow-burn-prequel-that-moves-toward-its-future-too-quickly-59634.

5   See Dave Erickson, "*Fear the Walking Dead* Showrunner Promises 'Psychological Tension'," interview by Dalton Ross, *Entertainment Weekly*, July 7, 2015, http://ew.com/article/2015/07/07/fear-the-walking-dead-showrunner-dave-erickson-psychological-tension.

6   *Night of the Living Dead*, directed by George A. Romero (1968; Cherry Hill: TGG Direct, 2009), Amazon Video.

7   *Dawn of the Dead*, directed by George A. Romero (1978; Meridian: Starz, 2004), DVD.

8   *Day of the Dead*, directed by George A. Romero (1985; Century City: First Look Studios, 2008), Amazon Video.

9   *The Return of The Living Dead*, directed by Dan O'Bannon (1985; Beverly Hills: MGM, 2001), DVD. Other zombie comedies are Fred Dekker's *Night of the Creeps* (1986), Ken Wiederhorn's *Return of the Living Dead: Part II* (1988), or Peter Jackson's *Braindead* (1992).

10 *28 Days Later*, directed by Danny Boyle (2002; Century City: Fox Searchlight, 2003), Amazon Video.

11 *Dawn of the Dead*, directed by Zack Snyder (New York: NBC Universal, 2004), Amazon Video. Other examples are Paul W.S. Anderson's *Resident Evil* (2002) and Francis Lawrence's *I am Legend* (2007). The film industry has since produced countless zombie horror and comedy films.

12 See Kinitra D. Brooks, "The Importance of Neglected Intersections: Race and Gender in Contemporary Zombie Texts and Theories," *African American Review* 47, no. 4 (2014): 468, doi: 10.1353/afa.2014.0062.

13 See Darren Reed and Ruth Penfold-Mounce, "Zombies and the Sociological Imagination: The Walking

Race/ethnicity and gender will be explored in their relationship to violence portrayed on *Fear the Walking Dead*. The analysis centers around four characters who represent the head of families that are brought together in the beginning of the series. These portrayals are later compared to historical depictions of minorities to explore the development of male and female Latino characters on screen. *Fear the Walking Dead*'s creators Robert Kirkman and Dave Erickson confessed in interviews that they were going to take advantage of Los Angeles's multiculturality with the intention to represent Travis and Madison as a strong couple.[14] All characters must be strong to some degree if they are to survive, but the perception of strong characters might change when race/ethnicity and gender enter the equation.

The term Latino can include both Hispanic and Latino characters and will be used in such way in this paper.[15] On one hand, texts dealing with tension between the majority and other minorities in the United States frequently refer to the majority as white. On the other hand, Berg prefers the term Anglo because he considers it "less charged connotatively"[16] and because it "reifies crude and essentialist racial categories."[17] Latino and Hispanic is not a race but an ethnic group[18] and mostly they have not been treated as white in American film or on television. The ruling majority is "imperialist white-supremacist capitalist patriarchy,"[19] but the portrayal of Latinos on screen sometimes suggests that they are perceived as the Other by white Anglo characters.[20]

American cinema has been criticized for its stereotypical portrayal of minorities. Stereotyping is a learned cognitive process in which the different is recognized as something out of ordinary.[21] *Fear the Walking Dead* explores how difficult it is to unlearn this cognitive process; if it is possible at all. Our minds unfailingly stereotype as they observe the differences and sort them out into categories.[22] Assigning positive or negative meanings to these categories, however, turns this action into something negative and undesirable.[23] As Berg notes, the dominant group will likely create

Dead as Social-Science Fiction," in *The Zombie Renaissance in Popular Culture*, ed. Laura Hubner, Marcus Leaning, and Paul Manning (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015), 124–38.

14 See Robert Kirkman, "'Fear the Walking Dead': Robert Kirkman Promises 'Zero Woods',", interview by Dalton Ross, *Entertainment Weekly*, June 8, 2015, http://ew.com/article/2015/06/08/fear-walking-dead-robert-kirkman-promises-zero-woods.

15 See Charles Ramírez Berg, *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 5. The terms Hispanic and Latino respectively refer to Spanish or Latin American origin. There is an ongoing dispute, however, about the usage of these terms due to cultural and historical circumstances. Berg, for example, considers the term "Hispanic" to be "more imprecise and bureaucratic" (5).

16 Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 7.

17 Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 7.

18 See Karen R. Humes, Nicholas A. Jones, and Roberto R. Ramirez, "Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010," United States Census Bureau, accessed January 31, 2017, http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf.

19 bell hooks, "Understanding Patriarchy," in *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love* (New York: Atria Books, 2004), 1.

20 The term white is preferred in this paper, however, when referring to works by authors who prefer the term Anglo, I maintain their terminology.

21 See Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 24.

22 See Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 14.

23 See Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 14.

stereotypes of the subdominant, clustering around two sets of characteristics: harmless (with out-group members portrayed as childlike, irrational, and emotional) when they pose no threat, or dangerous (treacherous, deceitful, cunning) when they do.[24] These traits can be observed in six male and female Latino stereotypes identified by Berg: el bandido, the harlot, the male buffoon, the female clown, the Latin lover, and the dark lady.[25] The stereotypes represent an undesirable deviation from what the dominant group considers to be the norm, while at the same time, the presented characteristics, including excessive sexuality, moral corruption, criminal behavior, and ideological differences are threatening to the dominant group.[26] El bandido is a violent and morally corrupt character threatening the fictional world's equilibrium. Being a violent Latino might not necessarily mean that the character is a stereotype, however. It is crucial to consider the degree to which characters' relationships to guns and violence become their main traits and if it is connected to the representation of Latino in film. Josef Raab's study on Latino television characters suggests that Latinos are underrepresented on U.S. television.[27] The negative stereotypes of Latino males persisted until the 1980s with the introduction of a Latino urban professional, but it took twenty more years until Latino female professionals emerged.[28] Nevertheless, television and film still struggle to abandon the stereotypical representation and the combination of race/ethnicity with the uncanny and threatening.[29]

In *Fear the Walking Dead*, Travis Manawa, Madison Clark, Liza Ortiz, and Daniel Salazar are four central adult characters that influence groups' decisions with regards to their survival. Initially, the families are divided into clusters by how they are introduced in the first two episodes. Travis, Madison, and her children Alicia and Nick live together, Travis's ex-wife Liza lives together with their son Christopher, and Daniel Salazar lives together with his wife Griselda and their daughter Ofelia. Gradually, these characters must kill, but each character kills under a very specific set of circumstances. Thus, it could be argued that they are incomparable, but these characters are juxtaposed to each other and the differences are relevant. Four scenes depicting these characters' first kills will be analyzed and then compared to each other. The results will be placed into the context of Latino stereotypes in film to reveal any similarities or differences between the portrayals. Film uses additional techniques to represent the story other than its script. Camera angles, costumes, music, etc., potentially create a stereotypical image in ways that are not always perceived by audiences upon first viewing.[30] A detailed analysis of four crucial scenes considers how camera angles and music influence characters' portrayal and viewers' perceptions.

---

24 Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 27.

25 See Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 39.

26 See Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 40–41.

27 See Josef Raab, "From Spic to Spice: Latinas and Latinos on U.S. Television," in *New World Colors: Ethnicity, Belonging, and Difference in the Americas*, ed. Josef Raab (Tempe: Press and Trier, 2014), 49–116.

28 See Raab, "From Spic to Spice," 51. Examples include characters on *The Desperate Housewives* (2004–12) and *Hot Properties* (2005).

29 See Raab, "From Spic to Spice," 77.

30 See Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 5.

Madison becomes the first central adult character who confronts her pre-apocalyptic moral beliefs by killing a zombie who used to be her colleague. Madison kills the zombie with a fire extinguisher after he attacks her and another student. Suspenseful music plays in the background as the camera looks upwards at Madison, but does not simulate the zombie's point of view. This detached and objective point of view is shot from a low angle suggesting that Madison exuberates strength.[31] Madison returns home seemingly unaffected, but she breaks down crying in the safety of her bathroom. This scene is not accompanied by any music; the audience hears only running water, crickets, and Madison's crying which hints at her vulnerability; thus, her morality is retained in viewers' eyes.

Daniel is portrayed as an unsympathetic character who is reluctant to help Travis, Liza, and Christopher when they ask him for refuge in his shop after chaos erupts in the streets. Daniel's wife Griselda's serious leg injury prompts Daniel and his family to join Travis, his wife and son, and return with them to Madison's house. Travis is attacked by their neighbor-now-zombie Peter immediately after their return. Madison grabs a gun but Travis orders her to put the gun down. Finally, Daniel steps in, grabs the gun from Madison's hands and shoots at the neighbor, failing to kill him at first but then succeeding at close range. The camera shows the first unsuccessful shot from an observer's objective point of view, but the angle changes for the second fatal shot. This time, the camera is at Daniel's level and shows Daniel from the zombie's point of view and by the extension, that of the audience,[32] and so for a moment it is as if Daniel is going to shoot us, the viewers; then, Daniel shoots, producing a splattering of brain tissue and blood. The scene's dramatic music is abruptly muted as Daniel moves closer towards the zombie. The straight-on camera angle places Daniel and the zombie at a confrontational level, but combined with the zombie's subjective point of view, it enhances the audience's identification with the zombie, reminding the audience that it was a human being. Daniel appears cold blooded, albeit maybe more rational than Travis from the audience's perspective. Travis is unsure if the dead are not alive, and there is no medical manual to guide him.[33] This hesitation places him morally above Daniel. These film narrative techniques paint Daniel, who is a Latino, in a negative light. The audience can recognize the behavior that has historically been associated with minorities and the members of the middle class in film: aggression and lack of empathy.

Travis and other characters need to comprehend and accept that zombies are not people, but the journey is the most emotional and traumatic one. Travis does not like guns and tries to find nonviolent solutions to problems and approach them with caution, unlike Daniel, who prefers quick action without regard for human life. One morning, for example, Travis finds Daniel teaching his son Christopher how to use

---

31 See Robert Edgar-Hunt, John Marland, and Steven Rawle. *Basics Film-Making 04: The Language of Film* (Lausanne: AVA Publishing SA, 2010), 120–21.
32 See Edgar-Hunt, Marland and Rawle, *Basics Film-Making 04*, 120.
33 See Dave Erickson, "*Fear the Walking Dead* Showrunner on Characters that 'Don't Know How to Defend Themselves'," interview by Dalton Ross, *Entertainment Weekly*, August 10, 2015, http://ew.com/article/2015/08/10/fear-walking-dead-showrunner-dave-erickson-defend.

guns. Madison approves of Daniel's instructions, but Travis opposes the idea, which makes him stand out from the others. The series follows Travis as he changes from a composed man to a man who kills his infected wife per her request to prevent her from returning as a walking dead. The killing itself, however, unlike all previous ones, happens off screen, and the tragically sad background song emphasizes that a hero lost his innocence. Travis falls on his knees on the beach while the camera taking a close up of his face goes in and out of focus. The first act of violence that Travis commits before killing his wife is attacking a soldier who shoots Daniel's daughter Ofelia. Travis beats the soldier almost to death, and this account of aggression surprises everyone. His animalistic side slowly emerges from his pre-apocalyptic self to which he holds on tight, nevertheless, Travis's trembling hands soften the overall impression that he is being transformed into an aggressor. Both Travis and Daniel have families to care for, but Daniel's emotional spectrum is narrowed down to show almost exclusively negative emotions.

Daniel's experiences from the Salvadoran Civil War explain his smooth adaptation to the zombie-populated world. Daniel saw only two options during the war: join the aggressors or become their victim, and he chose the former to survive. Eventually, his war experiences save the three family clusters when a soldier tortured by Daniel reveals the army's plan to evacuate the area and kill the civilians contained within its borders. Daniel's backstory and his daughter Ofelia soften the overall impression of this character and grant him some redeeming qualities, but he remains a dangerous man. The show accentuates that Daniel is an immigrant: he and his family live in an immigrant neighborhood and speak Spanish, not English, to each other. Travis Manawa's surname indicates his different ethnic background but he is not impulsively violent, while Daniel's actions are governed by his Salvadoran war experiences. Immigrants fall under the category of the Other and foregrounding Daniel as an immigrant connects him to the Other more than Travis.

Travis's ex-wife Liza is portrayed as an independent strong woman, but this comes at the expense of her being perceived as an unsympathetic character by others. A pre-established and unexplained tension between Madison and Liza worsens when Madison blames her for Nick's arrest. Liza is portrayed as an absentee mother, unlike Madison, who takes care of her household. An additional tension exists between Liza and Travis, who struggles to create a family that would include him, Madison and her children, Liza, and Christopher, but the show pushes toward a two-parent family model. Liza's death becomes a plot device that helps Travis comprehend that killing is necessary. Furthermore, while Madison somewhat cares about Liza's son Christopher, Liza makes an unforgivable choice: she asks for only Travis and Christopher to be evacuated after receiving criticism by a doctor who prompts her to be brutal and not think about the Clarks. The relationship between the two mothers is one of the show's downfalls because it supports the idea that women must compete instead of supporting each other. Other female Latino characters are significantly reduced, too. Griselda does not say much in the presence of others (excluding Daniel and Ofelia), prays constantly, and passively observes events unfolding around her. Griselda is a stereotype of a woman

without a voice; her other crime being perhaps her age.

Using violence as the means of empowerment is nothing new to the genre. Romero broke the string of zombie movies that depicted women as weak with his second movie portraying men in a negative light and women as being even more skilled than their male counterparts, although still victims of patriarchal treatment.[34] Patterson argues that following the zombie apocalypse, norms established by patriarchy become irrelevant as do gender roles in the pre-zombie world, leading to cooperation in men and high self-esteem and assertiveness in women.[35] Surviving female characters in Romero's movies are those who have both male and female characteristics, starting out with predominantly female and finishing with male characteristics, thus shifting the gender roles.[36] Harper asserts that the representation of women who are not passive victims "in itself hints at a feminist approach."[37] Representing white female characters as stronger might be a feminist approach, but the non-white female characters do not benefit from it to the same degree. As Brooks notes, "the coping mechanisms black women developed to deal with their multiple oppressions become a detriment to this characterization in contemporary horror. For the black woman's displays of strength are read pejoratively even as the strength of the (white) final girl is read as positive, plucky instead of pathological, an expression of independent initiative and not a series of acts threatening castration."[38] Robert Kirkman's character Michonne from the comic and TV series *The Walking Dead* is developing against the strong black woman stereotype because she is strong as well as vulnerable.[39] The portrayal gets complicated when Michonne is juxtaposed to another woman, a white girlfriend of a man she seduces.[40] Liza suffers from a similar fate as Michonne. Her strength is interpreted as selfishness when it is juxtaposed against Madison's strength, which is less threatening. She decides to take care of the sick in the hospital where soldiers take Nick and Griselda, and leaves behind her son Christopher with Travis and Madison. This difficult decision ultimately isolates her from the rest of the group. Liza is not threatening to patriarchy directly, but she poses a threat to the main white female character. She is not threatening sexually, as the dark lady or the harlot stereotypes would be, but with her strength, confidence, and determination.

Ahead of other characters Liza becomes aware all people become the walking dead after they die. Liza shoots a bullet into Griselda's brain to prevent her from raising as

34 See Natasha Patterson, "Becoming Zombie Grrrls On and Off Screen," in *Braaaiiinnnsss!: From Academics to Zombies*, ed. Robert Smith (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011), 225–47.
35 See Patterson, "Becoming Zombie Grrrls," 229.
36 See Natasha Patterson, "Cannibalizing Gender and Genre: A Feminist Re-vision of George Romero's Zombie Films," in *Zombie Culture: Autopsies of the Living Dead*, ed. Shawn McIntosh and Marc Leverette (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2008), 103–18.
37 Stephen Harper, "'They're Us': Representations of Women in George Romero's 'Living Dead' Series," ed. Matt Hills and Sara Gwenllian Jones, *Intensities* 3 (2003). https://intensitiescultmedia.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/harper-theyre-us.pdf.
38 Brooks, "The Importance of Neglected Intersections," 464.
39 Robert Kirkman, *The Walking Dead* (Portland: Image Comics, 2003–present); *The Walking Dead*, developed by Frank Darabont (2010—present; Meridian: Starz, 2010–present), Amazon Video; See Brooks, "The Importance of Neglected Intersections," 470.
40 See Brooks, "The Importance of Neglected Intersections," 470.

a walking dead after she has died from an infection. Liza uses a gun that is meant for livestock, but she chooses to do so personally as she takes away the gun from another doctor. This signifies that people need to be killed in cold blood and without guilt. The accompanying music is sadder than in two previous kills by Madison or Daniel. Griselda was a minor character, but she was an innocent victim who was represented as a loving mother and a good person. Liza had not known Griselda for long, but she cared for her and was emotionally shaken by the shooting, although technically Griselda was already dead.

Liza's vulnerable side is initially shown only in Madison's absence, which changes only in her final moments before death when she cannot be a threat to Madison anymore. There is only place for one main strong female character. The combination of gender and race/ethnic representations gives strength a negative connotation. Strong Latino characters appeared on the screen even later than strong African American female characters. Earlier female Latino characters on television were too weak, too naïve, or too sexual. Unsurprisingly, research suggests that female Latino stereotypes do not reflect how women perceive themselves because stereotypes are based on external observation.[41] The representation has changed with time to "reflect shifting attitudes about men and women,"[42] but paying attention to gender and race/ethnic representations reveals differences between Madison and Liza that go beyond gender. Brooks's article focuses on African American women but a similar trend can be observed when it comes to the representation of Liza.

Returning to the main question, then, who has the power? The power belongs to characters who decide where the other survivors go and who are portrayed with the help of the film medium as the morally strong and sympathetic heroes. Other characters must be flawed in some way to avoid the confusion between the hero and other characters, for example, they are morally corrupt, selfish, physically different, or even too stereotypically Latino.[43] Liza is portrayed as selfishly caring only about saving Travis and Christopher, and she is not friends with Madison; Daniel is portrayed as a killer and torturer; Ofelia is too passive and together with her mother does not have enough lines, which is another indication of minor characters.[44] Madison is Travis's female equivalent although her character is slightly compromised by her positive relationship to guns and Daniel, whom she allows to interrogate and torture a naïve soldier. Nevertheless, her morals are above Daniel's or Liza's, who are too violent, or too selfish and isolated. Travis essentially resembles a typical Anglo Hollywood protagonist, who avoids violence unless he is pushed to his limits.[45] He gets the most dramatic ending emphasizing that he was forced to become partly like the dreaded Other due to the extreme circumstances. Out of all characters, he must make the

41 See Ena Vazquez-Nuttall, Ivonne Romero-Garcia, and Brunilda de Leon, "Sex Roles and Perceptions of Femininity and Masculinity of Hispanic Women," *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (1987): 409–25, doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.1987.tb00915.x.
42 Patterson, "Becoming Zombie Grrrls," 227.
43 See Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 55.
44 See Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 52.
45 See Berg, *Latino Images in Film*, 53.

biggest sacrifice by compromising his pre-apocalyptic morals by killing a human being and not a zombie. Finally, the tragic music, the close-up, the replicas, and the character development serve to make a point that Travis is the tragic hero.

The diverse casting can be considered a step in the right direction in the representation of minorities in film. Travis is also a member of an ethnic minority, but other characters who belong to the Latino minority are substantially more monolithic characters. Daniel's portrayal in the first season is not that different from a dangerous stereotype of el bandido. Daniel and Liza are both strong characters, but their strengths are outside of the norm and do not grant either of them enough empowerment that is so needed in the representation of Latinos in film. Travis's ethnicity is not Anglo, and his portrayal is a step in a positive direction, but in the end, he is represented as being fully integrated within the American society, unlike Daniel. Travis represents Anglo white men's ideals and beliefs, and his juxtaposition to one dimensional Latino characters suggests that he is a white man's wolf in sheep's clothing.

WORKS CITED

28 Days Later. Directed by Danny Boyle. 2002. Amazon Video. Century City: Fox Searchlight, 2003.

Berg, Charles Ramírez. *Latino Images in Film: Stereotypes, Subversion, and Resistance.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002.

Bishop, Kyle William. *American Zombie Gothic: The Rise and Fall (and Rise) of the Walking Dead in Popular Culture.* Jefferson: McFarland and Company, 2010.

Brooks, Kinitra D. "The Importance of Neglected Intersections: Race and Gender in Contemporary Zombie Texts and Theories." *African American Review* 47, no. 4 (2014): 461–75. doi: 10.1353/afa.2014.0062.

Dalton, Ross. "*Fear the Walking Dead*: Robert Kirkman Says New Show Contains Clues to the Original." *Entertainment Weekly*, June 9, 2015. http://ew.com/article/2015/06/09/ fear-walking-dead-robert-kirkman-says-new-show-contains-clues-original.

Dawn of the Dead. Directed by George A. Romero. 1978. DVD. Meridian: Starz, 2004.

Dawn of the Dead. Directed by Zack Snyder. 2004. Amazon Video. New York: NBC Universal, 2004.

Day of the Dead. Directed by George A. Romero. 1985. Amazon Video. Century city: First Look Studios, 2008.

Edgar-Hunt, Robert, John Marland, and Steven Rawle. *Basics Film-Making 04: The Language of Film.* Lausanne: AVA Publishing SA, 2010.

Erickson, Dave. "*Fear the Walking Dead* Showrunner on Characters that 'Don't Know How to Defend Themselves'." By Dalton Ross, *Entertainment Weekly*, August 10, 2015. http://ew.com/article/2015/08/10/fear-walking-dead-showrunner-dave-erickson-defend.

Erickson, Dave. "*Fear the Walking Dead* Showrunner Promises 'Psychological Tension'." By Dalton Ross, *Entertainment Weekly*, July 7, 2015. http://ew.com/article/2015/07/07/ fear-the-walking-dead-showrunner-dave-erickson-psychological-tension.

Fear the Walking Dead, Season 1. Created by Robert Kirkman and Dave Erickson. 2015. Amazon Video. New York: AMC, 2015.

Harper, Stephen. "'They're Us': Representations of Women in George Romero's 'Living Dead' Series." Edited by Matt Hills and Sara Gwenllian Jones. *Intensities* 3 (2003). https://intensitiescultmedia.files.wordpress.com/2012/12/harper-theyre-us.pdf.

hooks, bell. "Understanding Patriarchy." In *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love.* New York: Atria Books, 2004.

Humes, Karen R., Nicholas A. Jones, and Roberto R. Ramirez. "Overview of Race and Hispanic Origin: 2010." *United States Census Bureau.* Accessed January 31, 2017. http://www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/briefs/c2010br-02.pdf.

Kirkman, Robert. "*Fear the Walking Dead*: Robert Kirkman promises 'Zero Woods'." By Dalton Ross, *Entertainment Weekly*, June 8, 2015. http://ew.com/article/2015/06/08/fear-walking-dead-robert-kirkman-promises-zero-woods.

Kirkman, Robert. *The Walking Dead.* Portland: Image Comics. 2003–present.

Night of the Living Dead. Directed by George A. Romero. 1968. Amazon Video. Cherry Hill: TGG Direct, 2009.

Patterson, Natasha. "Becoming Zombie Grrrls On and Off Screen." In *Braaaiiinnnsss!: From Academics to Zombies*, edited by Robert Smith, 225–47. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2011.

Patterson, Natasha. "Cannibalizing Gender and Genre: A Feminist Re-vision of George Romero's Zombie Films." In *Zombie Culture: Autopsies of the Living Dead*, edited by Shawn McIntosh and Marc Leverette, 103–118. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2008.

Raab, Josef. "From Spic to Spice: Latinas and Latinos on U.S. Television." In *New World Colors: Ethnicity, Belonging, and Difference in the Americas*, edited by Josef Raab, 49–116. Tempe: Press and Trier, 2014.

Reed, Darren, and Ruth Penfold-Mounce. "Zombies and the Sociological Imagination: *The Walking Dead* as Social-Science Fiction." In *The Zombie Renaissance in Popular Culture*, edited by Laura Hubner, Marcus Leaning and Paul Manning, 124–38. New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015.

The Return of The Living Dead. Directed by Dan O'Bannon. 1985. DVD. Beverly Hills: MGM, 2001.

The Walking Dead. Developed by Frank Darabont. Amazon Video. Meridian: Starz, 2010–present.

Travers, Ben. Review of *Fear the Walking Dead*, AMC Studios. *IndieWire*, August 5, 2015. http://www.indiewire.com/2015/08/review-fear-the-walking-dead-is-a-slow-burn-prequel-that-moves-toward-its-future-too-quickly-59634.

Vazquez-Nuttall, Ena, Ivonne Romero-Garcia, and Brunilda de Leon. "Sex Roles and Perceptions of Femininity and Masculinity of Hispanic Women." *Psychology of Women Quarterly* 11, no. 4 (1987): 409–25. doi:10.1111/j.1471-6402.1987.tb00915.x.

Humor and the Jewish Holocaust Trauma in Shalom Auslander's *Hope: A Tragedy*

the same time, highlights issues with which the group is struggling.

Therefore, like any communication tool, humor requires some shared knowledge and history, and its perception further varies according to class, gender, age, race, and ethnicity. As Nancy Walker, who focuses on aspects of American humor, notes, humor "requires context in order to find it amusing, the audience must have certain knowledge, understanding, and values, which are subject to evolution from one century or even one decade to the next."[3] This is why critics encounter serious difficulties when searching for an adequate and accurate characterization of Jewish humor. Zuzana Buráková points out that most models analyzing Jewish humor concentrate mainly on the psychological aspect and deal predominantly with jokes or performance. Therefore, there is no major publication concerning Jewish humor in literature.[4]

 The current approaches, apart from dealing with jokes and/or stand-up comedy, refer to Jewish humor as a tool for shaping identity. Asa Berger even calls Jewish humor "a survival mechanism of a people always in a marginal position to the societies in which they found themselves."[5] Yet, the contemporary position of Jews has significantly changed, and marginality cannot be currently taken as the only determining aspect of the group's identity and humor. Moreover, Jews are not the only group that are or were in a marginal position, and a definition including a reference to identity thus cannot be exclusive to Jews. The tragic histories, diverse cultural traditions and various forms of Judaism are perhaps the only reference points of humor that could be called Jewish. Humor and trauma are therefore closely interlinked with history and culture, which, again, is one of the main features of all minority-based humor. According to Eva Gruber, humor serves as "an instrument that subordinate groups employ to liberate if not entire existence then at least their minds, by laughing at what keeps them down. Should this be considered gallows humor or survival strategy, then?" Moreover, such humor becomes "decidedly fatalistic and passive."[6] The sense of fatality and concern with death and survival, especially when presented in fiction, is also a sign of anxiety that humor should ease or redirect.

This argument, once again discusses what could be called oppressed minority humor, which, however, fits the current literary representation of the Jewish Holocaust trauma, including Auslander's novel. The protagonist of *Hope: A Tragedy*, Solomon Kugel, is extremely anxious and so absorbed by the past horrors instilled into him by his mother that he moves with his wife Bree and their three-year old son to the small and remote village of Stockton, hoping to start a new life, without the burden of his ethnic heritage and a place where he hopes his family would be safe. Yet escaping

(Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008), 368.

3   Nancy A. Walker, "Introduction: What is Humor? Why American Humor?," in *What's So Funny?: Humor in American Culture*, ed. Nancy A. Walker (Wilmington: SR Books, 1998), 4.

4   Zuzana Buráková, "Humor and Identity in Selected Contemporary Jewish American Literature," (PhD diss., Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice, 2012), 25.

5   Arthur Asa Berger, *Jewish Humor: An Anatomy of Humor* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993), 75.

6   Eva Gruber, *Humor in Contemporary Native North American Literature: Reimagining Nativeness* (Rochester: Camden House, 2008), 43.

history and especially his mother is a task far greater than Kugel can manage, even in a town where nothing important or tragic ever happened: "A popular local bumper sticker read: Nobody Slept Here. Birthplace of Nothing."[7] His only defense mechanism is thus humor, more specifically, gallows humor.

The novel opens with Kugel imagining his death by fire: "It's funny: It isn't the fire that kills you, it's the smoke" (*HAT*, 1). Yet, he is not pondering the tragic European past, as it might seem, but a possibility of his house being burnt down, as he heard there was an arsonist in the area. Kugel spends most of his time, worrying about death, dying and his final words, while his therapist calls him an optimist: "So desperate was Kugel for things to turn out for the best, proclaimed Professor Jove, that he couldn't stop worrying about the worst. 'Hope,' said Professor Jove, 'was Solomon Kugel's greatest failing'" (*HAT*, 3). Depicted as a person who struggles with so much hope for a new and better life that he feels anxious and frustrated by reality, Kugel constantly ponders death and dying and obsessively tries to find the right last words that would best express his personality and legacy:

> We are all a mankind story, collectively and individually, and Kugel didn't want his individual story to end in an ellipsis. A period, sure, if you're lucky. An exclamation mark, okay. A question mark, probably; that seemed the punctuation all stories collectively and individually, should end with, after all. Not an ellipsis, though. (HAT, 5)

Brooding over linguistic and existential issues connected with punctuation marks, Kugel tries to distract himself not only from his constant fear of death but also from the conflicts between his mother who insists on and acts out her imagined Holocaust trauma, and his wife who wants him to grow up and secure his family.

Yet, humor can only ease the pain and suffering and produce a distance that would help the protagonist to cope with his life, not solve the issue once and for all. Kugel is aware of this tension between "easing" and "overcoming," and to remind himself that there is really no escape from the bleak reality, he uses intertextual references to Poe's "Raven", establishing the fatality of his situation and emphasizing his self-obsessed, masochistic and exhausted way of thinking.

> And he could definitely hear tapping.
> Upstairs.
> In the attic.
> A ticking?
> A tapping.
> As if some mouse were gently crapping, crapping on his attic floor.
> Like little mouse feet.
> Like typing, almost.
> Marsupial Proust, he joked. Jules Vermin. Franz Krapper.
> It was probably just mice." (*HAT*, 12)

He is trying to turn his fears into a joke and himself into a literary figure to be able to cope with the fact that there are strange noises in his house, and he, the only man

---

around is expected to protect his family and thus overcome his own fear of death.

Fearing a robber or arsonist, Kugel finds his fatal Raven, a woman, who the world proclaimed long dead: Ann Frank, old and sick, working on her second book in his attic. Considering phoning the police, the outraged Kugel tells her that the real Ann Frank died in Auschwitz and that she is offending the memory of the millions who died, including his relatives. The woman senses his fear and insecurity, realizing he is just another modern, anxious Jew who only pretends he knows his history and never lost anyone during the Holocaust.

> 'It was Bergen-Belsen, jackass,' she said. Kugel continued to glare at her, even as he felt a flush of shame color his face … 'And as for the relatives you lost in the Holocaust?' she continued. Kugel stopped and looked at her, and when he did, she yanked up her shirtsleeve, revealing the fading blue-black concentration camp numbers tattooed on the inside of her pale forearm. 'Blow me,' said Anne Frank. (*HAT*, 31–2)

The sarcasm and defiance she uses to shame and confront Kugel corresponds to the observations of Native American poet Paula Gunn Allen (1939–2008): "when you've gone through five hundred years of genocidal experiences, when you know that the other world that surrounds you wants your death and that's all it wants, you get bitter … It starts getting passed on almost genetically. It makes for wit, for incredible wit, but under the wit there is a bite."[8]

Ann Frank's defiance stems not only from her traumatic childhood but also from the pressure of the world that insists on her being dead. She is destined to spend her life hiding in the attic, relying on the weakness and guilt of the house owners to evict a Holocaust survivor. Moreover, she is writing a new book that she hopes will be as best-selling as her first one:

> 'I told him I was working on a novel,' Anne Frank called out loudly after him. 'Do you know what Mr. Editor did then, Mr. Kugel? He laughed! Stay dead, he repeated, stay dead! I'm a writer, Mr. Kugel! I am not a child! I'm not some goddamned memoirist! I am a writer! Thirty-two million copies, Mr. Kugel, that's nothing to sneeze at!' (HAT, 72)

Kugel realizes that he cannot report her to the police nor move her out, imagining the newspaper headlines: "*Local Man Evicts Anne Frank. Jew Drops Dime on Holocaust Survivor. Brutalized by Nazis, Tossed Out by a Jew: One Survivor's Tragic Story of Something*" (Original emphasis. *HAT* 34). Still he fears more what his mother would think and do to him, as he claims he "had a better chance of surviving the Holocaust himself" (*HAT*, 35).

Yet, it is not only Ann Frank who suffers from trauma, both during the Holocaust and ever since she managed to escape to America; Kugel is traumatized as well. Though his reasons may seem trivial, for him, they are equally real as the raven is for Poe's protagonist. To emphasize his genetically passed suffering (or transmitted trauma, to use the trauma studies terminology), Kugel recollects his childhood, when his mother

---

8   Paula Gunn Allen, "Paula Gunn Allen," interview by Laura Coltelli, in *Winged Words: American Indian Writers Speak*, ed. Laura Coltelli (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1990), 21–22.

came to his bedroom, when he was nine and showed him a book called *The Holocaust*, pointing out his fictional relatives in the printed images. Then she placed a lamp shade on the bed, telling him, sobbing, that this is his grandfather: "'It says Made in Taiwan,' Kugel said. Mother looked at him, disappointment and anger in her tearstained eyes. 'Well, they're not going to write Made in Buchenwald, are they?'" (*HAT*, 76–7). The child then became fearful of inanimate objects, wondering, "'If the lamp shade could be his grandfather, was the sofa the cousin? Was the ottoman his aunt? What about a toilet seat?'" (*HAT*, 76–7).

While such comments might constitute a highly improper degradation of the Holocaust, what Auslander targets is the appropriation of the tragedy by those who never experienced it directly and had no connection whatsoever to the events or to those who either died or survived. This memory reveals both the terror of his childhood and the Holocaust, and it is still so painful that humor remains the only tool that enables Kugel to share it at all. Creating jokes about the Holocaust trauma can temporarily release the anxiety and fear of being consumed by the past. Moreover, as Auslander used the child perspective, the attitude is more bearable for the audience.

The humor of Jewish writers, is often not funny or laughable at all. This, according to Arthur Roy Eckhardt, is one of the essential features of Jewish humor. As he claims "[t]eleological-ideological 'humor' is, in conception, totally humorless, totally serious, for it is aimed at a moral goal wholly beyond itself. It is strictly an incarnation of politics, of the unending power-political struggle against injustice."[9]

Unlike her son, Kugel's mother has more fear of life than death, even though her "life, sadly, had gone too well, too smoothly; about average in comfort and security, below average in suffering and pain; better than anyone had a right to expect and callously lasting far longer than anyone could rightly demand. Alive and happy, she cried" (HAT, 5). Even though Mrs. Kugel was born in America in 1946 and did not lose anyone during the Holocaust, she presents herself as a survivor, a victim, who would never be able to live normally again. Her comments and beliefs are often as outrageous as they are comical, unprecedentedly so within Holocaust fiction.

Kugel's mother is only a middle-class, safe Jew who imagines and visualizes what it would have been like to suffer, devoting her entire life to theatrical representations of Holocaust trauma. Every morning she screams a loud, piercing scream of terror, which is frowned upon by Kugel's wife and suffered over by Kugel, who only sighs, knowing that she has been doing that since reading this was common among the survivors: "Mother, in her bedroom beside the tenant's, moaning in agony and pain. Mother was alive if she sounded like she was dying; if she sounded like she was peacefully sleeping, then she was probably dead" (*HAT*, 12).

When Kugel was 13, his mother took him to Israel for his coming-of-age ritual, Bar Miztvah. On the way back, they had a stopover in Berlin and his mother realized this was a great opportunity to visit a concentration camp. Only there did she find

---

9   A. Roy Eckardt, *Sitting in the Earth and Laughing: A Handbook of Humour* (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1992), 145–46.

out that "all the really famous death camps were far away" and she had to settle for one she had never heard of, the Sachsenhousen. She only agreed to go there when the hotel concierge assured her that thousands of people had died there and there was a gas chamber. Still, Mrs. Kugel complained that they did not want to show her the "*real* death camps" but just "some sanitized car park" (*HAT*, 205). Determined and ignoring her son's gluten intolerance, Mrs. Kugel packed only bread and water so as not to insult the memory of the dead. By the time they got to the camp, the child suffered from acute intestinal problems and spent most of the time searching for a free toilet. The mother, angry and frustrated, decided they would only go to the gas chamber, even though she could not find "the damned thing" anywhere (*HAT*, 206).

This concentration camp tourism is itself a joke. As Ruth B. Wisse observes: "History itself seems to be making fun of the Jewish tourist in Europe who now pays good money for an excursion to Auschwitz … Nothing in the works of Kafka is quite as weird as the presence of *two* competing Kafka museums in the city where he once imagined the hero of his novel *The Trial* being slaughtered."[10] Kugel's mother is oblivious to the absurdity of the situation and makes Kugel pose in front of the steel crematoriums, while he unwittingly smiles for the camera: "'What are you doing?' she asked. 'What?' 'Stop smiling.' 'Oh.' 'Look into the oven. Not all the way in, Solomon, just with your eyes.' 'Like this?' 'Sadder. Good. Now get one of me'" (*HAT*, 208). On the way back, on the train, she starts reproaching him "I hope you're happy … You ruined the whole concentration camp for me, you know that? You ruined the whole damn camp" (*HAT*, 208).

Her inability and absolute refusal to see or accept the reality, is also demonstrated on her attitude towards gardening. She claims that she is no burden for her son as everything she needs she grows in the garden, ignoring the fact that all her plants died. Yet Kugel, to support her delusion, leaves plenty of vegetables and sometimes even fruit for her to collect: "Kugel would leave … oranges, apples, honeydew, even diced cantaloupe in plastic containers – but Mother, secure in her horticultural abilities, never questioned their otherwise miraculous appearance" (*HAT*, 47–8).

Yet Kugel has more women to please, including Ann Frank, and he desperately tries to meet all her requirements, hoping she would finish her book and leave, as she promised: "Maybe he should get her some booze. It seemed to work for other writers. Some books, too – How to Write a Novel in a Month. A Week. An Hour. Do you have a multi-vit? Kugel asked. Something for seniors?" (*HAT*, 94–5).

His dark humor is directed not against the past, and his trauma does not stem from the tragic events of Jewish history, his survival humor (directed more towards death than towards life) should keep him safe from the two dominant and traumatized Jewish women who inflict guilt and responsibility on him. By joking about buying a book on writing for Ann Frank, the author of the best-selling diary, he can openly say what he secretly feels he cannot say out loud. As Wisse observes, "joking becomes …

---

10 Ruth R. Wisse, *No Joke: Making Jewish Humor* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 111.

[a] bid for freedom, if only through the utterance of otherwise-prohibited truth."[11]

Humorless humor is then the best defense shield, the one that enables Ann Frank to laugh at ignorant Kugel, daring him to "blow" her, the one that makes it possible for Kugel's mother to collect canned fruit from the garden and claim it as her produce and finally the one making Kugel smile for cameras and buy a how-to book for aspiring writers for Ann Frank. Humor and at the same time, fatality and passivity are Kugel's only sources of protection and motivation that make him take up his cultural heritage despite the fact that he eventually loses his job, wife and finally life, by fire.

His humor presents a varied and by no means comfortable image of American Jews, criticizing the pressure and the potentially devastating impact of the transmission of both real and self-inflicted trauma onto the following generations. At the same time, it shows enough confidence in the establishment of Jews in American society that such a book could not pose a threat to the safety of the community. Moreover, as Ruth B. Wisse claims, "if American Jews have indeed reduced their cultural heritage to the Holocaust, and appear to congratulate themselves on the enormity of their loss, they deserve a satirist's derision."[12] The bitter humor in Auslander's book seeks to reveal the hypocrisy and ignorant appropriation of the Holocaust and victimhood and show the tragic impact it has on the following generations. Auslander's humor is not based on the special Jewish fate, nor does it ridicule the non-Jewish world; it offers no such contrast but turns fully inward. Neither of the characters has or hopes for a way out of the situation, as there seems to be none. The acknowledgment of fatality together with the humorless humor seem to form the essence of Jewish humor, at least in the analyzed novel.

Funding Acknowledgement

Works Cited

Allen, Paula Gunn. "Paula Gunn Allen." By Laura Coltelli. In *Winged Words: American Indian Writers Speak*, edited by Laura Coltelli, 11–40. Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1990.

Auslander, Shalom. *Hope: A Tragedy*. London: Picador, 2012.

Berger, Arthur Asa. *Jewish Humor: An Anatomy of Humor*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1993.

Buráková, Zuzana. "Humor and Identity in Selected Contemporary Jewish American Literature." PhD diss., Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice, 2012.

Eckardt, A. Roy. *Sitting in the Earth and Laughing: A Handbook of Humour*. New

---

11 Wisse, *No Joke*, 229.
12 Wisse, *No Joke*, 237.

Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 1992.

English, James F. *Comic Transactions: Literature, Humor and the Politics of Community in Twentieth-Century Britain.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994.

Gruber, Eva. *Humor in Contemporary Native North American Literature: Reimagining Nativeness.* Rochester: Camden House, 2008.

Kuipers, Giselinde. "The Sociology of Humor." In *The Primer of Humor Research*, edited by Victor Raskin, 361–99. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008.

Walker, Nancy A. "Introduction: What is Humor? Why American Humor?" In *What's So Funny?: Humor in American Culture*, edited by Nancy A. Walker, 3–66. Wilmington: SR Books, 1998.

Wisse, Ruth R. *No Joke: Making Jewish Humor.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.

The Racial Status of America's Czech Immigrants, 1900–1943

Mark A. Brandon

University of New York in Prague, Department of International and Economic Relations,
Londýnská 41, 120 00 Prague, Czech Republic. Email: m.brandon@seznam.cz

ABSTRACT: For many, it comes as a surprise that light-skinned European immigrants were not considered fully "white" in early twentieth-century America. Indeed, before World War II, discussions about "race" involved many more categories than simply "white" and "black," and not all "whites" were quite white enough for some American race theorists. This paper uses selected race literature from approximately 1900 to 1930 in order to locate Czech immigrants in the presumed racial hierarchy. Next, it examines the race beliefs of the physical anthropologist, Aleš Hrdlička, to demonstrate how Czech immigrants positioned themselves on the white side of America's color line. While Czech immigrants faced some ambiguities about their racial status in America's legal and social systems, they were still able to distance themselves from blacks.

KEYWORDS: Aleš Hrdlička; anthropology; crania; Czechs; Americans; immigration; miscegenation; race; racism

I. Introduction: The Ambiguity of Being White

America's most notorious racist author, Madison Grant, once called Aleš Hrdlička, a Czech immigrant and prominent physical anthropologist, an "East European round head."[1] This odd slight was meant to be a racial insult. Even though Hrdlička's skin probably looked "white," the Czech-American scientist with the round head was not racially fit enough for membership in Grant's white master race. For Grant, race was more complicated than the often used categories of "white" and "black." This is not surprising to historians of race, who have reached a consensus that race categories are socially constructed and have no demonstrable foundation in the physical sciences or human biology.[2] This means, as Barbara Fields convincingly argued, that definitions of race, and racial categories, and the meaning of "racism" have and continue to fluctuate

---

1   Jonathan Peter Spiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant* (Burlington: University of Vermont, 2008), 314.
2   On the social and historical construction of race and racism, see Michelle Brattain, "Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public," *American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (2007): 1386–1413, http://www.jstor.org/stable/40007100; Barbara J. Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," in *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, ed. J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 143–77; George M. Fredrickson, *Racism: A Short History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), 1–13; Jonathan Marks, *Human Biodiversity: Genes, Race, and History* (New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995), 110–13; Richard Perry, *"Race" and Racism: The Development of Modern Racism in America* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 1–19; Ali Rattansi, *Racism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 69–85.

over time and place and can only be understood within specific historical contexts.[3] According to Fields, "to assume, by intention or default, that race is a phenomenon outside history is to take up a position within the terrain of racialist ideology and to become its unknowing—and therefore uncontesting [sic]—victim."[4] It is therefore the task of the historian to explain the ever shifting meanings of race within specific historical contexts. In the age of Grant and Hrdlička, race was much more nuanced than "black and white."

The inherent ambiguity of race means that racial categories were never really clear, and thus there was a surprising amount of confusion over who was really "white." *The Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, which the Senate Immigration Committee prepared in 1911, lamented, "although the white race [should] be the one best understood, it is really the one about which there is the most fundamental and sometimes violent discussion."[5] In his 1916 book *The Passing of the Great Race*, Madison Grant claimed that immigrants from Europe were comprised of three entirely different races: Nordic, Alpine, and Mediterranean. The best group, in Grant's estimation, was the Nordics, who had founded the United States. The Nordics came mostly from north-western Europe and had relatively light complexions, narrow crania, and an inherent gift for governing. Grant's complicated racial hierarchy was not unusual, and immigrants with relatively light skin tone could still be considered racially inferior, or not quite white. In Grant's view, Hrdlička was from the lower-grade, round-headed, Alpine race.

Americans intensely debated who should be classified as white. There were many reasons why it was important to be white, but one of the most pressing concerns for recent immigrants was a legal problem. According to the Naturalization Act of 1790, only white people could be naturalized as United States citizens. In *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race*, Ian Haney López documents numerous court cases in which hopeful immigrants battled to be classed as white and therefore eligible for naturalization.[6] To give a specific example of a similar case, in Minnesota in 1908, a judge ruled that a Finnish immigrant could not be naturalized as a U.S. citizen because, "being a Finn, he is a Mongolian and not a 'white person'."[7] Historians have discovered that outside of the courtroom there were similar racial doubts about Irish, Italians,

---

3 Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," 149–52. See also Peter Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America," *Journal of American History* 89, no. 1 (2002): 154–73, doi:10.2307/2700788.

4 Fields, "Ideology and Race in American History," 144.

5 *Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, Reports of the Immigration Commission, 61st Congress, Document No. 662 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911), 30.

6 Ian Haney López, *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2006). López's study covers the "racial prerequisite cases" from 1878 to the 1920s, in which hopeful immigrants tried to establish themselves as legally white. López argues that in the early cases, the courts appealed to scientific authorities to establish fixed indicators of whiteness. When science provided no useful conclusions, the courts then appealed to "common sense." The courts' "repudiation of science," in López's words, demonstrates that "whiteness" was a "social construction" and not "a physical fact" (p. 7).

7 Peter Kivisto and Johanna Leinonen, "Representing Race: Ongoing Uncertainties about Finnish American Racial Identity," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 31, no. 1 (2011): 11–12, doi:10.5406/jamerethnhist.31.1.0011.

Jews, Armenians, Hungarians, and Slovaks.[8] As Grant's jab at Hrdlička suggests, there was also a threatening suspicion of racial impurity surrounding the Czechs.

Recent immigrants like Hrdlička initially fit somewhere between white and black in America's racial order, but with time, they gradually won acceptance as whites by convincingly separating themselves from blacks.[9] In doing so, they rejected Grant's divisive brand of Nordic racism but accepted and reinforced the racial chasm separating blacks and whites. This paper argues that there was some racial ambiguity about Czechs, but that they, and especially the "round-headed" Hrdlička, demanded their place in the master race. First, it will be necessary to locate Czech immigrants within the racial categories of that time. Second, this paper will provide an examination of Hrdlička's anthropological views about Czechs, whites and blacks.

II. Doubts About The Whiteness of Czechs

Czechs spoke an "Indo European" language, which placed them in the same linguistic family as Nordic "Aryans," but this did not guarantee their racial purity. Although racial theorists of the early-twentieth century recognized a difference between linguistic and racial categories, in practice they often conflated the two. For some, it was troubling that dark-skinned Asian Indians also spoke Indo-European languages.

Nordic racists like Grant had ready explanations for why inferior races spoke languages related to those of light-skinned Aryans, and they applied this formula to speakers of Slavic languages. In Grant's account of ancient history, the Aryans from northern Europe had conquered India centuries ago and left behind the residue of their languages. However, according to Grant, all the Nordic racial traits had dissipated long ago, and "the little swarthy native lives among the monuments of departed grandeur. … speaking the tongue of his long forgotten Nordic conquerors, without the slightest claim to blood kinship."[10] For those who were predisposed to see Slavic speakers as racially inferior, this narrative of sub-continental history provided a good analogy. Slavic speakers, just like "swarthy" Indians, might speak an elevated Indo-European language bequeathed to them by Aryan conquerors, but their biological origin could still be more "Asiatic" than Aryan. *The Dictionary of Races* claimed ambivalently about

---

8   There is now a massive canon of "whiteness studies" literature which documents the borderline racial status of most of the immigrant groups. For a concise and critical overview, see Kolchin, "Whiteness Studies." The two general histories, now considered essential reading in the field, which describe the journey to whiteness that European immigrants took, are Matthew Frye Jacobson, Whiteness of a *Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998) and David R. Roediger, *Working Towards Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White* (New York: Basic Books, 2005). For a study showing how Irish immigrants were once considered black but gradually became white, see Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995). The only study that explores, if only briefly, the path to whiteness of Czech immigrants, is Cynthia Skove Nevels, *Lynching to Belong: Claiming Whiteness through Racial Violence* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2007).

9   See Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, 91–135; and Roediger, *Working Towards Whiteness*, 133–156.

10 Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936), 70.

all Slavs, "in language they are as truly Aryan as ourselves," but, "physically, and perhaps temperamentally, the Slavs approach the Asiatic."[11]

Since language was untrustworthy as a racial indicator, there had to be some kind of physiological marks that distinguished the different races of Europe. Writers like Grant thought that the Slavs, and among them the Czechs, generally fell into the physiological category of "Alpine," which was supposedly one of Europe's three main races. In Passing of the Great Race, Grant claimed that the cephalic index could be used to distinguish the "Nordic" from the "Alpine" and the "Mediterranean" races. For Grant, the superior Nordics had more narrow heads (dolichocephalic), while inferior Alpine and Mediterranean peoples had rounder heads (brachiocephalic). This is why he commented on Hrdlička's "round head." In general, Alpines were supposed to be darker, shorter and more round-headed than the superior Nordics. Kenneth Roberts, a popular journalist in the 1920s, described the Alpines as "stocky, slow, dark, round-skulled folk who inhabit most of Central Europe."[12] As specific examples, he named, "the Czechs, the Poles, the Slovaks, the Russians ... and so on."[13]

There was also speculation that the Alpine race, to which Czechs were thought to belong, had its hereditary roots in Asia, and that this origin left an irrevocable biological imprint. According to Grant, "the Alpine race is clearly of eastern and Asiatic origin."[14] Supposedly, thousands of years of exposure to Nordic culture had improved the Alpines, and especially the Czechs, yet some of the negative "Asiatic" traits were immutable. For example, Roberts praised Czechs for being the most civilized non-Nordic group in central Europe, but he still thought that ultimately, "nothing can alter the shape of their skulls."[15] As noted, Czechs were often discussed under the linguistic category of Slav, but there was a way to inject an element of racial thought into what is clearly a cultural and linguistic feature. In practice, many authors took it for granted that almost all Slavic speakers were racially Alpines. For instance, Grant noted that "in most Slavic-speaking countries the predominant race is clearly Alpine."[16] Since Slavs were Alpines, their origins were supposedly in Asia. The Dictionary of Races claimed, for example, that Slavs were "'Eastern' – in physical type."[17] As with the Finns, suspected Asiatic origin could consign an individual to non-white status, possibly even in a court of law.

Out of all the Slavs, the Czechs were considered the best because they lived near Nordics. The Dictionary of Races called the Czechs "the most advanced of all" because they were, "the most nearly like western Europeans," and they did not "show the Asiatic element [as found in] the Russians."[18] For Roberts, the Czechs were the most advanced Slavs only because of their fortunate proximity to Nordic culture: "the Czechs are surrounded by a ring of three million German-Austrians."[19] Because Czechs were "exposed for so many years to the iron rule of Austria and to Austrian neatness,"

---

11   *Dictionary of Races*, 128.
12   Kenneth L. Roberts, *Why Europe Leaves Home* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1922), 47.
13   Roberts, *Why Europe Leaves Home*, 47.
14   Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, 134.
15   Roberts, *Why Europe Leaves Home*, 21.
16   Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race*, 64.
17   *Dictionary of Races*, 23.
18   *Dictionary of Races*, 23.
19   Roberts, *Why Europe Leaves Home*, 24.

Roberts considered them superior to Russians and Poles.[20]

In the end, there was still an assortment of fearful innate qualities found in all Slavs, including the Czechs. *The Dictionary of Races* professed unknown otherness, for "the fact is that we do not know the Slav."[21] All Slavs, felt Roberts, were petty and contentious: "The Poles and the Czechs, Slavs all, consider themselves infinitely superior to each other. The Czechs rate themselves far above the Slovaks, while the Slovaks scorn the Rusins [sic]."[22] They were unappreciative and devious. The Czechs, for example, "used every underhanded means in their power to undermine the Austrian Empire."[23] Maybe they could be assimilated, but it would be difficult and expensive: "America can develop the good points of the Slavs," but only "if she is willing to spend time and money to do it." [24]

III. We Are White! (And Definitely Not Black)

Many historians have argued that instead of passively settling for secondary racial status, immigrants exploited the ambiguity of race in order to portray themselves as white. This meant definitively distancing themselves from blacks. Although Czech racial identity might have been questionable, it was also malleable, and Czech immigrants viewed themselves as legitimate members of America's ruling white race.

The Czech-born anthropologist, Aleš Hrdlička, depicted Czechs as members of the superior white race. Hrdlička was in an especially strategic position to defend the racial pedigree of Czechs. As the Curator of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution from 1910 until his retirement in 1941, part of his job description was "the comprehensive biological study of the many and diverse racial elements of the American nation."[25] From his powerful position in Washington, D.C., Hrdlička played a central role in shaping American beliefs about race. For example, he designed the Physical Anthropology Exhibit at the Panama-California Exposition in 1915, which

20 Roberts, *Why Europe Leaves Home*, 22.
21 *Dictionary of Races*, 128.
22 Roberts, *Why Europe Leaves Home*, 25.
23 Roberts, *Why Europe Leaves Home*, 26.
24 Roberts, *Why Europe Leaves Home*, 27.
25 Frank Spencer, "Aleš Hrdlička, M.D., 1869–1943: A Chronicle of the Life and Work of an American Physical Anthropologist" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1979), 248. Spencer's dissertation is the only full-length study of Hrdlička based on archival research. For other, less complete, analyses of Hrdlička, see the following: Stephen Loring and Miroslav Prokopec, "A Most Peculiar Man: The Life and Times of Aleš Hrdlička," in *Reckoning with the Dead: The Larsen Bay Repatriation and the Smithsonian Institution*, ed. Tamara L. Bray and Thomas W. Killion (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994), 26–53; Robert Oppenheim, "Revisiting Hrdlička and Boas: Asymmetries of Race and Anti-Imperialism in Interwar Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 112, no. 1 (2010): 92–103, doi: 10.1111/j.1548-1433.2009.01199.x.; Donald J. Ortner, "Aleš Hrdlička and the Founding of the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*: 1918," in *Histories of American Physical Anthropology in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Michael A. Little and Kenneth A. R. Kennedy (New York: Lexington Books, 2010), 87–104. There are also Czech-language sources about Hrdlička, but they were written without access to unpublished primary sources, which are in Washtingon, D.C. See Vojtěch Fetter, *Dr. Aleš Hrdlička světový badatel ve vědě o člověku* (Praha: Orbis, 1954); Petr Kostrhun, "Američtí archeologové a antropologové na Moravě v období mezi světovými válkami," Archeologické rozhledy LXVII (2015): 594–626; Viktor Palivec, *Kdo je Aleš Hrdlička* (Praha: Orbis, 1947); Miroslav Prokopec, "Osobnost a dílo dr. Aleše Hrdličky," in *Městký národní výbor Humpolec. Kulturní stopou Humpolecka (Hrdličkův jubilejní sborník)*, ed. Jiří Bečvář et al. (Pelhřimov: Jihočeské tiskárny, 1969), 7–16.

about 3.5 million people attended. According to historian Robert Rydell, this exhibition instructed the public in "the anthropology of government science and the evolutionary racial doctrines espoused by Aleš Hrdlička."[26] As an expert in physical anthropology, Hrdlička frequently gave public lectures about race questions and held interviews with journalists from prestigious newspapers. As a government employee, senior officials and prominent attorneys often turned to him with practical and legal questions about race. Czech immigrants could not ask for a better guardian of their white racial status.

Common citizens often wrote to him about perplexing race questions, hoping that he could tell them who was really white and who was not. Hrdlička's correspondence, held at the Smithsonian's Anthropological Archives near Washington, D.C., offers many examples, but two are especially related to topics discussed in this study. Firstly, in 1930 a professor at Ohio State University wrote to Hrdlička to ask about "the theory that [the Finns] have Mongolian ancestry."[27] The professor apparently had the best interests of the Finns at heart and was hoping for them to be judged as white, "owing to the general attitude of the occidental world toward persons of Mongolian ancestry."[28] Hrdlička's answer was equivocating and maybe a little disappointing because he stated that the "original" Finns were "of a semi-Mongolic nature," but he also intimated that modern Finns should be considered white.[29] In a second case, which is directly relevant to Czech immigrants, a student named Emma Hejtmanek from Nebraska wrote to Hrdlička because, "I've been told in my university classes that the Čechs [sic] (I am one myself) have some Mongolian blood."[30] In his response, Hrdlička reassured Hejtmanek that Czechs were white, and that "Mongolian blood" had "never reached Bohemia."[31]

This same powerful man, who could literally decide who was white and who was not, sometimes even with legal consequences, vigorously identified himself as Czech and openly lobbied the United States government and the American public on behalf of Czech causes. During World War I, he openly used his authoritative reputation to publish rosy propaganda promoting the creation of Czechoslovakia; in this matter he abandoned dispassionate science and wore his romantic nationalism on his sleeve. Setting aside his meticulous specialty of anthropometrics for improbable hyperbole, he told his readers, "no evil of humanity, has ever originated in Bohemia …. Few

26 Robert W. Rydell, All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 223. This is an older yet solid study that briefly discusses Hrdlička's leading role in the San Diego World's Fair of 1915. For a somewhat fuller (but still brief) discussion of Hrdlička as a scientific authority who disseminated racist ideas, see Lee D. Baker, From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

27 Letter, Eugene Van Cleef to Aleš Hrdlička, 15 December, 1930, box 64, "V. (1900–1952)," Correspondence, Papers of Aleš Hrdlička, Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

28 Letter, Eugene Van Cleef to Aleš Hrdlička, 15 December, 1930, Correspondence, Hrdlička Papers.

29 Letter, Hrdlička to Van Cleef, 17 December, 1930, box 64, "V., 1900–1952," Correspondence, Hrdlička Papers.

30 Letter, Emma Hejtmanek to Hrdlička, 16 January, 1937, box 28, "HAS-HEN, 1918–1943," Correspondence, Hrdlička Papers.

31 Letter, Hrdlička to Hejtmanek, 19 January, 1937, box 28, "HAS-HEN, 1918–1943," Correspondence, Hrdlička Papers.

nations can boast of as clean a record."[32] Although "objective" tabulation of precise bodily measurements was Hrdlička's specialty, he confidently strayed into the ethereal realm of Czech "mental characteristics," which were of course all good: "cordiality, sensitiveness, idealism, valor, love of family, love of country…."[33] From 1918 until his death in 1943, he continued to assert publicly, despite his position as an employee of the United States government, that Czechoslovakia was an indisputably virtuous cause with which all Americans should be deeply concerned.

Hrdlička was adept at taking arguments designed to denigrate Czechs and other Slavs and turning them into evidence of racial fitness. He essentially agreed with *Dictionary of Races* that among the Slavs, the Czechs were the most advanced. For him, this did not mean that Slavs were inferior; it meant that Czechs were superior. In 1917, he insisted that the Czech person "is not cold, calculating, thin-lipped, [or] as inflammable as the Pole or the southern Slav."[34] As the most developed of all the Slavs, the superior Czechs even carried their own version of the "white man's burden" by sending teachers and giving "a helpful hand to all other branches of the Slavs."[35] In fairness to Hrdlička, he usually did not criticize other Slavs. He felt that Czechs were the most advanced, educated, and industrialized, but he also believed that Slavs, as a whole, were the most virile and eugenic portion of the white race.

There was simply no way that Hrdlička, one of America's most powerful arbiters of whiteness, was going to permit his beloved Czechs to be classed as non-white. In a way, this made him more racially "tolerant" than Madison Grant. Grant, much like Nazi theorists, insisted that there were distinct biological racial differences separating superior Nordics from other Europeans of inferior racial stock, most notably Jews. Hrdlička explicitly rejected these ideas and argued that Slavs, Jews, Italians, and other Europeans were all "white." This does not mean that he believed in racial equality for all humans. Racial equality was only for those people that he judged to be white. Furthermore, he never questioned the ambiguous concept of race itself; he merely manipulated it to make the white race more inclusive. In Hrdlička's construction of race, Czechs were white; whites were superior to blacks; therefore, Czechs were superior to blacks.

First, there is overwhelming evidence that Hrdlička classed Czechs as whites. As a world-renowned physical anthropologist, Hrdlička set his own indicators for distinguishing races that kept Czechs safely within the white world and separate from blacks. In his writings about Czechoslovakia, Hrdlička described Czechs as having "hair varying from blond to brunette and eyes ranging from blue to medium brown."[36] Tellingly, he was careful to point out that Czechs rarely had any characteristics that he viewed as black. For example, Czechs almost never had any "prognathism," which

32 Aleš Hrdlička, "Bohemia and the Czechs," *National Geographic* 31, no. 2 (February 1917), 167.
33 Aleš Hrdlička, "The Czechoslovaks: Anthropological Notes," in *Czechoslovakia: Twenty Years of Independence*, ed. Robert J. Kerner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940), 5.
34 Hrdlička, "Bohemia and the Czechs," 167.
35 Hrdlička, "Bohemia and the Czechs," 176.
36 Hrdlička, "The Czechoslovaks," 5.

Hrdlička viewed as a hallmark feature of more "primitive" Negro skulls.[37] Then there was the matter of those round Czech heads. Rather than questioning the fundamental meaning of head shape as an unalterable indicator of race, as Franz Boas had, Hrdlička continued to believe, much more like Grant, that the mysteries of race would be found by measuring crania.[38] Hrdlička simply conceded that Czechs had round heads, but he embraced round-headedness as a respectable variation within the white race. He even claimed, somewhat gleefully, that narrow "Nordic" skulls were indeed most common among blacks, the lowest race of all.[39] The "joke" of course depends on the assumption of black racial inferiority.[40]

Not only is there overwhelming circumstantial evidence that Hrdlička considered Czechs white, but he also made direct statements to that effect. In an unpublished and undated manuscript entitled "The Slavs," he wrote, "the European whites are divisible into four large strains, which are the Nordic, the Alpine, the Mediterranean, and the Slav. Of these the Slav strain is the greatest in number."[41] In fact, Hrdlička liked to view Slavs as the most eugenically fit portion of the white race. In a 1924 publication, he told Czech readers, "today the Slavs have reasons for hope in the future. As a unit they are the last great biological reserve of the white race."[42] He was certain that the Slavs, and especially the Russians and southern Slavs, were breeding fast enough to keep pace with the black and the yellow-brown races. Thus, Hrdlička always spoke of Slavs as a major component of the white race, and of course he viewed Czechs as Slavs.[43]

Second, Hrdlička believed that whites were superior to blacks. This can be seen in his views on inter-racial marriage and miscegenation. Throughout his career, Hrdlička insisted that America's new white immigrants (but not blacks) could safely intermarry with the older "Nordic" population. Commanding the authority of science, he claimed that "there is no proof that the normal white immigrant, of any source, has lowered the physical or mental standards of the American people."[44] He insisted that this kind

---

37 Hrdlička, "The Czechoslovaks," 5; Aleš Hrdlička, "Human Races," in *Human Biology and Racial Welfare*, ed. Edmund V. Cowdry (New York: P. B. Hoeber, 1930), 162.

38 See Clarence C. Gravlee, H. Russell Bernard, and William R. Leonard, "Boas's Changes in Bodily Form: The Immigrant Study, Cranial Plasticity, and Boas's Physical Anthropology," *American Anthropologist* 105, no. 2 (2003): 326–32, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3567506.

39 Hrdlička, "Human Races," 162.

40 Palivec, *Kdo je Aleš Hrdlička*, 17–18. Just after World War II, Hrdlička's Czech biographer, Palivec, praised the anthropologist for mocking Nazi race science: "It was very funny whenever he pointed out that the exalted Germanic ideal – northern blond with slightly wavy hair, blue eyes, pink skin and a sharp nose – is no one other than some dark African from the distant past who was whitened up by the northern environment." [Velmi vtipně kdysi poznamenal, že onen vychvalovaný germánský ideál – severský blondýn s mírně zvlněnými vlasy, modrýma očima, růžovou pletí a ostrým nosem – není vlastně nikdo jiný, než nějaký temný Afrikánec z daleké minulosti, který vlivem severského prostředí zbělel a vybledl.]

41 Hrdlička, unpublished manuscript, undated, box 138, "Slavs (with a manuscript of Hrdlička's paper 'The Slavs,'" European Ethnic History (1908–1938), Aleš Hrdlička Papers, Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution.

42 Hrdlička, *O původu a vývoji člověka i budoucnosti lidstva* (Praha: B. Kočí, 1924), 77.

43 Hrdlička, "What are the Czechoslovaks?," in *World's Fair Memorial of the Czechoslovak Group (Czechs and Slovaks) International Exposition, Chicago, 1933* (Chicago: Czechoslovak Group, 1933). Hrdlička wrote that "the Czechs were but one of a number of closely related Slavic tribes" (p. 22).

44 Hrdlička, "Race Deterioration and Destruction with Special Reference to the American People," in

of mixing was nothing new, for "a wholesale (white) mixture has been going on for centuries in Europe … without any trace of damage."[45] As a guest speaker at a dinner for the Committee on Immigration Policy in 1929, he told his audience not to believe Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard, who fraudulently claimed that the "American people through mixture with immigrants are in danger of degeneration, in danger of physical or mental degradation."[46] As "liberal" as this sounds, Hrdlička made it very clear that blacks were another matter entirely. Mixture among whites was a good thing, but only after, in Hrdlička's carefully chosen words, "disregarding the colored."[47] White immigration and intermarriage made the United States strong, for "never in the history of human kind has there been a unit such as white America."[48] The only serious threat to "white America" came from blacks. Just to be sure that his audience understood, at the end of the speech Hrdlička pointedly added, "there is only one class of immigrant in this great country … that deserves a real concern. He is the involuntary immigrant from Africa, the Negro. He has brought a widely different and from the white man's standpoint not desirable physique, and his cultural background is relatively poor and somber."[49]

On the matter of miscegenation, Hrdlička's rhetorical style was more liberal than Grant's, but the conclusions were the same in practice. Unlike Grant, Hrdlička did not believe that the mixing of blacks and whites produced monsters. Instead he believed that all human races could interbreed, and that white people should. But he had a very negative view of white and black mixtures. This kind of mixing, felt Hrdlička, could be tolerated in limited amounts, but only as a charitable aid to blacks, who benefitted by mating with superior whites. While this seems like a "positive" sentiment, Hrdlička made it clear that too much interbreeding would damage the white race. In 1930, he wrote, "if such a union occurs between two mentally unequal races, such as the white and black, the children are generally an improvement on the [black] parent, though not equaling the more gifted [white] one."[50] Clearly this formula meant that every mixed child was a step backward for the white race, and consequently interracial mating should be limited, for "the danger lies in the colored stream flowing eventually wholly in the body of the larger white group."[51]

However much he pleaded for white ecumenism, he was not prepared to extend it to blacks. He very explicitly stressed the racial divide between whites and blacks. It is true, as some historians have noted, that Hrdlička saw all humanity as one species, but he also insisted that within the species, "the whites and the negroes stand in general the

---

Proceedings of the Third Race Betterment Conference in Battle Creek, Michigan, 2–6 January, 1928 (Battle Creek, MI: Race Betterment Foundation, 1928), 85.

45 Hrdlička, "Human Races," 177. The parentheses around the word "white" are Hrdlička's.
46 Hrdlička, Speech, "Are We Truly Assimilating the Foreign Born," 10 April, 1929, box 19, "Conference on Immigration Policy, 1929," Correspondence, Hrdlička Papers.
47 Hrdlička, "Are we Truly Assimilating the Foreign Born," Hrdlička Papers.
48 Hrdlička, "Are we Truly Assimilating the Foreign Born," Hrdlička Papers.
49 Hrdlička, "Are we Truly Assimilating the Foreign Born," Hrdlička Papers.
50 Hrdlička, "Human Races," 177.
51 Hrdlička, "Race Deterioration," 85.

farthest apart."[52] Relying on his scientific authority, Hrdlička contrived an evolutionary history to support this racial chasm. He claimed that the "Negroid stem" had diverged from the other human lines much earlier than the "Caucasoid" and "Mongoloid" races.[53] The implication of this seems to be that blacks are an earlier, more primitive version of humanity. Such a conclusion is supported by Hrdlička's assertion: "In some respects, such as the nose, and prognathy, the African skull is on the whole the most primitive."[54] Likewise, Hrdlička elsewhere referred to blacks as a "belated human group."[55]

Hrdlička believed that blacks were innately unequal to whites and unambiguously rejected the idea that education and opportunity could make them equal. By the late 1920s, he was certainly aware of new ideas in anthropology that placed emphasis on environment over heredity. Franz Boas had already been arguing for several years that so-called "primitive" culture was the result of environment and not of hereditary racial characteristics.[56] Hrdlička and Boas knew each other, corresponded, and worked together on projects. Even so, Hrdlička ultimately insisted that cultural sophistication was the result of inherited racial qualities and not of environment. He emphatically disagreed with "the thesis that the brains of the belated human groups, such as the Negro … [are] of equal potentiality with those of the old [white] American … and that the only differences are in training, enlightenment and opportunity."[57] In fact, he explicitly disagreed with those "benevolent minds who would like to see all men, white and black," as "potentially equal," because, he asserted, "races, especially the further distant ones like the white and the Negro … are not equipotential."[58]

Given that Hrdlička believed that Czechs were white, and that whites were superior to blacks, the inescapable conclusion is that he also viewed Czechs as racially superior to blacks. This verdict does not rest exclusively on deductive argumentation. Hrdlička applied his racial beliefs to everyday life. In October, 1917, Hrdlička wrote to a Czech-American friend in Baltimore named Mr. Toula. He asked Toula if Mrs. Toula could put an advertisement in the "Bohemian paper" in Baltimore for a "Bohemian servant."[59] The reason was, "we are very tired of the colored help and would be very glad to have a good Bohemian woman."[60] Apparently he was still looking for a suitable white servant in May, 1918, when he wrote to Mr. Koukol of the Slavonic Immigrant Society of New York. Once again Hrdlička wrote, "I wonder if you could ever send us a good Czech or Slovak servant or cook. We are entirely dependent here on colored help which is extremely unsatisfactory."[61]

---

52 Hrdlička, "Human Races," 167.
53 Hrdlička, "Human Races," 166.
54 Hrdlička, "Human Races," 162.
55 Hrdlička, "Human Races," 180.
56 See Franz Boas, *The Mind of Primitive Man* (New York: Macmillan, 1938). On Boaz's critique of so-called scientific racism, see Baker, *From Savage to Negro*, 99–126.
57 Hrdlička, "Human Races," 180.
58 Hrdlička, "Race Deterioration," 84.
59 Letter, Hrdlička to J. J. Toula, 1 October, 1917, box 64, "Toula, J. J., 1911–1924," Correspondence, Hrdlička Papers.
60 Letter, Hrdlička to J. J. Toula, 1 October, 1917, Hrdlička Papers.
61 Letter, Hrdlička to A. B. Koukol, 2 May, 1918, box 38, "Koukal, A. B., 1918" Correspondence, Hrdlička

Conclusion

Because Hrdlička was an outspoken enemy of the Nordic-style racism expressed by Madison Grant in America and by the Nazi Party in Germany, he was celebrated as a moral hero after World War II.[62] However, as meritorious as his views may have been in comparison to Nazi racism, it is incorrect to jump to the conclusion that they were founded on a principled commitment to racial equality for all. Hrdlička clearly believed in equality for people he considered white; otherwise, he was unambiguously committed to racial inequality. Hrdlička died in 1943 and therefore did not live to see Nordic-style racism discredited by military conquest in 1945. After World War II, the allied victors rightfully branded the kind of racism that made Slavs into *untermenschen* as disgraced "pseudoscience," but unfortunately the conquerors, themselves curators of vast colonial empires and the inventors of segregation and apartheid, still supported the kind of racism that considered whites superior to blacks. Hrdlička's ideas about race were more similar to the racism of the victors of World War II than to the racism of the vanquished.

It would be pleasing to think that the experience of being considered racially inferior would have taught Czech immigrants to identify with blacks in mutual support, but this did not happen. Although there were some doubts about the racial pedigree of Czech immigrants, they managed to locate themselves on the privileged side of the color line by distancing themselves from blacks. Their temporary sojourn as racially inferior immigrants did not teach them to identify or sympathize with blacks. As a powerful and important public intellectual, Hrdlička was in a strategic position to argue that Czech immigrants should be ranked with whites, not with blacks. More research is needed, but for the moment, Hrdlička's race beliefs fit a broader pattern found among other European immigrant groups in the United States.[63] As a world-renowned scientific authority, Hrdlička helped to insure that by the time he died in 1943, Czech immigrants had been largely accepted as part of America's master race.

Works Cited

Archival sources

Hrdlička, Aleš, Papers. Anthropological Archives. Smithsonian Institution. Suitland, Maryland, United States.

Papers. The file in the archive is labeled "Koukal," but the signatures on several letters to Hrdlička, and Hrdlička's typed response, very clearly read "Koukol."

62 See Fetter, *Dr. Aleš Hrdlička světový badatel*, 6–7, 11, 12–13; Palivec, *Kdo je Aleš Hrdlička*, 17–18.

63 See Nevels, *Lynching to Belong*. Nevels has applied the "whiteness" thesis to Czech immigrants who tried (unsuccessfully) to lynch a black man in 1900 in Brazos County, Texas, which she interprets as an attempt by the Czech immigrants to be accepted as whites by distancing themselves from blacks. In her words, the Texas Czechs' failed lynching demonstrates that they "had learned southern white folkways quite well and avidly embraced them" (p. 137). However, *Lynching to Belong* is a regional study, not a specialized analysis of Czech immigrants, who are featured only in one chapter of the book.

Published Sources

Baker, Lee D. *From Savage to Negro: Anthropology and the Construction of Race, 1896–1954*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.

Boas, Franz. *The Mind of Primitive Man*. New York: Macmillan, 1938.

Brattain, Michelle. "Race, Racism, and Antiracism: UNESCO and the Politics of Presenting Science to the Postwar Public." *American Historical Review* 112, no. 5 (2007): 1386–1413. http://www.jstor.org/stable/40007100.

Dictionary of Races or Peoples. Reports of the Immigration Commission, 61st Congress, Document No. 662. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1911.

Fetter, Vojtěch. *Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, světový badatel ve vědě o člověku*. Praha: Orbis, 1954.

Fields, Barbara J. "Ideology and Race in American History." In *Region, Race, and Reconstruction: Essays in Honor of C. Vann Woodward*, edited by J. Morgan Kousser and James M. McPherson, 143–77. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.

Fredrickson, George M. *Racism: A Short History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Grant, Madison. *The Passing of the Great Race, or the Racial Basis of European History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936.

Gravlee, Clarence C., H. Russell Bernard, and William R. Leonard. "Boas's Changes in Bodily Form: The Immigrant Study, Cranial Plasticity, and Boas's Physical Anthropology." *American Anthropologist* 105, no. 2 (2003): 326–32. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3567506.

Hrdlička, Aleš. "Bohemia and the Czechs." *National Geographic* 31, no. 2 (February, 1917): 163–87.

Hrdlička, Aleš. "The Czechoslovaks: Anthropological Notes." In *Czechoslovakia: Twenty Years of Independence*, edited by Robert J. Kerner, 3–7. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1940.

Hrdlička, Aleš. "Human Races." In *Human Biology and Racial Welfare*, edited by Edmund V. Cowdry, 156–-83. New York: P. B. Hoeber, 1930.

Hrdlička, Aleš. *O původu a vývoji člověka i budoucnosti lidstva*. Praha: B. Kočí, 1924.

Hrdlička, Aleš. "Race Deterioration and Destruction with Special Reference to the American People." In *Proceedings of the Third Race Betterment Conference*, January 2–6, 1928, 82–85. Battle Creek, MI: Race Betterment Foundation, 1928.

Hrdlička, Aleš. "What are the Czechoslovaks?" in *World's Fair Memorial of the Czechoslovak Group (Czechs and Slovaks) International Exposition, Chicago, 1933*, 22–24. Chicago: Czechoslovak Group,1933.

Ignatiev, Noel. *How the Irish Became White*. New York: Routledge, 1995.

Jacobson, Matthew Frye. *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Kivisto, Peter, and Johanna Leinonen. "Representing Race: Ongoing Uncertainties about Finnish American Racial Identity." *Journal of American Ethnic History* 31, no. 1 (2011): 11–33. doi:10.5406/jamerethnhist.31.1.0011.

Kolchin, Peter. "Whiteness Studies: The New History of Race in America." *Journal of*

American History 89, no. 1 (2002): 154–73. doi:10.2307/2700788.

Kostrhun, Petr. "Američtí archeologové a antropologové na Moravě v období mezi světovými válkami." *Archeologické rozhledy* LXVII (2015): 594–626.

López, Ian Haney. *White by Law: The Legal Construction of Race.* New York: New York University Press, 2006.

Loring, Stephen, and Miroslav Prokopec. "A Most Peculiar Man: The Life and Times of Aleš Hrdlička." In *Reckoning with the Dead: The Larsen Bay Repatriation and the Smithsonian Institution*, edited by Tamara L. Bray and Thomas W. Killion, 26–53. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1994.

Marks, Jonathan. *Human Biodiversity: Genes, Race, and History.* New York: Aldine de Gruyter, 1995.

Nevels, Cynthia Skove. *Lynching to Belong: Claiming Whiteness through Racial Violence.* College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2007.

Oppenheim, Robert. "Revisiting Hrdlička and Boas: Asymmetries of Race and Anti-Imperialism in Interwar Anthropology." *American Anthropologist* 112, no. 1 (2010): 92–103. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1433.2009.01199.x.

Ortner, Donald J. "Aleš Hrdlička and the Founding of the American Journal of Physical Anthropology: 1918." In *Histories of American Physical Anthropology in the Twentieth Century*, edited by Michael A. Little and Kenneth A. R. Kennedy, 87–104. New York: Lexington Books, 2010.

Palivec, Viktor. *Kdo je Aleš Hrdlička.* Praha: Orbis, 1947.

Perry, Richard. *"Race" and Racism: The Development of Modern Racism in America.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.

Prokopec, Miroslav. "Osobnost a dílo dr. Aleše Hrdličky," in *Městský národní výbor Humpolec. Kulturní stopou Humpolecka (Hrdličkův jubilejní sborník)*, 7–16, edited by Jiří Bečvář et. al. Pelhřimov: Jihočeské tiskárny, 1969.

Rattansi, Ali. *Racism: A Very Short Introduction.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Roberts, Kenneth L. *Why Europe Leaves Home.* Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1922.

Roediger, David R. *Working Towards Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White.* New York: Basic Books, 2005.

Rydell, Robert W. *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876 – 1916.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984.

Spencer, Frank. "Aleš Hrdlička, M.D., 1869–1943: A Chronicle of the Life and Work of an American Physical Anthropologist." PhD diss., University of Michigan, 1979.

Spiro, Jonathan Peter. *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant.* Burlington: University of Vermont, 2008.

Shaped by the Housing Crisis:
Britain's Generation Rent

Alice Tihelková

University of West Bohemia in Plzeň, Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, Department of English and American Literature, Sedláčkova 15, 306 14 Plzeň, Czech Republic. Email: atihelko@kaj.zcu.cz

Abstract: A sign of having "arrived" in the affluent post-war society, home ownership was a cherished dream for most Britons of the past decades. Due to the deepening housing crisis of recent years, however, the dream is becoming unattainable for millions of people, especially those in their 20s and 30s. The prospect of permanently having to live in unstable rented accommodation has given rise to a new social phenomenon referred to as Generation Rent. Drawing on the works of human geographer Danny Dorling, economist Guy Standing and a variety of sociological reports, newspaper articles and blogs, this paper presents Generation Rent as a group with an emerging distinct identity. Despite the immense economic and social odds, Britain's renters are shown to be gradually developing a common voice as they find ways to campaign for more decent living conditions.

Keywords: Britain; housing; home ownership; Generation Rent; Millennials; private tenants; Margaret Thatcher

1. Introduction

Among the current concerns and preoccupations of British people, few can rival the issue of home ownership and all things related. As noted ironically by journalist Phineas Harper, "The British obsession with the property ladder seems as much part of our national identity as misquoting Churchill and losing football matches."[1] The last thirty years, in particular, have seen a noticeable change in the language, culture and attitudes of the British towards home ownership, increasingly perceived not only as an aspiration but almost a right.

A major catalyst for the expansion of home ownership was the concept of property-owning democracy, championed by Margaret Thatcher in the 1980s. Hailing from an aspirational lower middle class background, Thatcher viewed owning one's home as a key to safe, moral and cohesive family life – of having a stake in society. In contrast, she regarded dependence on council housing as discouraging personal responsibility and initiative. This attitude informed her vote-winning Right to Buy policy, which saw much of the council housing stock being sold off to tenants at discount prices (only about 8 percent of the British population now live in council homes, compared to the

---

1   Phineas Harper, "Chasing the Home Ownership Dream Is Harming Britain – We Need to Learn to Rent Like the Europeans," *Independent*, January 22, 2016, http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/chasing-the-home-ownership-dream-is-harming-britain-we-need-to-learn-to-rent-like-the-europeans-a6827981.html.

original 42 percent).[2] Almost overnight, the more affluent segment of the working class had "arrived" in the middle class through the tenant-to-owner route.

The austerity-driven policies of the recent governments have increased the value of home ownership even further. As argued by sociologist and human geographer Danny Dorling, privately owned houses or flats are no longer perceived as just stable homes or middle-class status symbols – at an age of shrinking state spending, they are seen as a substitute for welfare provision; indeed, as some sort of pension pots.[3] With the prospect of declining state pensions, rising retirement age and cuts to social care expenditure, many find owning their pile of bricks and mortar as the only way to stave off poverty in old age.

Under such circumstances, it would be logical to see home ownership increase as people seek to secure themselves against future adversity. However, figures reveal that home ownership has been in a steady decline for over a decade; according to data from Labour Force Survey, the proportion of owner-occupied homes has fallen to 63.8 percent down from 71 percent in 2003 and was at its lowest level since 1986.[4] Crucially, it is the younger cohorts that are having difficulty stepping onto the property ladder: whereas in 1990, 43 percent of homeowners were aged between 25 and 43, twenty years later, the number was only 27 percent.[5] Unlike their parents' generation, today's young people cannot expect to be getting a mortgage on their first home, however modest, any time soon after entering the labour market.

Several interrelated factors are responsible for the recent home ownership decline. First, Britain's acute housing shortage (caused by a combination of population growth, insufficient building activity and rampant property speculation) is pushing property prices beyond affordability. Second, following the 2008 economic crisis, banks have tightened their lending standards, currently demanding the payment of a 25 percent deposit on the purchase price. Unless being able to obtain financial help from their parents (who, in doing so, often sacrifice a part of their own old-age provision), young would-be buyers, many of whom are additionally saddled with student loan debt, find this sum beyond their reach. Third, whereas employees a generation ago could expect to earn a living wage, Britain's embrace of the globalized low-wage low-skill economy means that a growing number of workers are struggling to meet the cost of everyday living. For such people, the prospects of home ownership (requiring considerable resources plus a relatively high income) are looking increasingly distant.[6]

Because the council housing stock, previously available to low income earners as one of the pillars of Britain's post-war welfare state, has been depleted under the Right

2   See John Harris, "The End of Council Housing," *Guardian*, January 4, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jan/04/end-of-council-housing-bill-secure-tenancies-pay-to-stay.

3   See Danny Dorling, *All That Is Solid: How the Great Housing Disaster Defines Our Times, and What We Can Do about It* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), 2.

4   See Stephen Clark, "UK Home Ownership Rates Are at Their Lowest for 30 Years – And the Crisis Goes beyond London," *City Metric*, August 2, 2016, http://www.citymetric.com/politics/uk-home-ownership-rates-are-their-lowest-30-years-and-crisis-goes-way-beyond-london-2312.

5   See Ed Howker and Shiv Malik, *Jilted Generation: How Britain Has Bankrupted Its Youth* (London: Icon Books, 2010), 24.

6

to Buy scheme, private renting emerges as the only option for those unable to buy their own. As shown by the latest figures, Britain appears to be undergoing a transformation from a country of homeowners to a country of renters, with the numbers of people in rented accommodation rising steadily. According to the data from the government's English Housing Survey, for instance, private renters in London are now outnumbering homeowners, with some 898,000 households (twice the number from 2003) in the capital living in rented homes.[7]

Amidst the rental surge, the term "Generation Rent" has emerged in the media, coined by Tim Walker of *The Independent* around 2010 and swiftly adopted by the commentariat to describe the swath of (mostly) Millennials locked out of property ownership and forced to rely on the private rental sector to meet their housing need.[8] To understand why renting should constitute a defining characteristic of an entire generation, the specific character of Britain's private rental market must be briefly commented on.

2. Renting in the British context

While representing a popular and socially neutral housing choice on the Continent due to the relatively high quality of the rental stock and security of tenure, private renting in Britain has always carried a whiff of stigma, evoking images of cold and damp Victorian slums with unsympathetic landlords, familiar from George Orwell's grim depictions in *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937). In a society obsessed with private ownership, the necessity to rent implies a personal failure, almost a kind of second-class citizenship.[9] This is compounded by a number of issues related to the availability, stability and quality of Britain's rental stock.

To begin with, rental costs in Britain are among the highest in Europe, a fact enabled by the dire housing shortage in the country. In 2016, an average monthly rent rose to £764 outside London and £1,543 in London.[10] This can be compared to the renters' earnings: according to the Office for National Statistics, four in five new jobs are in sectors averaging under £16,640 a year for a 40-hour week.[11] Working full-time on the £6.31 hourly minimum wage produces £13,124 in a year, i.e., £ 1,094 a month; for those working on flexible part-time contracts in the precarized service sector, the amount is even lower. Therefore, the rent represents a disproportionately high living expense,

---

7   See Katie Morley, "'Generation Rent' Dominates London Property Market for the First Time," *Telegraph*, February 19, 2016, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/personal-banking/mortgages/generation-rent-dominates-london-property-market-for-the-first-t/.

8   See Kim McKee and Jennifer Hoolachan, *Housing Generation Rent: What Are the Challenges for Housing Policy in Scotland?* (St. Andrews: Centre for Housing Research, 2015), 3.

9   See Tom de Castella, "How Do You Prepare for a Lifetime of Renting?," *BBC News*, June 19, 2013, http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-22952667.

10 See Hilary Osborne, "Rents Continue to Rise across the UK and in London," *Guardian*, May 5, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/may/05/rents-continue-rise-uk-london.

11 See Peter Apps, "Reforms Fail to Stop Executive Pay Reaching 162 Times the Average Wage," *Independent*, July 13, 2014, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/reforms-fail-to-stop-executive-pay-reaching-162-times-the-average-wage-9603638.html.

consuming most – sometimes all – of an individual's earnings. As a result, flat or room sharing is becoming widespread, not only among students and young singles but also people in their thirties or even older.

Furthermore, due to the extensive deregulation of Britain's housing market, tenants have fewer rights in law than tenants on the Continent, with low security of tenure, short tenancy agreements and no right to stable rents. The most common type of tenancy contract is a so-called assured shorthold tenancy, introduced by Thatcher's Housing Act of 1988, which gives landlords the right to take back their property with two months' notice after an initial period of six months. The absence of rent control in combination with short tenancy periods makes no-fault evictions fairly easy. According to the report by the housing and homeless charity Shelter, eviction from a rented property is the third most common cause of homelessness in today's Britain.[12]

Finally, due to insufficient safety standardization, Britain's private rental homes generally lack the decency of rental stock on the Continent, with one in six currently classified as hazardous. The typical hazards include damp and mould growth, coldness, dangerous or broken boilers, leaking roofs, rats or other pest infestation, lack of security due to badly-fitting external doors or problems with locks. None of this is new; George Orwell, having lived in pre-war rented housing during his research on working-class life, observed that that the worst type of landlord was not a "fat wicked man" but a "poor old woman who invested her life's savings in three slum houses, inhabits one of them, and tries to live on the rent of the other two – never, in consequence, having any money for repairs."[13] Similarly, under the current buy-to-let boom, two thirds of private landlords are individual persons or families owning no more than one rental property, usually on a mortgage; therefore, finding additional resources for the necessary repairs and maintenance can be a problem.[14] Faced with the prospect of a revenge eviction (the landlord's termination of the rental contract because of a request for a repair), many tenants are forced to tolerate sub-standard living conditions, the alternative being the loss of their tenancy.

3. THE IMPACT OF RENTING ON SOCIAL CAPITAL

The problems involved in a life of renting are not merely material, however. As reported by Shelter, the precarious and often degrading experience of living in a private rental property has a profound impact on the renters' social capital, which remains lower than that of private owners or even council housing residents.[15] One of the primary reasons is the renters' nomadic life; due to moving involuntarily between properties, they find it difficult to establish meaningful community relationships. Compared to council tenants and owner occupiers, private renters score considerably lower on social

---

12 See Liam Reynolds, *Safe and Secure? The Private Rented Sector and Security of Tenure* (London: Shelter, 2005), 4, http://england.shelter.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/48041/Safe_and_Secure.pdf.
13 George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier*, ed. Peter Davison (London: Penguin Classics, 2001), 52.
14 See Reynolds, *Safe and Secure?*, 11.
15 See Reynolds, *Safe and Secure?*, 6.

capital indicators such as the feeling of being able to influence decisions affecting their area, speaking to neighbours three days a week or more, looking out for each other with neighbours, having a satisfactory friendship or relatives network or having taken an action to solve a local problem. In addition, they are more likely to become victims of crime and tend to vote less. Most strikingly, about one quarter of private tenants report not knowing anyone in their neighbourhood – compared to 6 percent of council tenants and 4 percent of owner occupiers.[16]

Generally belonging to the lower income segment, private renters are a group particularly vulnerable to poverty, a fact compounded by the high cost of rent. According to social network theory, social ties, whether strong (relatives) or weak (neighbours, acquaintances), play a crucial role in mitigating the impact of poverty. Within an informal local network of support, vital assistance such as childcare, money lending, information about work and benefits or emotional support can be provided.[17] Unable to build such enduring networks, renters frequently face the effects of poverty in isolation. This can be contrasted with the social capital resources available to council tenants: as demonstrated by ethnographer and one-time council estate resident Lisa Mckenzie, even Britain's most deprived council estates (such as St. Ann's in Nottingham, the subject of her ethnographic study) show surprising levels of social cohesion and informal means of mutual support.[18]

In their book *The Jilted Generation*, Ed Howker and Shiv Malik have shown how the renting experience can interfere with the life patterns of Britain's young people, the most significant effect being a delay in adulthood. Because of the difficulty setting up a stable home (combined with employment precarity) young renters are denied key attributes of adulthood such as planning, saving, realizing long-term ambitions and starting a family. Unlike the previous generations, which could look to forward to a life of improved circumstances, they face a future of uncertainty and transience:

> We work in jobs and live in homes secured on short-term contracts; the steps of our lives are constantly meandering. We're not settled. Indeed, for many of us, only our childhood homes represent a fixed point, a permanent address, and so we return to them constantly and sometimes permanently. And all this holds back the start of our own lives, the forming of stable relationships and the mastering of our own destinies.[19]

Although the delay in the rites of passage to adulthood is often framed in popular discourse as a conscious lifestyle choice based on the Millennials'' values of freedom and flexibility rather than ties and tradition, research suggests that such a lifestyle is often a product of necessity rather than choice, with housing unaffordability playing a major role.[20] Women, in particular, regard rented accommodation as unsuitable

16 See Reynolds, *Safe and Secure?*, 25.
17 See Asif Afridi, *Social Networks: Their Role in Addressing Poverty* (York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2011), 7.
18 See Lisa Mckenzie, *Getting By: Estates, Class and Culture in Austerity Britain* (London: Policy Press, 2015), 88.
19 See Howker and Malik, *Jilted Generation*, 12.
20 See Christian Hilber, *UK Housing and Planning Policies: The Evidence from Economic Research* (London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 2015), 3.

for raising children and feel they are being deprived of a chance to start a family. In her *Guardian* report titled *'Babies? An Impossible Dream': the Millenials Priced Out of Parenthood*, Rhiannon Lucy Cosslett surveys a group of young women about their future expectations. Having children emerges as a strong priority among the respondents, yet one that they find unattainable, largely because of their precarious housing situation (the other important reason being their low income). The women are acutely aware of their generational disadvantage: "My mother reminds me that, at my age, she had been married for five years and had me for four. At 25, I can't even imagine having a one-bedroom flat to myself, or a husband, or the baby I so badly want. I'm terrified that in the next five years I'll still be no closer to that."[21]

With regard to the above, it comes as no surprise that the combination of sub-standard living conditions, insecure living arrangements and the high cost of rent is having a major impact on Generation Rent's mental health. On average, renters are 75 percent more likely to experience anxiety and depression than owner occupiers. Many have described their lives as being almost completely dominated by the fear of falling into arrears and being evicted.[22] Enjoying daily life becomes difficult due to rent consuming most of the disposable income and also due to the nagging existential anxiety that seems an inherent part of the renting experience.

4. From victims to activists: forging an identity

The past decade has witnessed a growing recognition of Generation Rent as a distinct socio-economic group. In addition to academic research (sociologist Daniel Dorling) and mainstream journalism (*The Guardian*'s Owen Jones), various independent bloggers have contributed to a better understanding of the social implications of private renting in Britain. One of the longest-running blogs is the award-winning "Rentergirl," penned by freelance journalist and lifetime renter Penny Anderson. The blog combines need-to-know information for fellow renters with poignant depictions of the harsh realities of renting life, whether material or psychological. In her posts, Anderson seeks to dispel the myth of renting being an attractive option for a modern generation of nomads by choice:

> In renting purgatory, life is forever tenuous and insecure. Tenants exist with no idea of when they will be forced to move on with just two months' notice since no-fault evictions are the reality. We have revenge evictions, when even the most polite and diplomatic request for vital repairs is met with a notice to quit and no work done. Then there's wrecked furniture, shoddy fittings and white goods, wrecked relicts placed on the inventory, vermin and flooded ceilings. Yes, the minority are ecstatically happy, the middle rump are in a sort of Stockholm syndrome of gratitude for even borderline contentment and the remainder live in sheds and hovels. So yes – renting is that bad. We should all be appalled.[23]

---

21 Rhiannon Lucy Cosslett, "'Babies? An Impossible Dream': The Millennials Priced Out of Parenthood," *Guardian*, November 14, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2015/nov/14/babies-an-impossible-dream-the-millennials-priced-out-of-parenthood.

22 See Penny Anderson, "Cancel Xmas. To Pay the Rent," *Rentergirl* (blog), December 23, 2013. http://rentergirl.blogspot.cz/2013/12/cancel-xmas-to-pay-rent.html.

23 Penny Anderson, "Is It Really So Bad?," *Rentergirl* (blog), March 30, 2014, http://rentergirl.blogspot.cz/2014/03/is-it-really-so-bad.html.

As a largely youthful group, renters are active on the social media, which constitute a major source of social and cultural capital as well as a powerful means of voicing shared concerns. In 2015, social worker Georges Almond set up a Twitter account called @*rentnightmares* to encourage tenants to contribute their stories of renting woes.[24] A similar twitterstorm, called *#ventyourrent*, was launched by a group of housing activists 2016, asking users to write on a cardboard banner or share in a tweet what they were paying in rent and what they were getting back for the money. The initiative generated massive response, with tenants posting numerous messages revealing the stark contrast between the high rent and the poor condition of the rental properties. Mistreatment by landlords featured as a frequent complaint, as evident from the following message: "£ 750 (pcm) house share, New Cross gate. We have to pay 20p if we want to shower (everytime). I have mould in my freezing cold room because landlord said insulating the walls was too expensive. Cheers!"[25] The photographs of young tenants quietly holding hand-written accounts of their renting hardships created a powerful impression of a generation let down by inadequate housing policies. The protest did not go unnoticed in the political circles; the London mayoral candidate Sadiq Khan, for instance, joined in by presenting his own banner with a pledge to implement renter-friendly policies if elected.

In recent years, Britain has witnessed a surge of council housing activism, with council estate residents staging protests against the ongoing privatization of the remaining stock, such the highly medialized campaign, endorsed by the celebrity activist Russell Brand, to prevent the sale of London's New Era estate to a private American investor.[26] The sense of community is a key ingredient in the council tenants' activism; they are fighting to preserve their homes as well as their social ties and a way of life. However, the position of private renters is more problematic in this respect, as they tend to live transiently in scattered properties, with local ties missing. Also, unlike council estate communities they do not generally have the same landlord or manager, so the target for protest is less clear.

To provide renters with better opportunities for collective action, a national pressure group called Generation Rent was established in 2014, dedicated to pushing renters' rights up the political agenda. In addition to pressing for changes in renting-related legislation and government policies, Generation Rent encourages private renters to set up their local groups in an attempt to build a nationwide network – indeed, a movement – of housing activists. Judging by its growing media presence as well as political achievements, such as the government's ban on letting fees following a

---

24 See Rhiannon Lucy Cosslett, "Generation Rent v. the Landlords: 'They Can't Evict Millions of Us'," *Guardian*, August 22, 2015, https://www.theguardian.com/global/2015/aug/22/renters-fight-rogue-landlords-rhiannon-lucy-cosslett.

25 Dan Wilson Craw, "#Ventyourrent: A Round-Up," *Generation Rent*, May 16, 2016, http://www.generationrent.org/_ventyourrent.

26 See Cahal Milmo, "New Era Housing Estate Saved by Russell Brand Becomes First to Introduce 'Means-Tested Rent'," *Independent*, August 18, 2015, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/new-era-housing-estate-saved-by-russell-brand-becomes-first-to-introduce-means-tested-rent-10461178.html.

sustained campaign of research, petitions and letters to MPs, the initiative appears to have succeeded in mobilizing the renters' potential for collective action, previously hampered by the lack of mutual links.[27]

As renters strive to become more visible through journalism and activism, politicians are beginning to take notice. Where previous political campaigns tended to address voters by appealing to their identities as economically active individuals (Gordon Brown's "hard-working families", Nick Clegg's "alarm-clock Britain" or David Cameron's "strivers") or members of a social class (Ed Milliband's "squeezed middle"), there is now a growing recognition of private renters as a powerful group of voters regardless of occupation or class identity.[28] Support for renters has consistently been shown by Labour leader Jeremy Corbyn, whose proposed policies include rental market regulation and the renewal of the council house building programme. Similarly, the Green Party's Caroline Lucas has been campaigning for housing security and fairer rent, demanding the establishment of a living rent commission.[29] On the other hand, the political right has been slower in taking up the renters' cause, mostly confining itself to (still widely unaffordable) home ownership support programmes, such as Help to Buy, aimed at first-time buyers. However, given the growing importance of housing as a voting priority, it can be expected that even right-wing parties will seek to woo renters in their upcoming campaigns.

5. Conclusion

No longer a media buzzword, the term "Generation Rent" has become a widely recognized name for a distinct socio-economic group facing a complex reality determined by the character of Britain's rental market. With emerging opportunities to protest, organize and exert political pressure, British renters are managing to overcome their original fragmentation and find their own collective agency. Given that a return to the previous home ownership levels is unlikely and renting can be expected to dominate in the future, the recent steps towards renter empowerment represent a development of major significance.

Works cited

Afridi, Asif. *Social Networks: Their Role in Addressing Poverty*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2011.

Anderson, Penny. "Cancel Xmas. To Pay the Rent." *Rentergirl* (blog), December 23,

27   See Ross Clark, "Generation Rent Freed from Costly Agent Fees," *Times*, November 27, 2015, http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/generation-rent-freed-from-costly-agent-fees-86969mdwz.

28   See Alice Tihelková, "Framing the 'Scroungers': The Re-Emergence of the Stereotype of the Undeserving Poor and Its Reflection in the British Press," *Brno Studies in English*, 41, no. 2 (2015): 125.

29   See Caroline Lucas, "Private Tenants Are Crying Out for a Living Rent Commission," *Guardian*, January 12, 2016, https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jan/12/private-tenants-living-rent-commision.

2013. http://rentergirl.blogspot.cz/2013/12/cancel-xmas-to-pay-rent.html.

Anderson, Penny. "Is It Really So Bad?" *Rentergirl* (blog), March 30, 2014. http://rentergirl.blogspot.cz/2014/03/is-it-really-so-bad.html.

Apps, Peter. "Reforms Fail to Stop Executive Pay Reaching 162 Times the Average Wage." *Independent*, July 13, 2014. http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/reforms-fail-to-stop-executive-pay-reaching-162-times-the-average-wage-9603638.html.

Clark, Stephen. "UK Home Ownership Rates Are at Their Lowest for 30 Years – and the Crisis Goes Way beyond London." *City Metric*, August 2, 2016. http://www.citymetric.com/politics/uk-home-ownership-rates-are-their-lowest-30-years-and-crisis-goes-way-beyond-london-2312.

Clark, Ross. "Generation Rent Freed from Costly Agent Fees." *Times*, November 27, 2016. http://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/generation-rent-freed-from-costly-agent-fees-86969mdwz.

Cosslett, Rhiannon Lucy. "'Babies? An Impossible Dream': The Millennials Priced Out of Parenthood." *Guardian*, November 14, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2015/nov/14/babies-an-impossible-dream-the-millennials-priced-out-of-parenthood.

Cosslett, Rhiannon Lucy. "Generation Rent v. the Landlords: 'They Can't Evict Millions of Us'." *Guardian*, August 22, 2015. https://www.theguardian.com/global/2015/aug/22/renters-fight-rogue-landlords-rhiannon-lucy-cosslett.

Craw, Dan Wilson. "#Ventyourrent: A Round-Up." *Generation Rent*, May 16, 2016. http://www.generationrent.org/_ventyourrent.

de Castella, Tom. "How Do You Prepare for a Lifetime of Renting?" *BBC News*, June 19, 2013. http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-22952667.

Dorling, Danny. *All That Is Solid: How the Great Housing Disaster Defines Our Times, and What We Can Do about It.* London: Allen Lane, 2014.

Harper, Phineas. "Chasing the Home Ownership Dream Is Harming Britain – We Need to Learn to Rent Like the Europeans." *Independent*, January 22, 2016. http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/chasing-the-home-ownership-dream-is-harming-britain-we-need-to-learn-to-rent-like-the-europeans-a6827981.html.

Harris, John. "The End of Council Housing." *Guardian*, January 4, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/society/2016/jan/04/end-of-council-housing-bill-secure-tenancies-pay-to-stay.

Hilber, Christian. *UK Housing and Planning Policies: The Evidence from Economic Research.* London: London School of Economics and Political Science, 2015.

Howker, Ed, and Shiv Malik. *Jilted Generation: How Britain Has Bankrupted Its Youth.* London: Icon Books, 2010.

Lucas, Caroline. "Private Tenants Are Crying Out for a Living Rent Commission." *Guardian*, January 12, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jan/12/private-tenants-living-rent-commision.

McKee, Kim, and Jennifer Hoolachan. *Housing Generation Rent: What Are the Challenges for Housing Policy in Scotland?* St. Andrews: Centre for Housing Research, 2015.

Mckenzie, Lisa. *Getting By: Estates, Class and Culture in Austerity Britain*. London: Policy Press, 2015.

Milmo, Cahal. "New Era Housing Estate Saved by Russell Brand Becomes First to Introduce 'Means-Tested Rent'." *Independent*, August 18, 2015. http://www. independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/new-era-housing-estate-saved-by-russell-brand-becomes-first-to-introduce-means-tested-rent-10461178.html.

Morley, Katie. "'Generation Rent' Dominates London Property Market for the First Time." *Telegraph*, February 19, 2016. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/personal-banking/mortgages/generation-rent-dominates-london-property-market-for-the-first-t/.

Orwell, George. *The Road to Wigan Pier*. Edited by Peter Davison. London: Penguin Classics, 2001.

Osborne, Hilary. "Rents Continue to Rise across the UK and in London." *Guardian*, May 5, 2016. https://www.theguardian.com/money/2016/may/05/rents-continue-rise-uk-london.

Reynolds, Liam. *Safe and Secure? The Private Rented Sector and Security of Tenure*. London: Shelter, 2005. http://england.shelter.org.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/48041/Safe_and_Secure.pdf.

Standing, Guy. *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class*. London: Bloomsbury, 2011.

Tihelková, Alice. "Framing the 'Scroungers': The Re-Emergence of the Stereotype of the Undeserving Poor and Its Reflection in the British Press." *Brno Studies in English* 41, no. 2 (2015): 121–39.