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Adres Redakcji
Instytut Filologii Angielskiej
Uniwersytet Rzeszowski
Al. Rejtana 16B, 35-959 Rzeszów
Tel. +48 17 8721214
Tel/fax +48 17 8721288
resoviensia@ur.edu.pl
www.ur.edu.pl/wydzialy/filologiczny/instytut-filologii-angielskiej/studia-anglica-resoviensia

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WYDAWNICTWO UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO
35-959 Rzeszów, ul. Prof. S. Pigonia 6, Tel. 17 972 13 69, tel./fax 178721426
e-mail: wydaw@ur.edu.pl; //wydawnictwo.ur.edu.pl

Z E S Z Y T Y N A U K O W E UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO

SERIA FILOLOGICZNA

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INTRODUCTION WITH A SPECIAL FEATURE: INTERVIEW 7 QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO PROF. Z. KÖVECSES BY G.A. KLEPARSKI (Rzeszów-Budapest, March-April, 2014)

It has been 15 years by now that together with a group of young and not-so-old friends and colleagues I have been building the solid foundations of the Resovian Anglicist research system. As the years elapsed, and the building process continued many a crumbling edge had to be either neutralised or discarded as useless, but the majority of building materials were turned into a solid structure matter which serves the purpose of furthering anglicist studies at the *University of Rzeszów.* Although we are far from reaching the state of academic bliss and peace of mind, I must truly confess that 15 years ago when I first entered the doors of the university I never thought that the *Studia Anglica Resoviensia* that was then a germ of an idea rather than a fact of Resovian academic life woud one day have the honour to host those who – on the global scale – swing the pendulum of linguistic research: how wrong I was.

QUESTION 1: G.A. KLEPARSKI:

Let me ponder over the question of where to start and, it seems to me, that the best point of departure is the very beginning. So, may I ask you, Prof. Kövecses, about the roots and beginnings of your fascination with language and linguistics. My own fascination with diachronic semantics started more than 30 years ago during a course in historical grammar offered by one of the – at that time – leading figures in the Polish linguistics Prof. E. Gussmann (+).

ANSWER 1: Z. KÖVECSES:

In my case, as in – I am sure – yours, there are several different beginnings. One started when, together with a colleague of mine, László András, we tried to put together a Hungarian-English slang dictionary in the early and mid-80s. I was fascinated by the figurative nature of slang, and I wanted to be able

to say in English slang everything I could say in Hungarian slang. Another starting point happened even earlier when I was 12, that is in 1956. My father was trying to listen to the Hungarian edition of *Radio Free Europe*, but, often, because of the interference, he could only get the Voice of America in English. The words, the patches of sounds I heard made a lasting impression on me. I did not understand a single word, but the sound of the language fascinated me. Let us then say this was the phonetic beginning. :)

QUESTION 2: G.A. KLEPARSKI:

In my case it was my Konrad Adenauer Stiftung, which meant for me a 16-month research stay in Bayern, Germany. This determined the later profile of both my academic activity and my attitude to any such form of academic activity. Could you possibly draw a rough picture of the academic institutions, both in your home country and abroad that you either studied at or worked at? Which of these institutions made the greatest impact on your academic career?

ANSWER 2: Z. KÖVECSES:

Sure, and this is my third beginning, and the most substantial one. As I was working on the Hungarian-English slang dictionary, I noticed that the expressions related to various emotions, and especially anger, abound in figurative language both in Hungarian and English. By a lucky coincidence, in 1981 a friend of mine who lived in America sent me a little book that he thought might interest me. It was *Metaphors We Live By*. Well, it did interest me, as you can imagine. I immediately started to work on anger metaphors. And then "providence" helped me again, or, rather, pushed me to a certain direction. I received an *ACLS fellowship* (*American Council of Learned Societies*) in 1982 to go to *Berkeley* for a year to study with *Chuck Fillmore*. However, the day I showed *George Lakoff* my very early paper on anger metaphors in English sealed my fate for a lifetime, it seems. Without George, without *MWLB*, my life would have probably taken an entirely different turn. I am eternally thankful to him, as friend, mentor, and colleague.

QUESTION 3: G.A. KLEPARSKI:

In the early 1980', as a fledgling student of linguistic science I lived and made my initial research steps in a world dominated by the Chomskyan spirit of linguistic analysis, although the period of Chomskyan supremacy was slowly giving way to cognitive spirit of linguistic analysis. Do you think that we may expect another linguistic revolution of some sort, ? If yes, why?

ANSWER 3: Z. KÖVECSES:

My sense is that there are several revolutions happening right now. Indeed, I find it difficult to follow all the significant developments that are

occurring in cognitive linguistics. We are experiencing an explosion in the study of language – mostly because we are realizing that the study of language extends way beyond the study of forms in structure. It extends to the human body (cf. the notion of "embodiment") and the functioning of the brain, as well as the reevaluation of the role of context. We are discovering cognitive processes that have been used by speakers all the time but have not been noticed previously or have not been described in the detail and depth we can see them now. There are also major developments on the methodological front. Cognitive psychologists are doing amazing experimental work that reveal the psychological validity of many of the findings by cognitive linguists, and work in corpus linguistics is revealing enormous complexity in the data itself. I am sure these are just some of the most recent findings. It is, I believe, impossible for a single researcher even to keep track of all these developments, let alone doing high-quality work in all of them.

QUESTION 4: G.A. KLEPARSKI:

As you know, I myself am – what may be termed – a very much data-oriented analyst of the semantic history of words attached to broadly-understood cognitive persuasion. May I ask you two questions: What is the most important finding and the weakest point of the linguistic persuasion we share?

ANSWER 4: Z. KÖVECSES:

I simply could not identify a single finding as the most important one. All the developments I mentioned above are crucially important for an understanding of how language works, or rather, for how the human mind works when it produces and understands language. The single major weakness in all this is not really a weakness – it is a consequence of the current situation. We are still far from integrating the huge amount of knowledge from all these and other fields that could be regarded as a single coherent theory of language.

QUESTION 5: G.A. KLEPARSKI:

In my home country, at the University of Rzeszów we founded what has come to be known as The Rzeszów School of Diachronic Semantics (RSDS). We are truly active, and not a single semester passes that we (again) have the pleasure to send you yet another publication in the target area. Yet, we are frequently treated as museum specimens, the sad remains of the non-utilitarian, non-pragmatic, purely philological tradition of language analysis. Could you please provide some words of encouragement for my group of colleagues to go on, and keep on doing what we do?

ANSWER 5: Z. KÖVECSES:

What you and your colleagues do is absolutely essential for the cognitive linguistic enterprise, but at the same time it demonstrates the difficulty I

was referring to above. In my view, and I am sure you share this view ☺, no full understanding of language is possible without a thorough and clear understanding of the diachronic aspects of language. As a matter of fact, researchers like you and others are finding that diachrony pervades synchrony and that we simply have no chance to understand language without understanding how the synchronic and diachronic aspects of language constantly merge with and influence one another. But again, there is the difficulty of explaining all this within a single coherent framework – and in harmony with the many other findings from other domains of the study of language. The challenge for your group, I think, is to attempt this integration. I know it is hard, sometimes even hopelessly difficult. However, this should not discourage anyone. This is the beauty of what we all try to do – see the whole in and through the part that we happen to be working on.

QUESTION 6: G.A. KLEPARSKI:

Prof. Kovecses, you have – to a substantial degree – both founded and greatly contributed to the formation of the cognitive approach to language analysis and, in this context, may I ask you why and in what respect your own theory differs from the basic cognitive models?

ANSWER 6: Z. KÖVECSES:

I wouldn't say that I have my own theory of cognitive linguistics. But I hope I can legitimately claim two things as my contribution to the field. One is that I tried to integrate various strands of cognitive linguistic research into a more or less coherent framework. This was essentially my purpose with the book *Language, Mind, and Culture*. Though this is simply a textbook, it offers an integrated view of the field at that level – not found in other works. I am proud to say that the book was translated into several languages, including, significantly, Polish. What I can perhaps take to be another sort of contribution to the field is concerned with my narrower area of research, the study of metaphor. I hope that I have enriched the theory of conceptual metaphor with some useful ideas. First of all, perhaps, with the recognition that "cognitive" or conceptual metaphors are just as much cultural as they are cognitive. This was the main message of my 2005 book: *Metaphor in Culture. Universality and Variation*, where I developed a new view of conceptual metaphors in which one can account for both the (near or potential) universality of many conceptual metaphors, as well as the amazing cultural variation one finds in conceptual metaphors. What made this possible was the development of a set of new concepts in the study of metaphor, such as the "scope of the source" the "main meaning focus of metaphor," and the "differential experiential focus" of conceptual metaphors. I am not claiming, of course, that the cultural embeddedness of metaphors was a brand new idea; what I claim is that

the cultural aspect of metaphor was relatively undertheorized in cognitive linguistics and that I attempted to redress the balance between the work on universality and that of cultural variation.

QUESTION 7: G.A. KLEPARSKI:

Finally, could you possibly reveal to us your current area of academic focus? What are you working on now? And when can we expect to have the benefit and the pleasure of getting to grips with the results of your current research?

ANSWER 7: Z. KÖVECSES:

In a way, I continued to work in the same direction as I explained to your previous question. It is the variability of metaphor that still fascinates me and that I find extremely challenging. In my most recent work, I am trying to reconsider the notion of context in the creation of metaphors. This work took me beyond the usual interests of cognitive linguistics, and I found myself thinking about the issue of where metaphors come from in real discourse in particular communicative situations. My answer to this question is that contexts of all kinds play a huge role here. Metaphor ceases to be a prestored conceptual structure in the mind. Many metaphors are, I suggest, "context-induced." Again, this is not a revolutionary idea, but to really understand how metaphors work and how the metaphorical mind works, we need to reevaluate and greatly enhance the notion of context, in which context becomes an extension of the mind as traditionally viewed. The title of the new book where I discuss all this is *Where Metaphors Come From.* It was a great challenge to write it. It took over five years to really figure out what the metaphorical data found in discourse actually suggests. Hopefully, it will be published within a year.

G.A. KLEPARSKI: *We are looking forward to delving into its contents. Thank you very much for your time.*

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Alicja DZIEDZIC-RAWSKA

The John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin
alicja.dziedzic.rawska@gmail.com

SEMANTIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE COMPONENTS OF SLANG EXOCENTRIC NOMINAL COMPOUNDS IN ENGLISH SLANG

Abstract: This paper provides new insight into the semantic relations between the constituents of exocentric nominal compounds. An analysis of English slang compound nouns is executed with reference to two sets of classifications available in the linguistic literature, namely: Adams' nine categories of compounds (1973) and Warren's twelve categories of compounds (1978). It is shown that these classifications fail to reflect the relations between the constituents of the compounds. For that reason, an updated classification is presented.

Key words: slang, exocentric compounds, semantic relations, categorization

Introduction

The linguistic literature abounds in approaches to exocentric compounds (e.g. Bloomfield 1933, Jespersen 1954, Marchand 1960, Adams 1973, Levi 1978, Warren 1978, Selkirk 1982, Benczes 2006). These analyses concern Standard English; and more importantly, they mainly focus on endocentric, rather than exocentric compounds. Although there are linguists who claim that compounding in English is a *well-explored area* (Bauer and Renouf 2001:121), there are reasonable grounds for claiming that exocentric compounding does not receive appropriate attention. Limited interest in exocentric compounds results from the widely accepted belief that they do not follow regular and productive rules for compound formation. In order to fill this gap, the current project deals with slang exocentric compound nouns (henceforth referred to as SECN): they not only pose an interesting linguistic

challenge, but can also allow for drawing inferences about the semantic relations between their constituents.[1]

One of the important questions to be asked when it comes to the semantics of SECN is: *Can SECN form identical semantic relations holding between the constituents of endocentric compounds?* This paper will demonstrate that it can be achieved only partially. For the purpose of this study, 521 examples of SECN have been collected from *Cassell's Dictionary of Slang* (Green 2000) and online resources. At the data collection stage, an attempt was made to find examples of wide spectrum of characteristics represented by the compounds. A typical example of a compound with a meaning that is problematic to establish is *slow walker* "one who follows postmen on their rounds with the intention of stealing the mail they have just delivered". The real concern in analyzing such a compound is that, at first sight, it resembles the endocentric type. *Slow walker* can have at least three distinct meanings, namely:

(1) one who walks slowly

(2) one whose occupation is walking and it is performed slowly, as compared to e.g. *slow player*,

(3) one who is not good or quick at walking

However, none of the possible meanings provided above is accurate. To access the meaning of this compound, we have to understand the metonymy operating on it. *Walker* metonymically refers to a person who literally *walks* behind another person and they do it in a *slow* manner. Nevertheless, neither the following of postmen nor the intention of stealing the mail is specified directly. The modifying element *slow* denotes that the action represented here by the profile determinant *walker* takes a long time. Because the action is performed slowly, it might imply its scrupulousness and, at the same time, its illegality. Therefore, we can expect the ultimate meaning to refer to a person involved in illegal activities. *Slow* indicates the feature of *walker*, and hence the semantic relation between the compound's constituents is FEATURE + ACTOR.

Owing to the complexity of exocentric compounding, the goal of this paper is to extract, from the gathered data, the semantic relations obtaining between the constituents of SECN. To understand the mechanism of SECN formation, these relations will be classified.

The reminder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 describes two classifications of compounds available in the linguistic literature and shows that they are inaccurate. Section 3 presents previously unrecognized semantic relations obtaining between the elements of SECN. Section 4 concludes the paper and discusses future work.

[1] It is worth noting that modern attempts at classifying semantic relations in noun compounds or generally nominals are made within the framework of computational linguistics. See e.g. Kim and Baldwin (2006) or Girju et.al (2007).

Adams's and Warren's classifications of semantic relations

In a goal to provide a thorough insight into the semantic relations holding between the constituents of nominal compounds in English slang, the existing classifications must first be considered. Valerie Adams (1973) suggests the following approach to the categorization of compounds:

subject-verb, e.g. *bee sting*
verb-object*, e.g. drug addict*
appositional, e.g. *nation state*
associative (B is part of A), e.g. *lambswool*
instrumental (one constituent denotes the instrument or cause), e.g. *sleeping pill*
locative, e.g. *living room*
resemblance, e.g. *piggy bank*
composition/form/contents, e.g. *fur coat*
adjective-noun, e.g. *best man*

Adams (1973)

Adams classified compound nouns into nine syntactic-sum-semantic categories. Benczes (2006) argues that this classification might not be useful as *it allows constructions to be placed in several groups* (Benczes 2006:20). However, it should be pointed out that almost any given compound can be placed in different semantic/syntactic groups, simply because words, phrases and expressions can have different meanings. As an example, consider the slang compound *balloon room* "a place where people gather to smoke marijuana", which can be situated in either of the following groups: locative, purpose or goal-object. The profile determinant *room* denotes the location, the purpose of the *balloon room* is to metaphorically get 'high' like a balloon and intoxicating oneself is the goal of the place at the same time.

It is natural for words to be understood by language users in different ways. A word (its representation) is used to refer to a concept that can be entered through this word.[2] A particular word can refer to more than one concept and language users choose concepts on the basis of their own preferences, experience, background and culture. Therefore, Adams' classification is by no means unsuccessful.

Table 1 shows the relations between the constituents of SECN with the application of Adams' classification of compounds.

Table 1. SECN classified according to Adams' categories.

subject-verb	*lid-proppers, tailor-made, virtue rewarded, eye-opener*
verb-object	*drop game, sweat-box, bakebrain, gumbrain, jingle-brains, jolterhead, sockhead*
appositional	

[2] For more information on the topic, see e.g. *Semantics* by John Lyons (1977).

associative (B is part of A)	
instrumental (one constituent denotes the instrument or cause)	*love boat, love dove, love trip, slow boat, speed boat*
locative	*greenhouse, Jonestown, teahouse, uptown, jughouse*
resemblance	
composition/form/contents	*angel dust, dream dust, fairy dust, fairy powder, gold dust, happy dust, happy powder, heaven dust, hell dust, joy dust, joy powder, joy smoke, joy stick, loppy dust, magic dust, magic smoke, monkey dust, supercloud, white cloud, white dust*
adjective-noun	

Considering that 521 instances were examined, the combinations in the above table constitute 7.87% of the total amount. This fact is especially vital taking into account the 7.87% possibility of newly formed slang compounds to fall into one of Adams's categories. 20 of the analysed instances can be grouped as COMPOSITION/FORM/CONTENTS. All of the instances are drug-related expressions, which leads to the conclusion that a newly formed slang drug compound will, most probably, have the profile determinant relating to the composition, form or the contents of a drug.

Two of Adams' categories remain entirely empty, namely the APPOSITIONAL and ASSOCIATIVE ones. My explanation is that the constituents of SECN do not evenly influence the meaning of the compound. As far as the first category is concerned, in my opinion, its either the modifier or the profile determinant that provides more information to the ultimate sense of a compound. The second category remains empty as well; however, I have not found any explanation for this fact. As to the ADJECTIVE-NOUN group, numerous instances can be found in slang; nonetheless, the ADJECTIVE-NOUN compounds were distributed among other categories formed from SECN to create a bigger picture on the semantics of the compounds in question. The RESEMBLANCE group is discussed together with Warren's categories below.

The second categorization worth discussing in this paper is Warren's (1978) twelve types of semantic relations shown below.

whole-part, e.g. *spoon handle*
source-result, e.g. *student group*
purpose, e.g. *ball bat*
place-object, e.g. *sea port*
part-whole, e.g. *armchair*
origin-object, e.g. *hay fever*
copula, e.g. *girlfriend*
size-whole, e.g. *3-day affair*
activity-actor, e.g. *cowboy*

time-object, e.g. *Sunday paper*
resemblance, e.g. *clubfoot*
goal-object, e.g. *moon rocket*

Warren (1978)

Warren based her study on an impressive number of 4566 compound nouns. Exceptionally, her analysis is not grounded in any linguistic theory and thus, using Benczes' (2006) words, *is not constrained by their*[3] *limits* (Benczes 2006:32). The fact that Warren's classification is more detailed than anyone else's at that time and is still valuable when it comes to nominal compounding is corroborated by e.g Rosario and Hearst (2001). They have identified 38 relations in compound nouns and state that *there is some overlap between the top levels of Warren's hierarchy and [their] set of relations* (Rosario and Hearst 2001:84). This fact also holds true to SECN analysed in this paper.

In finding the semantic relations between the components of SECN in English, I adopt a similar method to Warren's to obtain 'fresh' and unbiased results.

Table 2 presents Warren's categories and the slang compounds exemplifying them.

Table 2. SECN classified according to Warren's categories.

whole-part	*article nine, horse-head, number 13, number 3, vitamin A, vitamin C, vitamin E, vitamin K, vitamin T, vitamin X, chocolate drop*
source-result	*house fee, sweet dreams, bay fever, bush parole*
purpose	*balloon room, baseball, base gallery, brain ticklers, dog food, eye-opener, hand-ball, happy cigarette, happy stuff, headlights, honeymoon, jam house, monkey medicine, monkey tranquilizer, rock house, shooting gallery, tea party, blanket party, night clothes, sky pilot*
place-object	
part-whole	*atom bomb, base-head, half-moon, half-quarter, tea-head, chocolate bar, chocolate bunny, all day, third degree*
origin-object	*Acapulco gold, African bush, Florida snow, Acapulco red, African black, Mexican brown, Mexican green, Mexican horse, Mexican red, Zacatecas purple, Oregon boot, seafood, California cornflakes, snowball*
copula	
size-whole	*baby bhang, baby habit, big eight, big flake, big H, big M, big rush, double M, double rock, double yoke, fifteen cents, teaspoon, big bit, big hit, big time, carpet-bag, double-Os, two spaces, two-spotter, bean-brain, bean-head, chick-enbrain, peabrain, poundcake*
activity-actor	*channel swimmer, shotgun, snow bird, travel agent, truck-drivers, bean bandit, bean-eater, beefeater, cabbage-eater, Christ-killer, cotton-chopper, cotton picker, dirt-eater, garlic eater, gold-hunters, kraut-eater, laundryman, lemon-eater, monkey-chaser, rice-eater, rice man, sausage eater, swine-eater, taco-eater, babysitter, baggage-man, bench-man, juice man, screwdriver, apple-knocker, apple-picker, apple-shaker, apple-squeezer, arm candy, agony aunt, baby factory, beach bunny, rabbit catcher, rocket scientist*

[3] i.e. the limits of linguistic theories.

time-object	
resemblance	*golden girl, golden leaf, jelly bean, joy flakes, joy juice, liquid gold, liquid X, orange crystal, orange sunshine, paper mushrooms, ping-pong, pink flamingos, pink lady, powdered diamonds, purple hearts, raspberry, red birds, red bullets, red chicken, red devil, red eagle, red rock, rocket caps, rosebud, silver pearl, snowflake, strawberries, sugar block, superwihte, teardrops, tic-tac, tutti-frutti, wedding bells, whiteball, white brick, white cross, white dynamite, white ghost, white sugar, yellow bullets, yellow sunshine, blackberry, black cloud, brown sugar, chimney chops, dark cloud, dark meat, eggplant, inkbug, inkspot, midnight, pancake, ripe banana, soda cracker, spotlight, sunburned Irishman, teapot, whistleclock, airmail, big house, canary-bird, cherry farm, county hotel, daddy zoo, dog-eye, eagle eye, family hotel, footballer, ghost train, green goods, iron house, lead pipe, little school, lone wolf, north castle, stone house, tiger cage, white soup, winter palace, yellow sheet, apehead, batbrain, batty-wax, ding-dong, hockey puck, mallethead, missing link, motorhead, weatherhead, baby-doll, duckhead, easter egg, lawful blanket, lush thrush, mama bear, melted butter, spunk bubble, highbeams, bargain bucket, good eating*
goal-object	*angel drink, death wish, death wish, smoking gun, supercharge*

The number of the compounds in *Table 2*, i.e. 228, constitutes a considerable 43.76% of all SECN under scrutiny. Surprisingly, almost 1/5 of the instances are classified as RESEMBLANCE, which corroborates the reflections upon human language formation, including metaphor and metonymy.[4] Concepts are comprehended in terms of other concepts. Newly created objects and behaviours are similar to or created on the basis of objects and behaviours from the past. In fact, human experience has the tendency to be repeated, for instance *jelly bean*, which stands for any form of a drug pill, takes its name from sweets that the drugs resemble. *Jelly bean* surfaced at the beginning of 1900s, long before the compound's name for drug pills was formed, which was in 1960s (Green 2000). Another example of repetition and resemblance is *eggplant*. The vegetable has been cultivated since prehistory; however, it was not until the 20th century that the compound was used to refer to an Afro-American (Green 2000). The reason for choosing this particular expression to talk about Afro-Americans stems from the colour of the vegetable: an eggplant resembles Afro-Americans in colour. For that reason, the compound has been classified as the RESEMBLANCE type.

There are three other groups in Warren's classification worth mentioning at this point. It is highly probable that a newly formed exocentric compound will fall under those categories. The first category is ACTIVITY-ACTOR, with 39 instances. In this group, the modifiers denote the activity that the actor undertakes. *Bean-eater*, for instance, refers to Mexicans, whose diet and cuisine are largely based on beans; thus, the actor *eater* undertakes the activity of eating *beans*. As a second example, consider *channel swimmer* "one who injects heroin". The actor *swimmer* metonymically stands for a drug user and at the same time the substance being

[4] See e.g. Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

injected. The activity is denoted by the modifier *channel*, which metaphorically refers to a person's vein, through which the heroin 'swims'. Statistically speaking, a newly coined SECN in English has approximately 7.5% chances of being the ACTIVITY-ACTOR type. The remaining groups, PURPOSE and SIZE-WHOLE, consist of 20 and 24 examples respectively, which gives us 8.44% of the total number of the data. This also means that every twelfth slang compound nominal will be formed to indicate the purpose or the size-whole relation.

The categorizations discussed so far cover 267 SECN collected for the purpose of this study, i.e. over 51% of the total number. The remaining number of 254 compounds (49%), still have not been classified. This indicates that these two classifications are only partially adequate in distributing the semantic relations of slang exocentrics.[5]

Semantic relations between the members of slang exocentric compound nominals in English

An ideal system is one which encodes just enough relations to enable a newly formed expression to fit into any of the system's categories. Therefore, my intention is to propose a list of semantic relations that would allow any novel expression to be included. Such a task is demanding and requires as many compound nouns as possible. The collected amount of data seems a reasonable number to notice any patterns behind their semantics.

The semantic relations obtaining between the constituents of the remaining SECN in English are presented in *Table 3*.

Table 3. The semantic relations in SECN.

shape-object	*ballface, ballhead, boxhead, flathead, moon-face, pie-face, roundhead, square-head, squeeze-eye, thatched head, tight eyes, boxhead, flathead, pointedhead, squarebrain, nailhead*
contained-container	*beanbag, beerhead, copperhead, krauthead, rice-belly, spaghetti head, taco-head, birdhouse, dog wagon, louse house, airball, airhead, applehead, balloon-brain, balloon-head, bananahead, beef-brain, cabbage-head, cathead, cheesehead, cottonhead, gellyhead, hamhead, hamburgerhead, lardhead, leadhead, lumphead, lunkhead, meatbrain, meathead, melonhead, muffin-head, onionhead, paper skull, doughface*
feature-object	*top gun, hardhead, dead cargo, dirty dished, dry room, easy time, happy wagon, last mile, last walz, light time, lonelyhearts, bad trip, beat vials, dry horrors, beetle-brain, beetle-head, deadneck, dillbrain, dudhead, ironhead, knobhead, lamebrain, lighthead, lophead, muddle-head, mutthead, nailhead, numbhead, numbnuts, pinhead, rockhead, shovelhead, spaz-wit, stupe-head, thickhead, timber-head, toolhead, better half, dry goods, old cheese, old curiosity, hot patootie, hot-shot, new magic, slow boat, square mackerel, capital H, miss Emma, white wool, cedilla express*

[5] An ideal categorization should comprise both endo- and exo-centric compounds, Standard English and slang. However, such a categorization lies beyond the scope of this work.

colour-result	*yellow fever*
colour-effect	*whiteout, chocolate thunder*
effect	*wildcat, brain damage, stomach habit, jackpot, power rocket*
characteristic feature	*big hat, bluebelly, butterbox, chopstick, dear jo, eagle beak, egg roll, feather-head, lime juice, lime-juicer, long-heel, meatball, peckerwood, pigtail, rag-head, redneck, soreback, toothpick, towel-head, wetback, yellow belly, big gates, glasshouse, haircut, red band, red head, sky blue, stone-cold, walkie-talkie, white shirt, belly-woman, glamour pants, leg art, leg business, leg drama, leg piece, leg shop, leg show, lollipop woman* colour-actor: *black bird, chocolate baby, white white, yellow fish, white fish, white girl, white horse, white lady, white nurse, white serjeant*
origin-actor	*jungle bunny, mountain wop, sand nigger, Jerusalem screw, jointman, German aunt, Irish beauty, swamp donkey*
colour-object	*white-eyes, black acid, black Cadillac, gold seal, gold star, red dirt, yellow submarine, green banana*
feature-actor	*good people, paper man, real man, slow walker, square john, dragon lady, ice queen, lawful jam, lawful lady, little eva, little woman, local talent, long meg, long slab, main queen, old hen, real Kate, real woman, spree-child, stone fox, green dragons, green goddess, butter baby, little john, sweet Lucy, square moll, little deers*
action-direction	*blowback, blow-out, knockback, knock-off, knock-over, rollover, shakedown, take-off, live-on, tie-up*
direction-place	*underworld, uphills, upstate*
result-source	*laughing grass, laughing weed, joy plant, joy roots*
actor-colour	*dama Blanca, spider blue*
proper name	*Tootsie Roll, huckleberry, jim fish, johny bull, Mickey Mouse, Disneyland, scooby-doo, Jim Jones, mighty quinn, calamity jane, joe chink*
direction-object	*down-head*
actor-activity	*john law*
determiner-object	*all star*
unknown	*street beef, handful*

Table 3 provides insight into the variety of the semantic relations in slang exocentric nominals. Four groups prevail in this analysis: FEATURE-OBJECT CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE, CONTAINED-CONTAINER and FEATURE-ACTOR constituting over 29% of the whole data. In the first group, *top gun* "crack cocaine" was formed on the basis of the movie with the same title. The film deals with the world of élite fighter-pilots chosen to accomplish specific missions. Crack cocaine is perceived as important and superior to other substances in the drug business and that is the reason why the title of the movie is mapped onto the meaning of the compound. The superiority of the pilots is mapped on the superiority of the drug. Thus, *top* implies the FEATURE of the object *gun*. Another example of this relation is the compound *ironhead* "a fool". Here, the important feature of *head* is that it is made of iron. The image involved in the compound is that of hardness of iron; it is mapped onto the head/ brain of a person, thus, the head of a person and the person

themselves experience difficulties in learning. Literally, the person's head is 'hard' to learn. For that reason, the compound is classified as FEATURE-OBJECT.

As far as the CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE group is concerned, distinguishing traits of the concepts the compounds refer to have come forward giving the name for the group. To exemplify, let us scrutinize a few of the examples provided in *Table 3*. The first exocentric expression is *big hat* "a Mexican". The knowledge of the indigenous inhabitants of Mexico allows us to draw inferences about their typical outfit. A Mexican's conventional clothing consists of a sombrero and a striped poncho. A sombrero is a straw or felt hat of large size. Owing to its size, a sombrero became a characteristic of a Mexican that everybody recognizes. Therefore, *big hat* is categorized as CHARACTERISTIC FEATURE. Another example worth analysing is *red band* "a trusty, i.e. a prisoner given special privileges". Green (2000) tells us that the name of the compound is taken from the red band worn by prisoners who are privileged when it comes to the guards' trust. If a prisoner is favoured by guards, he wears a red band around his arm. One more example of this relation is *lollipop woman* "a woman who supervises children crossing the road near a school". Having the image of a lollipop in mind, we see a round flat object on a stick which is then mapped on the image of the sign in the hand of the woman, which also is round, flat and on a stick. Moreover, lollipops are generally colourful and so are the signs. Therefore, the characteristic feature of a woman leading children safely across the street is the sign that resembles a lollipop.

The components of the next SECN group represent the semantic relation of CONTAINED-CONTAINER. This semantic pattern is hardly exceptional in English (cf. e.g. *ham sandwich*). In English slang, this compounding pattern is observable in *birdhouse* "a prison", where the house (i.e. prison) is the container with prisoners in it, who are metaphorically understood to be birds. Another example of this relation is *bananahead* "a simpleton, a fool". The head, metonymically standing for a foolish person, contains an entity (i.e. brain) that is metaphorically perceived as a banana. The choice for selecting *banana* for the modifying element can be explained by the nutrition habits of monkeys. Monkeys are also viewed as unable to understand the world around them; therefore, *bananahead* is a person who has a very low level of intelligence. The head of a simpleton is a container and bananas are the filling of the head and thus the contained.

In the case of the FEATURE-ACTOR group, the compounds refer to people characterized by a particular personality trait, behaviour or appearance. In the compound *good people* "former criminals who have retired from their various specialities", the second constituent (people) is analyzed, through metonymy, to mean *criminals*, whose feature is denoted by the modifying element. Contrary to active criminals, *good people* refers to those criminals who have abandoned their immoral actions; thus, the actor (people) is characterized through the feature of being good. A further example of this type of semantic relation is *stone fox*. Both constituents of the compound make use of metaphor. *Stone* is a slang word

which metaphorically describes absoluteness or the highest degree.[6] As far as the second constituent is concerned, according to urbandictionary.com it means "a beautiful and attractive woman". Therefore, the whole compound refers to a female attractive to the highest degree. In this case, being attractive to the highest degree is the feature of the actor – woman.

The compounds examined in this section represent more semantic relations than the two separate categorizations presented by V. Adams and B. Warren above. What results from *Table 3* is that slang exocentric nominal compounds in English are rich in semantic relations. This richness makes it attractive and expedient for a linguist to analyse this area of language in greater depth.

Conclusion

The purpose of this paper was to unfold the semantic relations between the components of slang exocentric compound nouns in English. The main idea was to define a set of relations that would make it possible to generalize from the classifications available in linguistic literature to the creation of new ones. The initial results are quite promising.

In the present paper, a variety of semantic relations in the data under scrutiny have been exemplified. The results present a vast repository of the relations calling our attention to the complex nature of human language and the formation of new words and expressions. I have also shown that the existing classifications of different semantic relations in compound nouns do not account for all the examples investigated. To uncover as many relations as possible is particularly important in an attempt to understand the formation of exocentric nominals. Apart from this, a newly coined two-word exocentric combination in English will, most probably, be formed on the basis of similarity to an already existing concept or using its particular characteristic. Additionally, my results seem to refute the usual belief that exocentrics are not formed in accordance with the rules of word-formation. It should be borne in mind that compounding remains one of the most productive processes of forming new words, including exocentric compounds.

In the future, I intend to subdivide the groups of the semantic relations presented above to disclose even more details when it comes to the formation of exocentric compound nouns. Quoting Haspelmath (2007), *the linguist's job should be to describe the phenomena* [language categories] *in as much detail as possible* (Haspelmath 2007:6). Therefore, identifying the rules for exocentric compounds' formation is crucial, since the attempts made by linguists so far have not brought definite answers. I also plan to address the problem of metaphor and metonymy

[6] Consider such examples as *stone addict* "one who is deeply addicted to a drug" or *stone blind* "extremely drunk" (Green 2000).

operating in these compounds. In addition, I aim to establish if the number of new semantic relations is directly proportional to the number of new formations of compound nouns in English slang.

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Ewa ŁAMASZ

University of Rzeszow
e.lamasz@gmail.com

THE STUDY OF SOUND CHANGE AS AN EMERGENT PHENOMENON: DEFINITIONS, TYPES AND SOME EXAMPLES

Abstract: The following paper attempts to discuss the concept of sound change as an emergent phenomenon. The first part of the article includes an explanation of sound change by presenting some canonical definitions of this process in order to find the concatenation of ideas presented by Jeremy Smith (2007), Roger Lass (1976) and John C. Wells (1982). To understand the current concept thoroughly, it would also be necessary to present various kinds of sound change. Due to space limitations, it is not possible to present and discuss all of the definitions and types of this process, therefore only a few of them are chosen. The aim of this article is also to try to find the answer to one of the perennial problems in diachronic linguistics, namely how to reconcile the Neogrammarian hypothesis of the regularity of sound change with the large number of irregularities we may observe in the English language. The last part of the discussion illustrates the gradual process of sound change on the basis of a sound whose phonemic status remains controversial for English, namely, the velar nasal [ŋ].The reason for this is the fact that the sound [ŋ] appears in all varieties of present-day English, but its phonemic status varies.

Key words: sound, change, phonology, Neogrammarian

In language, as in nature in general, everything moves, everything is alive and changing

Baudouin de Courtenay
(1897/1972)

It is an observable fact that the pronunciation of English has been changing steadily for as long as the language has existed. If one could hear the English language some centuries ago, it would most likely be thoroughly incomprehensible. For instance, there is no possibility for contemporaries to understand the

pronunciation of King Alfred the Great [849–899]. Moreover, the way the poet Geoffrey Chaucer [1343–1400] pronounced English words would be hardly any easier to understand. Nonetheless, it is claimed that the language used by William Shakespeare [1564–1616] is a little closer to modern English. However, while one may have little trouble reading what William Shakespeare wrote, most historical linguists believe it would be much more difficult to understand his pronunciation. As Trask (2010:11) claims, *the pronunciation of English has been changing steadily and ceaselessly for as long as the language has existed.*

The phenomenon of sound change has been one of the most significant concerns of historical linguists. As a result, one may find a large number of definitions which attempt to clarify this notion. Needless to say, it is not possible to enumerate them all, thus we focus on a few selected ones.

The first attempt to illustrate the concept of sound change was presented by Smith (2007:7) in the work entitled *Sound Change and the History of English*. In his work he states that:

[...] sound change takes place when a variant form, mechanically produced, is imitated by a second person and that process of imitation causes the system of the imitating individual to change.

The above-mentioned definition allows the claim that sound change takes place mainly at the phonological level. Following Smith's theory, a sound change *is assumed to take place when there has been a change in the system in which that sound exists and (...) where a change in sound involves a change in meaning, that is, when the 'deepest' level of language, namely semantics, is in question* (Smith 2007:7).

Lass (1980) in his earlier research also presents a seemingly simple answer to the question of what sound change is. He states that it is *any appearance of a new phenomenon in the phonetic/phonological structure of a language* (Lass 1980:315). Nonetheless, like many simple explanations, the following response provoked further questions and discussions. Moreover, the variety in theories and perspectives is also the result of the differences between phonological systems of languages. As Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996) notice, recent research has shown that there is a large number of systems which may differ from one another. What is also worth mentioning is that they prove that the phonological systems may vary even within languages. A notable example of this is the way Scottish speakers of the English language distinguish the sounds represented by the spellings *w* and *wh*. On the other hand, Southern British English speakers do not make such a distinction, unless they are hypercorrect about their pronunciation (Smith 2007:8). As Blevins (2001:xi) points out, sound change is a *direct consequence of the indirect transmission of language across generations*. She also states that most of the commonly attested sound changes which exist in all languages, are mirrored by *synchronic alternations of precisely the same type* (2001:4). The phenomenon

of sound change triggers other linguistic processes, including changes in segment inventories, segment sequences, stress patterns, syllable types, tone patterns and feature distribution (Blevins 2001:4).

Taking into consideration the large number of varieties between phonological systems within and between languages, it is possible to distinguish many kinds of changes. There are *isolative* changes which appear only when all sounds are affected, as well as *combinative* changes. The second type of change takes place where the sounds are environmentally conditioned. The question that suggests itself here is whether *combinative* changes can be perceived as a type of real sound change or not if they are influenced by the environment (e.g. various accents) (Smith 2007:8). Wells (1982) clarified the difficulties in this issue by distinguishing *realizational, phonotactic, lexical-distributional,* and *systemic* differences (Wells 1982:72–80). As Smith (2007) states, these differences between accents may in turn be used as the basis for a categorisation of sound change.

There are two types of changes which are considered to be the most common when discussing sound changes. These are the systemic and lexical-distributional ones. On the basis of these two types of changes it is possible to distinguish three major kinds of sound change, namely *splits, mergers* and *shifts*[1].

One of the most common and straightforward kinds of sound change is the *split*. According to Smith (2007), this process may occur when *two allophones of a single phoneme become separate phonemes* (Smith 2007:51). Hence, in Old English it is possible to distinguish two allophones of the phoneme /f/, namely [f] and [v]. The allophone [f] appeared in two cases: in a word-initial and a word-final position. It can be seen in such words as *fela* or *hlāf*. On the other hand, the allophone [v] occurred only medially, as in the word *hlāford* (Pyles and Algeo 1993:36). In Middle English, one may notice the appearance of such minimal pairs as: *fine : vine* or *proof : prove*. On the basis of these examples it is possible to see that the change from one sound to another causes the meaning of the form in question to change. As a result, the sounds [f] and [v] occurred in contrastive positions, and therefore they are considered to be separate phonemes – /f/ and /v/ (Smith 2007:51). Interestingly, [s] and [z] were also allophones of the same phoneme in the Old English period in such words as *house, houses* or *housing*. In fact, the letter [z] appeared in that time rarely. It firstly occurred in Middle English, yet it was not consistently used. Hence, in contemporary English one may come across vestiges of the Old English systems. For instance, the letter [s] in initial position is almost always pronounced as /s/ sound (like in *sit, sound* or *saddle*), whereas this is not a rule in other positions, like in the word *rise* when [s] is enunciated as /z/.

[1] The following classification of sound change is based on Smith's research (2007). Nonetheless, it is worth mentioning that Pyles and Algeo (1993) distinguish such types of sound change as: assimilation, dissimilation, ellipsis of unstressed sounds, intrusion and metathesis (see Pyles and Algeo 1993:35-38).

The next type of sound change is a *merger*, which occurs when phonemic distinctions are lost. A good example of such a kind of sound change is the difference between /w/ and /ʍ/. Such a distinction can still be noticed in some varieties of Scots and Scottish English. Interestingly enough, in Old English the following distinction was carefully maintained, especially in the writing system, namely with <hw> for /hʍ/ and <w> for /w/, as in words like *hwæl* 'whale' or *wæl* 'slaughter' (Smith 2007:52). Nevertheless, in the accents present in contemporary English the above-mentioned distinction has been lost. Hence, such words as *what* and *watt* are good examples of homophones.

A prominent example of a merger in contemporary English, which is currently expanding in the United States, is a sound change between phrases *short* '*o*' and *long open* '*o*' in such words as *cot* and *caught*, *hot* and *haughty*, *hock* and *hawk* or *stock* and *stalk.* The pronunciation of the above-mentioned examples is noticeably different for people who come from the Philadelphia-New York-New England area, and for those who live in the South. Conversely, residents of Canada, and people from the American Midwest or California, do not change the pronunciation of those vowels.

Last but not least, there is one more kind of sound change, namely a *shift*. This process occurs when sounds are redistributed in the lexicon. A good example can be found in Grimm's Law, or in other words the First Consonant Shift. As Smith (2007:53) states, *Grimm's Law is a phenomenon which distinguishes the Germanic from the other Indo-European languages*. Moreover, this process is also perceived as a Germanic innovation. Grimm's Law works as follows: Proto-Indo-European /b, d, g/ are reflected in Proto-Germanic as /p, t, k/; Proto-Indo-European /p, t, k/ are reflected in Proto-Germanic as /f, θ, x/ and finally, Proto-Indo-European /bh, dh, gh/ are reflected in Proto-Germanic as /b, d, g/ (Smith 2007:54). Of course, there are some exceptions from this rule; however, they are the results of some specific environments which will not be discussed in this paper.

It is also worth mentioning the phenomenon of chain shifts. In this process, one phoneme moves into acoustic space which causes movement of other phonemes, as well as the maintenance of optimal phonemic differentiation. *Northern cities vowel shift* is a prominent example taken from American English, where the raising of the phoneme /æ/ has triggered a fronting of /ɑ/, and subsequently the phoneme /ɑ/ has triggered a lowering of /ɔ/ (Hoenigswald 1965). Hence, according to Trask (2010:15), it is difficult to a non-shifter listener to understand the meaning of such words as *socks* which may sound like *sax, chalk* which sounds like *chock; bus* sounds like *boss* or *steady* which is pronounced like *study.* As Trask (2010:15) points out, there are six vowels which are involved in the process of chain shift: *[t]he vowel of 'cat' is shifting towards the vowel of 'kit'. Likewise, 'cot' is shifting towards 'cat'; 'caught' is shifting towards 'cot'; 'bud' is shifting towards 'bawd'; 'bed' is shifting towards 'bud'; and 'bid' is shifting towards 'bed'.*

The above-discussed kinds of sound change are gradual (rather than sudden) processes. What is more, there are also sound changes that may be created as a

result of combination of splits, mergers and shifts. According to Lass (1980), *stable variation is one of the common states for language* (1980:304). This means that the so-called variations may be present in a particular language for many years, even for decades, yet the speakers are not able to notice any obvious changes. Following the theory presented by Wells (1982) sound change depends on *realizational and phonotactic differences, which can be 'activated' phonologically at any point in time when the conditions are right* (Wells 1982:188).

There are two processes that may cause change in the phonological components of English: sound change and imperfect learning (Kiparsky 1974:2). Labov's (1994) study of the vowel system at Martha's Vineyard provides evidence that changes in language occur among mature members of a particular speech community, rather than among children learning their native language. His research shows how relations between members of particular social groups allow certain innovations to arise. It is also worth mentioning that an innovation itself cannot be perceived as a change in a language. Of course, it may become a change if the innovation is accepted and adopted by members of a community; however, this takes a long time.

To tackle the phenomenon of sound change, one should start with Kiparsky's (1974) claim that sound change can be regarded as a composite product of change in the way phonological representations are realised. What is more, it results in a restructuring of the phonological representations themselves (Kiparsky 1974:1). Kiparsky (1974:328) also states that *language practices therapy rather than prophylaxis*. Such an idea suggests that language change, including sound change, is in itself goal-oriented. On the other hand, the above-mentioned statement is extensively criticized by Lass (1980), and Croft (2000) who comment on it as follows: *[s]peakers have many goals when they use language, but changing the linguistic system is not one of them* (Smith 2007:70).

The issue of sound change has been approached especially by phoneticians. According to Ohala (2004), phonological change is based on phonetic variation. What is more, due to such factors as the phonetic environment and the type of sounds involved, phonetic variation is typical both in production and in perception. Taking into consideration the extent to which individual listeners mispronounce sounds, it is worth asking why phonological change is limited. Ohala (2004) states that individual events of mispronunciation (or so-called non-corrected misperception), which he calls *mini-sound changes*, in most cases do not cause *maxi-changes*. The reason for that is mainly because listeners of a particular language have other opportunities to correct the mistakes made in perception. As a result, the mini-sound change may turn into real sound change only under certain specific environmental circumstances. Ohala (2004:683) stresses that:

sound change, at least at its very initiation, is not teleological. It does not serve any purpose at all. (...) There is (...) much cognitive activity – teleology, in fact – in

producing and perceiving speech, but all the evidence we have suggests that this is directed toward preserving, not replacing, pronunciation norms.

This paper also tries to present the Neogrammarian hypothesis of the regularity of sound change and how it deals with a large number of irregularities that one may observe in the English language. The Neogrammarians (also known as Young Grammarians) were a group of German scholars whose chief assumption was that sound laws operate without exception. This group of German linguists was set up at the University of Leipzig in the late nineteenth century. What is more, they were the first group of linguists who devoted their research to the process of language change, including sound change. Their hypothesis contributed to further attempts to find the answer to the major causes of changes in languages. As Kiparsky (1974) points out, the Neogrammarians portrayed sound change as *an exceptionless, purely phonetically conditioned process rooted in the mechanism of speech production* (Kiparsky 1974:12). Needless to say, the simplicity of this notion leads to innumerable questions and provokes further discussions on this issue. That is why this statement has been criticized mainly in two mutually incompatible ways. According to Kiparsky (1974), the doctrine presented by the Neogrammarians has been attacked due to the lack of experimental consequences. The next stipulation was that their theory was formed mainly on the grounds that certain exceptions can always be arbitrarily assigned to the categories of analogy or borrowing (Kiparsky 1974:1). They claimed that languages change systematically, rather than randomly. Thus, their major assumption was that the relationships between languages were essentially systematic, and that most of the present European languages had evolved from a common ancestor, known as Indo-European.

The last part of this paper illustrates the gradual process of sound change on the basis of the sound [ŋ]. It is an observable fact that the sound [ŋ] appears in all varieties of modern English, yet its phonemic status may vary. One may ask many questions, for example, why there is a change of the phoneme [ŋ] into sound /ŋ/, when and where it happened. It is also necessary to explain why the process of phonemicisation appears in some accents at a particular time, whereas other accents do not contain such processes.

In order to visualise such an issue, it is worth mentioning that in Southern British English the sound /ŋ/ is perceived as a distinct phoneme. It is witnessed by such a minimal pair as *sin* and *sing,* where the consonantal cluster [ng] is represented by a single phonological segment, namely [ŋ] (Smith 2007:55). According to Wells (1982), the following issue is known as 'ŋ Coalescence' (1982:188-9).[2] Nevertheless, the sound /ŋ/ is not produced in the same way in all areas of Great Britain. For instance, [ŋ] is not phonemic in many varieties of

[2] According to Wells (1982), 'ŋ Coalescence' is the process of merging two or more phonological segments in one (1982:189).

Northern and Western British English. The phonetic realisation of the /ŋ/ sound appears as an allophone of /n/ in the environment of a following /g/. One should also take into consideration the fact that there are some significant paradigmatic alternations and exceptions to where the phoneme /ŋ/ is enunciated. For instance, in Southern British English /ŋ/ is pronounced in the word-final position of *strong*, but the comparative adjective *stronger* is pronounced as /strɒŋgə/ (Smith 2007:56).

The different realisations of the phoneme /ŋ/ obviously depend on various accents. The substitution of /n/ in place of /ŋ/ in the final position used to appear in the stereotypical 'upper-class' accent, where words were pronounced as *huntin'*, *shootin'*, *fishin'* etc. 'Lower-class' speakers, however, enunciated 'nothing' as *nuffin'*. The following examples were recorded and presented by Christopher Cooper in 1687. He listed a number of words *that have the same pronunciation, but differing signification and manner of writing* (Lass 1980:75).

The major reason for analysing the sound /ŋ/ is that this phoneme is one of the most problematic in the history of English. It is worth mentioning that /ŋ/ was regularly represented by a certain rune[3] in the Germanic futhark and the Old English futhorc. According to Robinson (1992:157), some of the changes appeared more frequently in the Old English dialects than others. What is more, these changes occurred even within a particular dialect.

If one accepts that there was a strong correlation between phoneme and grapheme, the sound in question may have been perceived as a distinct phoneme. As Smith (2007:55) notices,

[3] As Page (1991:1) presents, the words 'rune' and 'runic' can mean a number of different things. The primary meaning of the rune is 'A letter or character of the earliest Teutonic alphabet, which was most extensively used (in various forms) by the Scandinavians and Anglo-Saxons.' Secondly, there is also an extended sense of 'a similar character or mark having mysterious or magical powers attributed to it', an outdated sense 'incantation or charm denoted by magic signs', and a technical sense, 'A Finnish poem, or division of a poem, esp. one of the separate songs of the Kalevela', therefore the general sense is 'Any song, poem, or verse'. The adjective 'runic' is characterised as 'Consisting of runes', 'Inscribed with runes', 'Of or pertaining to runes'. (...) The word can or could be applied 'to ancient Scandinavia or the ancient North' and can be used 'of ornament: of the interlacing type (originally Celtic) which is characteristic of rune-bearing monuments, metal-work, etc.' The word 'runic' can be used as a noun, one of which is 'the ancient Scandinavian tongue'. Interestingly, it was the scholars and researchers of the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth who contributed to put English runic studies on a sound basis (Page 1991:40). For instance, George Hickes, the author of Thesaurus, made a clear distinction between character and language, and he proved that the Old English period was occasionally recorded in runes. As Moltke (1985:24) claims, [t]he oldest objects with runes (tools, weapons, jewellery) come from the first centuries after the birth of Christ. Moreover, Elliott (1980:1) points out that the word 'rune' suggests not only a form of writing but a whole world of mystery and magic. The word itself means 'mystery' or 'secret' and in early English it was mostly related to languages.

[…] in the Germanic futhark, the rune for 'ŋ' is generally physically smaller than other runes, suggesting that its status was perceived as in some senses problematic, and it was expanded to make its size equivalent to other runes only in the Old English futhorc.

Although this phoneme was present even at an early stage in the history of English, there are a large number of linguists who claim that [ŋ] was in Old English an allophone, meaning that it might have appeared as a contextual variant of /n/ in the neighbourhood of a following /g/ (Hogg 1992:39). What is more, according to such phoneticians as Robert Robinson or Alexander Gil (see Dobson 1968:953), the phoneme /ŋ/ could be noticed only in the seventeenth century. The reason for the appearance of the sound /ŋ/ was mainly to avoid the creation of the consonantal cluster [ng]. Hence, [ng] was replaced by the new phoneme /ŋ/.

It is also worth recalling that the early research conducted on the history of the English language shows the various phonetic realisations of [ŋ]. The phoneticians who did research on the phonemic status of [ŋ] were mainly focused on careful speech which was considered to be prestigious. On the basis of this research, it is possible to state that the sound /ŋ/ used to vary stylistically, much as it does in present-day English. Such a statement leads to the conclusion that the appearance of the /ŋ/ sound is very complex and that is has a long history through the development of the English language. According to Smith (2007:54):

one 'may wish to date this particular split to the early seventeenth century on evidential grounds, but the [ŋ]-sound seems to have existed long before then, as a variant produced by the phonetic process known as assimilation'.

Assimilation is considered to be the most common type of sound change. It appears when two sounds are involved, and one becomes more like the other. On the basis of this, the two phonetically derived variants, namely [n] and [ŋ] seem to 'compete' with each other during the long process of the history of the English language. In terms of the definition of sound change presented in the previous subsection, it is possible to state that the process of changing [ŋ] into the /ŋ/ sound is a prominent instance of sound change.

From the theoretical perspective it may seem that the process of phonemicisation of /ŋ/ was present throughout the development of the English language, yet in reality it appeared only in certain times and places (Smith 2007:56). The development of the /ŋ/-sound, as a result of assimilation of the velar plosive [g] to velar nasal [ŋ] is a process that has been examined by many linguistic authorities. That is why it is considered to be a plausible phonetic development, which can possibly occur at any point in time.

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Joanna MARHULA and Maciej ROSIŃSKI

University of Warsaw
joannamarhula@gmail.com, m.rosinski@uw.edu.pl

IDENTIFYING METAPHOR IN SPOKEN DISCOURSE: INSIGHTS FROM APPLYING MIPVU TO RADIO TALK DATA

Abstract: Latest research within the field of metaphor studies displays a strong tendency to investigate metaphor use in natural discourse environment. This recent turn has forced metaphor researchers to look for reliable and replicable methods for identifying instances of metaphor use in different discourse types. One of such methods was proposed by metaphor researchers from Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam (Steen et al. 2010 a, b). Their Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit (MIPVU), which is an extended version of MIP developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007), concentrates on the metaphorical potential of linguistic expressions used in discourse and identifies *metaphor-related words* on the basis of contrast and comparison between the basic and the contextual sense of an expression. In our study, we have used MIPVU to identify metaphorical units in the transcripts of BBC radio conversations. In this paper, we share our insights from applying MIPVU to radio talk data. We take a closer look at the reliability and replicability of MIPVU, and we try to point at areas responsible for the differences in raters' decisions. We also present examples which point at some methodological issues arising in the process of MIPVU application.

Key words: metaphor identification, reliability, inter-rater agreement, unitisation, itemization

Introduction

The corpus revolution in the study of language and communication combined with the social turn in cognitive linguistics and discourse studies have encouraged metaphor researchers to pay closer attention to metaphor as found in natural discourse environment (e.g. Cameron 2003, 2011; Deignan 2005; Koller 2003, Nacey 2013). This new perspective on the study of metaphor has created a new

challenge: in order to analyse metaphor in real language use, researchers need a method for metaphor identification which can operate reliably in many research contexts. This method should allow for comparisons between different metaphor studies and it should contribute to the process of building a detailed picture of metaphor use in different discourse environments.

In response to the need for a systematic method for identifying instances of metaphor use in different discourse types, a group of metaphor researchers named the Pragglejaz Group developed the so-called MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure, Pragglejaz Group 2007). The procedure, while not denying the link between conceptual structure and language, shifts the locus of attention from metaphor in the mind to metaphor in real language use and focuses on identifying *metaphorically used words in discourse* (Pragglejaz Group 2007:1). MIP consists in recognising the metaphorical potential of linguistic expressions on the basis of a simple semantic test: a word is metaphorical when its most basic, physical or concrete sense stands in contrast to its current contextual meaning and a meaningful *comparison* is drawn between them (Pragglejaz Group 2007:3). MIPVU, a variant of MIP developed by metaphor researchers from Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam (Steen et al. 2010a,b), also focuses on the metaphorical potential of linguistic expressions used in discourse and identifies *metaphor-related words* on the basis of contrast and comparison between the basic and the contextual sense of an expression. According to its proponents, MIPVU allows metaphor researchers to achieve a higher level of reliability in annotating metaphor-related words than MIP as it is more explicit and systematic, and it takes into consideration not only individual metaphorically used words but also other, more complex forms of metaphor use, for example, a simile (Steen et al. 2010b:789).

In this study, we have applied MIPVU to the transcripts of BBC Radio 4 conversations. Our main goal was to identify instances of metaphor use and measure the reliability and replicability of the MIPVU method in terms of inter-rater reliability scores. In this paper, we report the results of applying MIPVU to radio talk data, and we present examples which point at some methodological issues arising in the process of MIPVU application. We also look at MIPVU in terms of *unitisation*, *itemisation* and *categorisation* (Krippendorff 2004; Glynn forthcoming), which may be considered a deconstruction of the method.

Data and tools

The language sample we analysed with MIPVU totals 7,209 words and consists of orthographic transcripts of four short radio discussions extracted from BBC Radio 4 *Woman's Hour* programmes. After several precoding sessions where we jointly applied MIPVU to a BBC radio talk sample, we annotated the transcripts of all four conversations independently. For the purposes of manual data analysis

we used a spreadsheet application customised with macros written in BASIC. Each lexical unit distinguished according to the rules of MIPVU (see the sections below) was presented in a larger context of neighbouring words. We entered our individual coding decisions into the spreadsheet columns and later exported our coding results into the R software environment in order to perform statistical tests for inter-rater agreement (Baayen 2008, Artstein and Poesio 2008).

MIPVU in practice

MIPVU is an inductive approach: it is based upon a manual, bottom-up analysis of discourse data. The procedure, while not denying the link between conceptual structure and language, focuses on identifying metaphor-related words in discourse (MRWs), i.e. all lexical units which can be linguistic manifestations of underlying cross-domain mappings. However, the precise nature of potential underlying cross-domain mappings is not the concern of MIPVU: the proponents of the procedure suggest that only the results of the MIPVU analysis, namely identified MRWs, may be further studied in terms of their conceptual potential (see Steen et al. 2010a).[1]

Lexical units

As mentioned above, MIPVU is an extended version of MIP developed by the Pragglejaz Group (2007): the additions to MIP were made in order to make the identification procedure more transparent and replicable across different metaphor studies. Following MIP, MIPVU aims to identify manifestations of metaphor use only at the level of word usage and leaves any metaphorical potential at the level of the language system (e.g. morphology or syntax) aside (Steen et al. 2010a:13).

The very first step of the procedure highlights the importance of examining linguistic data on a word-by-word basis (Steen et al. 2010a:25):

1. Find metaphor-related words (MRWs) by examining the text on a word-by-word basis.

All texts subject to MIPVU should be first divided into lexical units according to an established set of guidelines. The definition of what counts as a lexical unit in MIPVU is rather narrow: the general rule is that most words are single, discrete lexical units. According to MIPVU, even idioms or fixed collocations, which might

[1] MIPVU to some extent considers metaphor at the level of conceptual structures as it takes into account similes and indirect metaphors. This is also one of the reasons why MIPVU proponents do not use the term *linguistic metaphor* and opt for *metaphor-related words*.

be still decomposable to native speakers, should be interpreted at word level. MIPVU follows here the practice introduced by the Pragglejaz Group, who regard each component of an idiom as a separate lexical item *because most, if not all, idioms are decomposable to some extent for speakers* (2007:27).[2] Similarly, fixed collocations are considered to be semantically decomposable, which means that each word in a collocation is treated as a separate lexical unit. For example, the idiomatic expression *elephant in the room* is treated as four lexical units, and the conventionalized expression *go to sleep* is analyzed as three separate lexical units.

Unlike idioms and conventionalised expressions, certain polywords or multi-word expressions such as *and so on*, *and so forth* or *as it were* are regarded as single lexical units.[3] In the same vein, phrasal verbs, which cannot be decomposed without a loss of meaning, function as single lexical units in the MIPVU framework. Prepositional verbs, however, due to their decomposability, are treated as two (or more) distinct lexical units. For instance, the phrasal verb *take off* (of an aeroplane) is analysed as one lexical unit, whereas the prepositional verb *look into*, as in *He looked quickly into the oven*, forms two separate lexical units (see Steen et al. 2010a:30).

Cross-domain mappings

In MIPVU metaphor-related words are identified on the basis of a lexical-semantic analysis that takes into account distinct but comparable meanings of lexical units: a linguistic expression is metaphorical when its most basic sense stands in contrast to its current contextual meaning, and there is a cross-domain mapping between these two senses. Steen et al. (2010a:25-26) explicate step two of the procedure by means of the following guidelines:

2. *When a word is used indirectly and that use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning of that word, mark the word as metaphorically used (MRW).*

In the search for the basic sense of a lexical unit, MIPVU recommends the use of corpus-based dictionaries: *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (*MD*) is the default point of reference. The basic meaning is typically the most physical or concrete meaning listed in the dictionary entry. Importantly, the basic meaning does not have to be the first sense listed under a word entry or the

[2] See, for example, the psycholinguistic evidence discussed in Gibbs (1994).

[3] A finite list of multi-word expressions annotated as polywords in the BNC corpus serves as a point of reference in the MIPVU analysis. The list is available at: http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/docs/multiwd.htm.

most frequent sense in which the lexical unit is used. For instance, the basic sense of *way,* "the particular road, path, or track that you use to go from one place to another", is listed as the third in the dictionary (*MD*), whereas the basic meaning of *defend*, "to protect someone or something from attack", is given as the first sense in the dictionary entry (*MD*).

It is worth mentioning that when establishing the basic and the contextual meaning for each lexical unit, MIPVU, unlike MIP, takes into account the grammatical word class. For example, according to MIPVU, the basic sense of the verb *to dog* cannot be established with reference to the animal referent because the noun and the verb are two distinct lexical units. According to its dictionary definition, the verb *to dog* in its basic sense denotes a kind of action performed by humans (*MD*). Thus, the verb *to dog* when used in its basic sense, should not be marked as a MRW.

Apart from the default reference to the *Macmillan Dictionary*, MIPVU allows for a secondary reference to the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* and, in problematic cases where the historical development of a particular lexical unit needs to be taken into account, for references to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. However, contrary to what is suggested by MIP, MIPVU looks at historically older senses only in the most difficult cases, the argument being that older senses are not usually accessible and relevant to the contemporary user of English (Steen et al. 2010a:17).

The obligatory references to a corpus-based dictionary (*MD*) together with iterative analysis of discourse data, group discussion and cross-checking of metaphor identification results are measures that should be taken to increase the replicability and reliability of MIPVU.

Direct, indirect and implicit MRWs

Steps 3 and 4 of MIPVU are devoted to finding types of MRWs other than indirectly used MRWs (Steen et al. 2010a:26):

3. *When a word is used directly and its use may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping to a more basic referent or topic in the text, mark the word as direct metaphor (MRW, direct).*

4. *When words are used for the purpose of lexico-grammatical substitution, such as third person personal pronouns, or when ellipsis occurs where words may be seen as missing, as in some forms of co-ordination, and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses that may potentially be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping from a more basic meaning, referent, or topic, insert a code for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit).*

MIPVU distinguishes here *direct metaphors*, that is similes and open comparisons, and *implicit metaphors* which are based on substitution or ellipsis. Apart from *indirect*, *direct* and *implicit MRWs*, MIPVU allows for one additional category of borderline cases called WIDLIIs (When In Doubt Leave It In) which cannot be clearly marked as metaphorical even after a group discussion. In addition, in steps 5 and 6, MIPVU focuses on expressions that signal metaphor use (MFlags) and gives instructions on how to treat newly coined words or compounds (Steen et al. 2010a:26):

5. *When a word functions as a signal that a cross-domain mapping may be at play, mark it as a metaphor flag (MFlag).*

6. *When a word is a new-formation coined, examine the distinct words that are its independent parts according to steps 2 through 5.*

Deconstruction of the procedure

The different stages of MIPVU outlined above seem to be quite straightforward. However, in practice in the process of data annotation the analyst needs to make a series of complex coding decisions. Therefore, in order to facilitate our understanding of the procedure, we decided to deconstruct MIPVU by reframing it in terms of a broader framework widely accepted in corpus linguistic studies exploiting quantitative-based methods. Our goal was to identify with most precision all the stages at which the rater needs to make an independent decision which influences the overall annotation and may be the source of potential disagreement between the analysts.

We looked at MIPVU in terms of three subsequent stages of data analysis, i.e. *unitisation*, *itemisation* and *categorisation* (see Glynn forthcoming; Krippendorff 2004:99-101). The goal of unitisation is to divide the corpus into quantifiable chunks for later analysis. In MIPVU, the stage of unitisation is quite straightforwardly understood as the division into lexical units according to the guidelines explained above. Unitisation leads to itemisation: the units singled out in the corpus need to be checked if they capture the linguistic phenomenon that is of interest to the annotators. For MIPVU the stage of itemisation consists of finding all MRWs, but it does not involve any further classifications: different types of MRWs are distinguished at the subsequent stage of categorisation during which the annotators take into consideration only previously identified MRWs. Here MIPVU discriminates between direct, indirect and implicit MRWs.

Since the decisions concerning unitisation, itemisation and categorisation are strictly ordered, two important observations can be made. Firstly, any problem created at the level of unitisation might not reveal itself instantly but become manifested at later stages of analysis. This observation is important since not all

problems during itemisation or categorisation will actually intrinsically belong to these stages: their source must be looked for earlier in the process of metaphor identification. In the next section, we will present some problematic examples from our corpus according to what we perceive is the original source of their controversial status and also the source of disagreement between the analysts. Secondly, because the three stages do not occur simultaneously, it is possible to perform inter-rater agreement tests at each of the stages. Steen et al. (2010a:149-165) actually measure inter-rater agreement only for MRW identification (itemisation). This is understandable since in MIPVU only one person performs the unitisation.[4] Furthermore, categorisation, according to MIPVU proponents, does not seem to create problems.

In our study, we decided to check agreement for both itemisation and categorisation. After Steen et al. (2010a), we also excluded the MFlag and WIDLII tags from our statistical analysis due to their rarity. Yet, it is interesting to notice how problematic these tags are from a broader methodological perspective. Should all of them be distinguished at the stage of itemisation, or maybe MFlag and WIDLII should be identified at the level of categorisation? These questions should be directly addressed before any statistical analysis involving the above two tags is performed.

Results and discussion

After a series of joint precoding sessions, we set about analysing individually the selected radio talk transcripts. In line with MIPVU, the *Macmillan Dictionary* (supported by *Longman Dictionary* in more complex cases) was our main point of reference. Having arrived at preliminary results (see below), we ran tests for inter-rater agreement by measuring the Cohen's Kappa coefficient for two raters. As Steen et al. (2010a:150-151) note, there is a problem with the interpretation of this test. Kappa's range is from -1 to 1 with various values arbitrarily proposed as cut-off points for high-agreement. For itemization, Kappas found satisfactory by the proponents of MIPVU have a value of 0.8 and higher, and we adopted the same target in this study. With our original annotation we did not manage to reach this threshold, achieving a Kappa of 0.73 at the level of itemisation. Therefore, we decided to investigate whether this relatively low score was simply caused by human error, or perhaps there are some intrinsic faults inside MIPVU which lead to disagreements between the annotators. The details of our preliminary results are given in *Table 1*. In this section, we will present the results of our post-coding

[4] If unitisation was performed by different analysts, further comparisons at the subsequent stages would not be reliable: differences in rater decisions at the first stage would enhance disagreement at the level of itemisation and categorisation.

discussion as well as the results of inter-rater agreement test carried out after post-coding discussion.

Table 1. Preliminary results for itemization.

Number of lexical units	Number of unanimous MRWs	Minimum number of MRWs	Maximum number of MRWs	Cohen's Kappa for itemisation
6858	405	496	562	0.733

Unitisation

In this sub-section, we will present some examples showing how the rigorous procedure of unitisation may create problems manifesting themselves during metaphor identification. In our analysis at this stage, it became evident that one limitation of MIPVU is that it operates at the word-level, which makes the procedure prone to ignore metaphors extending over whole phrases or longer utterances. A problematic group of examples found in our data involves, for example, metaphorical scenarios. Let us consider (1) and (2):

(1) *offering love is like offering something you do not have to someone who doesn't want it*
(2) *he found himself on a pretty steep learning curve*

In (1), the speaker explicitly uses a metaphor of LOVE which involves a transaction or gift giving, so that LOVE is reified into an OBJECT. The problem with this metaphorical scenario for an analysis in terms of MIPVU is that, while it is possible to divide this extract into lexical units, check their dictionary definitions and categorise them appropriately, the fact that there is a single structural metaphor which organises the utterance remains unrecognised. This leaves the annotator with a dilemma: on the one hand, the structural metaphor organising the utterance is extremely apparent; on the other, the words *something, have, someone* and *want* are used in their basic sense and, according to MIPVU, are not metaphorical. Example (2) illustrates a similar problem. If we follow the procedure, we may identify only one MRW, namely the word *curve.* However, there is no way for MIPVU to account for the whole scenario in which there is a person standing on some kind of an abstract curve. *Learning curve* is an idiomatic expression, and as such, according to the procedure, must be segmented for further analysis. It is important, however, that this segmentation may have an impact on the treatment of the preceding word *steep*. If only *curve* is marked as an MRW, then *steep* is used in its basic sense to characterise the shape of the curve. Yet, if *learning curve* is taken in its basic dictionary sense, which would disqualify it as a MRW, one might argue that *steep*

would metaphorically express the difficulty of learning. A closer look at (2) reveals at least three cross-domain mappings: one involving the scenario explained above, another expressing that LEARNING IS A CURVE, and yet another describing DIFFICULTY in terms of STEEPNESS. Not surprisingly, therefore, during data analysis the ambiguities inherent in these examples led to divergent analysts' annotations.

A significant challenge for MIPVU is produced by idiomatic and conventional expressions which change their metaphorical status after unitisation has taken place. Consider the following examples:

(3) *go to sleep*
(4) *mind reader*

The expression in (3), because of its strong conventional status, led to a disagreement between the analysts. According to MIPVU, the words *go* and *to* are MRWs due to the underlying CHANGE OF STATE IS CHANGE OF LOCATION cross-domain mappings. However, one of the analysts questioned the metaphoricity of *go* and *to*, claiming that the whole expression *go to sleep* is fixed, and thus it cannot be truly motivated by any sort of metaphorical mappings. Such conventionalised metaphorical phrases seem to be quite problematic in the light of other expressions, as in (4) above, which MIPVU regards as single lexical units without any potential for metaphorical interpretation. The problematic aspect of *mind reader* is that, if it actually was divided into two separate lexical units, the word *reader* would be classified as a MRW; yet *mind reader* as a single lexical unit is used in its basic dictionary sense: "someone who knows what someone else is thinking" (*MD*). Although a strict application of MIPVU should allow the annotators to arrive at similar annotation results, the surface conventionality of some expressions may be misleading and may lead to disagreement between the raters.

Itemisation

In this sub-section we describe extracts from our data which cause problems due to the process of itemisation itself. Two kinds of problems can be recognised here: problems with finding the basic sense and problems with establishing the contextual sense due to involved ambiguity of language use. We start with the former.

(5) *being told that we are taking your car keys away is quite a shock*
(6) *I don't lack the confidence or self-esteem*

In (5), one of the annotators argued that the most basic sense of *shock* involves that of an electric impulse felt in the body. However, the second annotator suggested that

the broader definition, namely "the feeling of being very surprised by something bad that happens unexpectedly" (*MD*) is also applicable due to the way human beings actually experience shock. In the light of this embodied understanding of shock, it is difficult to decide on the metaphorical status of *shock* in this context. Apparently, MIPVU leaves the annotators too much of freedom in choosing the basic sense. Sometimes even the selected basic sense leaves room for interpretation, as in (6) where the definition of *lack*, "a situation in which you do not have any, or enough, of something that you need or want" (*MD*), does not specify whether it applies to abstract qualities (*self-esteem*) as well.

Establishing the contextual sense can be also problematic in the example below:

(7) *kitchen was her area*

In (7), it is impossible to establish whether the word *area* is used literally – a particular kitchen by all means is an area – or if it is a manifestation of the metaphor DOMAIN OF CONTROL IS PHYSICAL SPACE.

Categorisation

Our post-coding discussion revealed that there were no disagreements between the two annotators concerning different types of metaphors: Kappa was equal to 1. It seems that in the case of radio talk data the distinction between the three categories of direct, indirect and implicit MRWs does not pose any problems.

Final Results

During our post-coding discussion we decided to change some of our initial coding decisions which were obvious instances of human error. Yet, we did not change our decisions in the case of such problematic examples as those explained above. Leaving the misleading and ambiguous examples with their diverging annotations, we have arrived at our final results (see *Table 2*). This was enough to reach a Kappa score of 0.82, which would suggest that MIPVU proved to be a reliable method for metaphor identification in radio talk.

Table 2. Final results for itemization.

Number of lexical units	Number of unanimous MRWs	Minimum number of MRWs	Maximum number of MRWs	Cohen's Kappa for itemisation
6858	467	500	521	0.821

Conclusions

In this paper we have presented insights from applying MIPVU to radio talk data. Our study shows that MIPVU can be reliably applied for the purposes of metaphor identification in spoken discourse: using MIPVU, we arrived at replicable identification results with a Kappa score above 0.8.

However, the very possibility of quantifying the results of metaphor identification, that is measuring the precise numbers of metaphors used in a particular text, carries with it certain dangers. To identify potential problems, we have reframed MIPVU in terms of unitisation, itemisation and categorisation, three stages at which the annotators make coding decisions. Our analysis of these stages revealed that: firstly, due to the fact that MIPVU zooms in on individual lexical units, it cannot account for metaphors at the utterance level, for example, metaphorical scenarios; secondly, despite its attempts at defining the basic sense of lexical units, MIPVU leaves still a lot of room for the annotators' interpretations, which subsequently may lead to disagreements; thirdly, in some cases, the contextual sense of lexical units is unclear, which makes any comparisons between the basic and contextual sense practically impossible, which again might motivate different decisions among the raters.

Also, our post-coding discussion revealed that in order to decide if the procedure can be reliably applied by multiple annotators, it is important to measure inter-agreement at the levels of itemisation and categorisation separately. This may help to identify those areas in MIPVU analysis which yield divergent annotation decisions.

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Joanna MAZUR

University of Rzeszow
jomazur78@gmail.com

THE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH AS L2 ON POLISH LEARNERS' RUSSIAN AS L3

Abstract: The article aims at describing the influence of English as a second language on the acquisition of Russian as a third language. The paper discusses the question of cross-linguistic influence with special emphasis on the distinction between positive and negative transfer and the role of errors in language learning. The study conducted among Polish learners of Russian shows that they are strongly affected by the interference of English, their second language. It is visible in the number and quality of errors analysed. They all appear in tests written by the students of the Institute of Technology in Rzeszow during the language course.

Key words: L2, L3, interference, cross-linguistic influence, errors, positive and negative transfer

Introductory remarks

The article highlights the influence of English as a second language on the acquisition of Russian as a third language. The study was conducted among Polish learners (students of the Institute of Technology in Rzeszów) who had learnt Russian for three semesters. What inspired the study was the number of interference errors from English to Russian which appeared in tests and compositions written by the students during the language course. The error analysis was based on the guidelines for the procedure given by James (1998) in *Errors in Language Learning and Use: Exploring Error Analysis*. The following three steps were used in the analysis: classification of errors, description of errors and explanation of errors.

Cross-Linguistic Influence

Cross-linguistic influence, which is also known as language transfer, is an extremely important factor in foreign language study. It has been a controversial topic among language teachers, researchers and linguists for a long time. They have been interested in language contact and language change because in their opinion through a consideration of differences between languages, teaching may be more effective.

The pioneers of contrastive analysis believed that by making cross-linguistic comparisons one could predict learning difficulty. Lado (1957:2) claimed that:

The student who comes in contact with a foreign language will always find some features of it quite easy and others extremely difficult. Those elements that are similar to his native language will be simple for him, and those elements that are different will be difficult.

However, in view of subsequent research, this claim turned out to be too simplified because not all cross-linguistic differences cause learning problems.

Transfer

Linguists and language teachers present different opinions about the nature and the importance of cross-linguistic influences. It has to be mentioned that cross-linguistic comparisons are essential for the study of transfer. However, the role of language transfer has been under dispute for a long time. Some scholars have considered transfer as the most important fact of second language acquisition; others have been very sceptical about its importance.

In Odlin's book (1989) *Language Transfer – Cross-Linguistic Influence In Language Learning* the nature and the role of language transfer in second language acquisition is presented in a comprehensive way. This book is used in order to illustrate language transfer's historical development and its role in applied linguistics.

Discussions of transfer started in the 1940s and 1950s but serious thinking about cross-linguistic influences began in the 19th century. At that time scholars were rather interested in language classification and language change, not second language acquisition. Linguists concentrated on language mixing and code switching. Odlin (1989:6–7) explains these two terms as follows:

(1) language mixing is *the merging of characteristics of two or more languages in any verbal communication*,

(2) in code switching *there is a systematic interchange of words, phrases, and sentences of two or more languages*.

The classification of languages and explanations involving language mixture were considered by scientists as something necessary and important. Toward the end of the 19th century the study of pidgins (*marginal languages*) and creoles (trade languages often acquired by young children) intensified. In the study of these languages, there has been disagreement about the importance of transfer in the creation of contact languages. Apart from research on pidgins and creoles, in the 19th and 20th centuries interest in the importance of cross-linguistic influences increased.

Odlin (1989:12) notes that Weinreich (1953) used the term *interference* to cover any case of transfer but from his survey it turned out that the effects of cross-linguistic influence vary according to the social context of the language contact situation. These effects can be described through the use of the terms *borrowing transfer* or *substratum transfer. Borrowing transfer refers to the influence a second language has on a previously acquired language (which is typically one's native language)* (Odlin 1989:12). The second type of cross-linguistic influence which is called *substratum transfer* involves:

the influence of a source language (typically, the native language of a learner) on the acquisition of a target language, the "second" language regardless of how many languages the learner already knows (Odlin 1989:1).

The results of both transfers are very different. *Borrowing transfer* has effects on lexical semantics and syntax while *substratum transfer*, generally, on pronunciation.

The term *transfer* which refers to cross-linguistic influences is still very problematic even though it was used by Whitney (1881) over a hundred years ago. Nowadays, native language influence is often treated as a synonym for transfer. However, transfer is not always native language influence, especially in the case when one knows two, three or more languages because knowledge of many languages can lead to three or more different kinds of source language influence. Odlin (1989:27) claims:

Transfer is the influence resulting from similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired.

He offers the following classification of the effects that cross-linguistic similarities and differences can produce:

(1) Positive transfer
(2) Negative transfer
    A. Underproduction
    B. Overproduction
    C. Production errors
    D. Misinterpretation
(3) Differing lengths of acquisition.

Positive transfer occurs when the linguistic habit transferred from the native language to the foreign language contributes to forming a grammatical sentence in the foreign language. Odlin (1989:36) states that cross-linguistic similarities can produce positive transfer in several ways. For example, similarities between native language and target language vocabulary can reduce the time needed to develop good reading comprehension or similarities between writing systems can give learners a head start in reading and writing in the target language.

Transfer is negative when the transferred habits result in errors, i.e. ungrammatical sentences and that it why this kind of transfer is easy to identify. Odlin (1989:37) divides errors into:

(1) substitutions (a use of native language forms in the target language),
(2) calques (reflect closely a native language structure),
(3) alterations of structures (seen in hypercorrections).

According to Swan (1997:161) learners' errors are seen as falling into two possible categories: *interlingual* confusions, caused by interference or transfer from the mother tongue, and *intralingual* confusions, caused by complexities in the second language itself.

Negative transfer is often referred to as interference. It exerts a negative influence on the process of foreign-language learning. Interference may be caused by the influence of one language upon another (interlingual). Intralingual interference occurs when linguistic habits previously acquired and established are transferred to the new element being learned in the process of learning. Komorowska (1975:93) divides intralingual interference into two types:

(1) proactive (influence of earlier acquired ability upon the later one),
(2) retroactive (influence of the ability acquired later upon the earlier one).

In foreign language teaching, transfer which draws most attention is interlingual interference. Many language errors which occur in the process of learning a foreign language result from transfer.

Language teachers have always known that learners' native language has a significant impact on the way a second language is used and learnt. The learner

transfers or extends his native language habits into the target language with or without his awareness. Swan (1997:167) states that there is more scope for successful transfer between closely related languages than between languages which are not related. Cultural distance, as well as language distance, can greatly affect ease or difficulty of learning. Where the first and second languages are closely related, as Swan (1997:164) claims, there may be fewer errors resulting from the intrinsic difficulty of what has to be learned, since the mother tongue will provide support in more areas. At the same time, since more can be transferred, there is more scope for the type of interference errors which arise when items in two languages are similar but not identical in form or use. Conversely, where languages are unrelated, the role of interference will be reduced.

Language distance has some effect on the amount of transfer that can take place between languages, and therefore on the extent to which transfer can support or hinder learning. Related languages often share a great deal of cognate vocabulary, and even where vocabulary is not cognate, there tend to be close translation equivalents: this can give learners an enormous advantage. Where languages have less common ground, word forms will generally be quite different (Swan: 1997:163).

It is hard to imagine that Polish learners transfer suffixes from their mother tongue to French or English. However, this kind of transfer is very often seen in Russian used by Poles. When learning French, we transfer the Polish word order but we never transfer suffixes (Arabski 1985:29).

Discussions of transfer cannot be focused only on bilingual situations. Individuals learning a new language may already know two, three, or even more languages. Odlin (1989:141) mentions that studies of trilingualism indicate that the more similar the linguistic structures in two languages are, the greater the likelihood of transfer. Swan (1997:163) adds that the difference in the phonological structure also has an effect on vocabulary learning. Those foreign words which conform more or less to the phonetic and orthographic patterns of the mother tongue are the easiest to assimilate.

Transfer is an important factor in language acquisition and teachers should try to understand this phenomenon as it occurs in their classrooms. Negative transfer is often probable in the pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. However, it has to be mentioned that transfer can also be helpful for adults (and sometimes older children) in acquiring another language.

L1, L2, L3

Lankiewicz (2010:9) states that *the need for communication lies at the foundation of language development and a primary motive for learning the "secret*

code" of others. The definitions of L1, L2 and L3 are very problematic. Some linguists order languages in terms of the level of proficiency, others in the order of the time of acquisition, but neither of these distinctions applies to children who have two or more languages from birth. In such cases first, second or third can be defined only in terms of settings of use.

In many migrant settings, the first language of a migrant family changes status through time. Parents may keep their first language as the means of communication at home, but their children may increasingly start using the language of the larger environment to communicate among themselves and with their parents and even grandparents. In such settings, the first language loses its special status and becomes the second or third language for the younger generation (De Bot et al. 2005:6).

Brown (2000:52) states that we should not oversimplify the acquisition processes while comparing first and second languages. According to the traditional distinction, L1 is acquired in childhood and in a natural way but Arabski (1997:7) understands it more broadly as the whole language experience before starting to learn L2 so L1 will include all languages learned earlier not only the mother tongue. Second language acquisition typically takes place in a setting in which the language to be learned is the language spoken in the local community. For example, learning English in the United States or Great Britain among native speakers, when we constantly hear it and we have to acquire it in order to communicate with society, is second language acquisition. Foreign language acquisition takes place in artificial school conditions, in a setting in which the language to be learned is not the language spoken in the local community. The main difference between second and foreign language acquisition lies in the contact frequency and intensity with the language and the range of motivation.

Other linguists postulate a different view on SLA. For example, according to Ellis (1985:5), second language acquisition should not be contrasted with foreign language acquisition. He states that SLA is used as a general term that embraces both untutored (or *naturalistic*) acquisition and tutored (or *classroom*) acquisition.

The term second language *(L2) is generally used to characterize languages acquired, in natural or instructional settings, by immigrants or professionals in the country in which that language is the national language;* foreign languages *(FLs), by contrast, are traditionally learned in schools that are removed from any natural context of use* (Kramsch 2000:315).

De Bot et al. (2005:6) emphasize that the vast amount of the world population is multilingual, and for many people it is not easy to specify their first, second or third language. We exclude here the cases of "simultaneous bilinguals" (Lightbown

& Spada 2000:3) or "native bilinguals" (Snow 2005"478) referring to children learning two or more languages simultaneously after birth. We cannot forget that children, for example, may learn one or two languages at school, and later in the adulthood they may learn another language to such an extent that the first foreign language is no longer used and even disappears. That is why it is vague how second and third should be distinguished in such cases.

All the knowledge of different languages and varieties that an individual knows are part of one dynamic system, and the state of that system at any one time very much depends on the degree of recent input and active use of any of the languages or varieties (De Bot 2005:6).

One's knowledge of a language, no matter which one it is, first, second or third, is never stable and develops all the time when used. When not used, it is at a standstill and ultimately there is a loss of skills. This continuous growth and loss is influenced by a whole range of factors which are enumerated by De Bot et al. (2005:3). They claim that not only the type and amount of contact with a language, but also individual factors such as age, attitude, motivation, intelligence, and earlier learning experience are essential.

Errors in L2 Learning

From Odlin (1989) we find out that Error Analysis was initially used in the early 1960s but a real interest in EA arose in the 1970s. It followed Contrastive Analysis and appeared as a result of disappointment because the studies of Second Language Acquisition indicated that CA made incorrect predictions. Zalewski (1995:16) writes that in CA language errors were compared to *sin and errorless language to virtue*. By contrast, EA posited an active learner, one whose mistakes revealed the application of consistent rules.

De Bot et al. (2005:34) emphasize that CA compares the structure of L1 and L2, analyses the teaching materials and predicts possible interference due to the overlap of two languages. However, CA predicts only those errors which are caused by interlingual interference. Other types of errors are studied by EA. It sees L1 interference as one of many and not even a major source of errors, this being the result of its viewing language as a rule-governed behaviour.

The change of interest from comparing the source and target language to focusing on learners' errors was presented in the paper by Corder (1981) *The significance of learners' errors*. He claims that the mechanisms, procedures and strategies of learning a first and second language are similar. The only difference between these two processes is the presence or absence of motivation. Corder (1981:8) concentrates also on errors made by learners and he states that they are

evidence of learners' built-up syllabus and they are systematic. We never call a child's utterance *deviant, ill-formed, faulty and incorrect*. That is why we should not also treat second language learners' errors as something wrong. They are essential to the teacher, the researcher and the learner himself. As Corder (1981:11) claims, the making of errors is *a strategy employed both by children acquiring their mother tongue and by those learning a second language*.

It should be mentioned that there are some problems in defining what is an error and what is a mistake. Corder (1981:10) treats the mistake as an error of performance which is unsystematic and of no significance to the process of language learning. The term *error* refers to a systematic error and is called the error of competence.

Making errors is an inevitable and necessary part of the learning process. The study of errors is one of the fundamental skills of the teacher and also an area of applied linguistics. According to Richards (1971:173), the main source of difficulty in second language learning is interference from the mother tongue (interlingual errors) but he also adds that many errors have their origins within the structure of English itself and are very frequent. Richards calls them intralingual and developmental errors. They are *the sort of mistakes which persist from week to week and which recur from one year to the next with any group of learners*. There are four causes of these errors according to Richards (1971:174-179):

1. over-generalization – the learner creates a deviant structure in place of two regular structures on the basis of his experience of other structures in the target language;
2. ignorance of rule restrictions – the learner applies the rules to contexts where they do not apply;
3. incomplete application of rules – the learner uses for example a statement form instead of a question;
4. false concepts hypothesized – the learner improperly understands the distinctions in the target language (e.g. Present Simple vs. Present Continuous).

Corder (1974) takes into account systematicity as a criterion for classifying errors and divides them into:

1. presystematic errors – the learner does not know that a given rule exists in the target language;
2. systematic errors – the learner discovers a rule but it is the improper one;
3. postsystematic errors – the learner already knows the correct L2 rule but he does not follow an expected principle.

This taxonomy is considered unrealistic because it requires interviewing the learner and it is not easy if one deals with errors produced by a large group

of learnes. James (1998:111) proposes the Target Modification Taxonomy and suggests five categories of errors: omission, addition, misformation, misordering and blend.

As has been shown above, there are different opinions about errors and Error Analysis itself. Bell (1974:35) severely criticized Error Analysis. He called it *a recent pseudoprocedure in applied linguistics*. Although EA was criticized for the methodological weaknesses, there are still some researchers who show strong interest in analysing errors committed by learners.

Error Analysis

The error analysis in the study was based on the guidelines for the procedure given by Carl James in *Errors in Language Learning and Use: Exploring Error Analysis* (1998). The following three steps were used in the analysis:

1. classification of errors;
2. description of errors;
3. explanation of errors.

My interest was focused only on errors which showed English interference; Polish interference was not taken into my account. The gathered material included 338 tests and 97 compositions (a corpus of ca. 8439 words). All 70 learners in the study were born in Poland, none of them was bilingual. The students (22-24 years old) were at the same level of Russian, i.e. beginners.

Errors are classified as errors of omission, addition, misselection and blend. There are spelling, grammar and lexical errors in my analysis. All errors classified into categories are presented in *Table 1* below.

Table 1. Students' Errors (Numbers indicate number of errors both in tests and compositions. Each error is marked with an asterisk symbol).

	SPELLING 153 errors	**GRAMMAR 33 errors**	**LEXICAL SEMANTIC 14 errors**
OMISSION 12 **spelling: 12**	***И*** * *в юне/в июне* (in June) **5** * *в юле/в июле* (in July) **3** ***ca*** * *стюардес/ стюардесса* (stewardess) **4**		
ADDITION 7 **spelling: 4** **grammar: 3**	***В*** * *стювардесса/ стюардесса* (stewardess) **4**	**preposition *в* (in)** * *в дома/дома* (in the house) **3**	

MISSELECTION 182 **spelling: 137** **grammar: 28** **lexical semantic: 14**	***А/а*** ** Англичанин/ англичанин* (Englishman) **6** ** Апрел / апрель* (April) **1** ***Р/р*** **Россиянин/ россиянин* (Russianman) **6** ***И/и*** **Испанец/ испанец* (Spanish) **6** ** Июнь/июнь* (June) **3** ***М/м*** **Москвич/москвич* (Moscowman) **6** ***Ф/ф*** **Француз/француз* (French) **6** ***С/с*** ** Среда/среда* (Wednesday) **3** **Суббота/суббота* (Saturday) **1** ***П/п*** ** Понедельник/ понедельник* (Monday) **4** ***Ч/ч*** ** Четверг/четверг* (Thursday) **1** ***В/в*** ** Воскресенье/ воскресенье* (Sunday) **2** ***Н/н*** ** Ноябрь/ноябрь* (November) **1** ***Я/я*** ** в Январе/в январе* (in January) **2** ** вечером Я иду на дискотеку/ вечером я иду на дискотеку* (in the evening I'm going to the disco) **3** ***е/а*** ** мей /май (Мау)* **1** ***ю/у*** ** стюдент/ студент* (student) **5** * мюзыка/музыка (music) **4** ***в/у*** ** викэнд/уик-энд* (weekend) **3** ** вик-энд/уик-энд* (weekend) **2** ***е/э*** ** уикенд/уик-энд* (weekend) **2** ** уик -енд/уик-энд* (weekend) **3** ***е/и*** ** векенд/уик-энд* (weekend) **1** ***ю/ж*** ** юрналист/ журналист* (journalist) **6** ***ев/ю*** **стевардесса/ стюардесса* (stewardess)**13**	**Interrogative pronoun:** ***Что/ Кто*** ** Что это? Это кошка.* (What's this? It's a cat.) */ Кто это? Это кошка.* (Who is it? It's a cat.) **23** **Declension:** **Nominative/ Accusative** ***а/у*** ** пью кола/пью колу* (I drink cola) **1** **Preposition:** ***в/ на*** ** в фабрике/на фабрике* (in a factory) **4**	**Nouns: confusion of sense relations** ** юрист* (lawyer)*/ журналист* (journalist) **3** ** фамилия* (surname)*/ семья* (family) **10** ** магазины* (shops)*/ журналы* (magazines)**1**

	у/ю ** стуардесса/ стюардесса* (stewardess) **8** ***ё/ю*** ** стёардесса/ стюардесса* (stewardess) **2** ***э/е*** ** стюардэсса / стюардесса* (stewardess) **2** ***о/у*** ** фотбол/футбол* (football) **4** ***д/т*** ** фудбол/футбол* (football) **5** ***ы/и*** ** хоббы/хобби* (hobby) **2** ***у/ и*** ** хоббу/хобби* (hobby) **1** ***с/к*** ** рос музыка/рок музыка* (rock music) **1** ***и/ы*** ** музика / музыка* (music) **5** ***о/ы*** ** сон/сын* (son) **1** ***б/в*** ** фебраль/февраль* (February) **14** ***с/ц*** ** сентре/центре* (centre) **1**		
BLEND 2 **Grammar: 2**		**Pronoun** **Nominative/Dative** ** Он 50 лет / Ему 50 лет* (He's 50 years old) **2**	

In order to classify learners' errors I used the three categories of errors proposed by James (1998): spelling, grammatical and lexical errors. Each of three types can be divided into: omission, addition, misselection, misordering, blends but not all of them are visible in my study. Lexical errors can be divided into formal and semantic errors but in *Table 1* only semantic errors are listed. The students sometimes tried to use their English knowledge and they created new Russian words (distortions) which had never existed in the language, for example:

(1) * январы/январь (January) **1**
(2) * десемберь/декабрь (December) **3**
(3) * новемберь/ноябрь (November) **1**

Two students called their dogs Killer. They wrote this word in two different ways: *Килер* and *Кильэр.* All these words are outside *Table 1* but they could have been treated as lexical formal errors.

The following presentation will focus on the categories of errors which are visible in this study. The number indicates the number of errors both in tests and

compositions. On the basis of the material presented in *Table 1*, it can be noticed that the number of spelling errors is biggest (**153**) and there are fewer lexical semantic errors (only **14**). At the second place there are grammar errors (**33**).

Spelling (153)

Omission: 12. There are omissions of *и* in **в юне/в июне* (in June) **5** and **в юле/в июле* (in July) **3**. Another case of omission is *са* in **стюардес/стюардесса* (stewardess) **4**.

Addition: 4. The error of adding *в* in **стювардесса/стюардесса* (stewardess) is repeated four times.

Misselection: 137. This is the most numerous category and that is why the most interesting. Out of **182** errors of misselection there are **137** spelling errors. Among them **14** times appears *б* instead of *в* in **фебраль/февраль* (February), **13** times *ев* instead of *ю* in **стевардесса/стюардесса* (stewardess) and **8** times *у* instead of *ю* in **стуардесса/стюардесса* (stewardess). This category includes also errors which are less frequent. Among them there are errors such as writing nationalities with capital letters: in **Англичанин/англичанин* (Englishman) **6**, **Россиянин/россиянин* (Russianman) **6**, **Испанец/испанец* (Spanish) **6**, **Француз/француз* (French) **6**. The capital letter *М* is used instead of *м* also six times in **Москвич/москвич* (Moscowman). Capital letters are also incorrectly used in names of the week: in **Понедельник/понедельник* (Monday) **4,** **Среда/среда* (Wednesday) **3,** **Воскресенье/воскресенье* (Sunday) **2,** **Суббота/суббота* (Saturday) **1,** **Четверг/четверг* (Thursday) **1** and months of the year: **Июнь/июнь* (June) **3,** **в Январе/в январе* (in January) **2,** **Ноябрь/ноябрь* (November) **1.** Three students used a capital letter when writing the pronoun *я* (I) within the sentence. It is wrong in the Russian language. Other misselections are *ю* instead of *ж* in **юрналист/журналист* (journalist) **6,** *ю* instead of *у* in **стюдент/студент* (student) **5** and in **мюзыка/музыка* (music) **4,** *д* instead of *т* in **фудбол/футбол* (football) **5,** *и* instead of *ы* in **музика/музыка* (music) **5** and *о* instead of *у* in **фотбол/футбол* (football) **4.** The Russian word *уик-энд* (weekend) was frequently written in a wrong way: e.g. **викэнд* **3**, **уик -енд* **3,** **вик-энд* **2,** **уикенд* **2,** **векенд* **1.** Other Russian words which include errors made by students are **стёардесса* **2,** **стюардэсса* **2,** **хоббы* **2,** **хоббу* **1.** The correct forms of these words are *стюардесса* (stewardess) and *хобби* (hobby). Among single errors in this category are: *е* instead of *а* in * *мей/май (May)* **1,** *с* instead of *к* in **рос музыка/рок музыка* (rock music) **1,** *о* instead of *ы* in **сон/сын* (son) **1** and *с* instead of *ц* in **сентре/центре* (centre) **1.**

Grammar (33)

Addition: 3. There are only three mistakes in this category. The preposition *в* (in) is added in **в дома/дома* (in the house).

Misselection: 28. As many as **23** times the interrogative pronoun *что* (what) was used instead of *кто* (who) in the phrase **Что это? Это кошка.* (What's this?

It's a cat.)*/Кто это? Это кошка.* (Who is it? It's a cat.) In Russian we use the interrogative pronoun *who* not *what* when we ask about a living being even if it is an animal. There are **4** errors of misselection of preposition *в* for *на* in **в фабрике/ на фабрике* (in a factory). In Russian almost all nouns must be inflected even the word *cola*. A single error appeared in the phrase **пью кола/ пью колу* (I drink cola) **1** when the Nominative case was used instead of the Accusative case.
Blend: 2. Two errors classified as blend show problems with using the Dative case of the pronoun *он* (he) in the phrase **Он 50 лет/Ему 50 лет* (He's 50 years old). The Nominative case is incorrect in Russian when we speak about a person's age.

Lexis (14)
Lexical errors are typically errors of misselection. They result from the wrong choice of lexical items. In my study there are four lexical items which are semantically inappropriate. The Russian word *фамилия* (surname) was **10** times misused with Russian *семья* (family). One student used the word **магазины* (shops) instead of *журналы* (magazines). There are other errors of confusion of sense relations: the word *юрист* (lawyer) is used three times instead of using the word *журналист* (journalist). Both words belong to the same semantic field: professions.

All errors collected in my study are caused by language transfer from English to Russian. I had no intention of gathering errors which were committed by students as a result of the influence of the Polish language. Although Polish seemed to have greater impact on learning Russian, it turned out that English as a second language also affected Polish students who learnt Russian as the third language.

My study in error analysis shows that there are few grammar errors caused by language interference (33 errors) contrary to spelling errors (153). It is not a high number probably because of the fact that English and Russian grammars have little in common. Among spelling errors there are examples of errors affected by English pronunciation or spelling rules. Some errors, especially non-existing words, were made up by students probably because they were convinced that Russian counterparts look or sound like English words. It is seen in the following examples:
(1) *январы/январь (January) **1**
(2) *десемберь/декабрь (December) **3**
(3) *новемберь/ноябрь (November) **1**
It is evident that these errors were caused by language transfer from English to Russian. It can be stated that English pronunciation affected students' acquisition of the Russian language. A perfect example of this phenomenon may be the error **Я стюдент/Я студент* (I'm a student) which was made by five people. It has to be added that many more students were influenced by the English pronunciation and this can be seen in two other examples:
(1) **в сентре города/в центре города* (in the city centre)
(2) **рок мюзыка/рок музыка* (rock music)

The next sample of transfer errors from English to Russian is the word **магазины* (shops) used instead of *журналы* (magazines) or the Russian word *фамилия* (surname) misused with Russian *семья* (family).

Errors such as writing nationalities with capital letters, the pronoun *я* (I) within the sentence, names of the week and months of the year (incorrect in Russian) support the theory that students absorbed English spelling rules very well and keep them deeply in mind.

As stated above, a presentation of errors which were caused by Polish interference was not my aim in this study. However, in *Table 1* there are some examples such as **в фабрике/на фабрике* (in a factory), **в дома/дома* (in the house) and **Что это? Это кошка.* (What's this? It's a cat.)*/Кто это? Это кошка.* (Who is it? It's a cat.) which make one wonder whether these errors were made by the influence of the English or Polish language. The interrogative pronoun *что* (what) was used instead of *кто* (who) in the phrase **Что это? Это кошка.* (What's this? It's a cat.)*/Кто это? Это кошка.* (Who is it? It's a cat.). In Russian we use the interrogative pronoun *who* not *what* when we ask about a living being even if it is an animal. However, *what* is used in such contexts not only in English but also in Polish. That is why it is difficult to decide whether it is Polish or English influence. The same confusion appears when the preposition *в* (in) is added to the word **в дома/дома* (in the house). The Polish equivalent is *w domu.* This error could have been caused by the influence of the Polish language. There is misselection of preposition *в* for *на* in **в фабрике/на фабрике* (in a factory). In Polish it sounds *w fabryce.* The subjects who participated in the study were all Polish so these particular errors are probably the examples of Polish more than English influence.

It has to be mentioned that one exercise in the test was prepared in order to check how students acquired professions in Russian. Out of 47 words presented during the lesson, only five appeared in the test. As it turned out, most students wrote only these professions which are very similar to the English equivalents. Moreover, some of them made errors trying to write English words using Russian letters. It may suggest that the subjects believed that either spelling or pronunciation of the English words would help them. For example:

(1) **юрналист/журналист* (journalist)
(2) **стевардесса/стюардесса* (stewardess)
(3) **стюардеса/стюардесса* (stewardess)

The errors shown above undoubtedly result from negative transfer from English to Russian. It is interesting, however, that some of the data collected also contains what may be classified as evidence of positive transfer from English to Russian. Considering the words of English origin used by the students in their compositions, it turned out that out of 97 students as many as 25 people used the word *футбол* (football) when writing about their hobby. Other examples are: *компьютер* (computer) 18, *волейбол* (volleyball) 16 and *баскетбол* (basketball)

11. It is the pronunciation of these English words which lets us think that English, not Polish, had a great impact on the participants. The word *теннис* (tennis) was used by 13 students. It is also an example of positive transfer from English because of the fact that the word *tennis* is written with double *n* only in English not in Polish. The students used these words in order to present interests among members of their families. This vocabulary is very similar to English so we can conclude that students acquired it much faster than other lexical items introduced in the Russian course. It is worth noticing that in the case of these words English had strong but positive influence because in these words none of them made errors.

Conclusions

As Polish and Russian are related languages, it might have been expected that transfer would appear between them rather than between English and Russian. On the one hand, one may expect positive transfer: similarities between the native language (Polish) and target language (Russian) vocabulary may reduce the time needed to develop good listening and speaking skills. However, one cannot ignore the fact that Polish learners very often transfer suffixes from their mother tongue to the Russian language and this is an example of negative transfer.

On the contrary, taking English into account, it might have been reasonably expected that because English and Russian are not related, negative transfer would not play a significant role. Besides, negative transfer is primarily associated with L1 influence.

My study in error analysis has shown, however, that the Polish learners' second language (L2), i.e. English, did play an important role in their acquisition of Russian as a third language (L3). In the times when English is promoted by governments and schools all over the world, it seems natural that the students' attempts to acquire the Russian language were affected by English. One cannot forget that they belong to the generation that has been surrounded by the English language and culture from their early childhood.

The mother tongue has definitely a considerable influence on the way the second language is learnt and used, but if one knows two, three or more languages, the knowledge of many different languages can lead to three or more different kinds of language influence. People who know different and sometimes even unrelated languages, learn the next language faster and more effectively, but it also has to be remembered that negative transfer between languages may occur, especially if they are very different in terms of access, popularity and prestige.

As my study has demonstrated, Polish learners of Russian are strongly affected by their knowledge of English. It may then be very helpful for teachers of Russian to know English as well so that they could understand their learners' problems better and help them to eliminate problems resulting from English interference.

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Mariya OLKHOVYCH-NOVOSADYUK

Ivan Franko National University of Lviv
olkhovych28@gmail.com

COMMUNICATIVE LANGUAGE TEACHING: MANAGING THE LEARNING PROCESS

Abstract: The article deals with the issues of the nature of communicative language teaching. Changing views on the nature of language and learning in relation to theories, objectives, syllabus, classroom activities and the roles of learners, teachers and material which led to the emergence of communicative language teaching are analyzed.

Methodology as a communicative process is investigated as well as communicative abilities of interpretation, expression and negotiation. The roles of the teacher and the learners within a communicative methodology are identified. Moreover, the concept of learner-centeredness is analyzed within the learning process domain.

A learner-centered curriculum has been compared with the traditional one pointing out similarities and differences between them. It is argued that communicative language teaching has had a major influence on language curriculum development. Therefore, curriculum decision-making in high-structure and low-structure contexts at the planning, implementation and evaluation stages is outlined in this paper. One of the main issues to be considered within curriculum content is needs analysis which provides a basis for setting goals and objectives. Hence, the salient characteristics of the three approaches to needs analysis are presented according to their educational rationale, the type of information collected, the method and the purposes of data collection.

The last issue considered in this article is the role and characteristics of evaluation within the communicative curriculum. Also, the problems and prospects of a communicative methodology have been identified.

Keywords: communicative language teaching, communicative methodology, learner-centeredness, communicative curriculum, needs analysis, curriculum content, evaluation, metacommunication.

Introduction

At a time when there is a recognized need in language teaching to give adequate attention to language use as well as language form, various ‘notional-functional’ or

so-called ‘communicative approaches’ to language teaching are being advocated. The present paper is offered in an effort to define the nature of communicative language teaching.

The communicative curriculum defines language learning as learning how to communicate as a member of a particular socio-cultural group. The social conventions governing language form and behaviour within the group are, therefore, central to the process of language learning.

Communication in everyday life synthesizes ideational, interpersonal, and textual knowledge – and the affects which are part of such knowledge. But it is also related to and integrated with other forms of human behaviour. The sharing and negotiating of potential meanings in a new language implies the use and refinement of perceptions, concepts and affects. Therefore, it makes sense for the teacher to see the overall purpose of language teaching as the development of the learner’s communicative knowledge in the context of personal and social development.

Communicative language teaching

Communicative language teaching emerged from a number of disparate sources. During the 1970s and 1980s applied linguistics and language educators began to re-evaluate pedagogical practice in the light of changed views on the nature of language and learning, and the role of teachers and learners consequently. The contrast between what we have called “traditionalism”, and communicative language teaching (CLT) proposed by David Nunan (1992), is shown in *Table 1*. The table presents contrasts in relation to theories of language and learning, and in relation to objectives, syllabus, classroom activities and the roles of learners, teachers and material.

Table 1. Changing views on the nature of language and learning.

Teaching	Traditionalism	Communicative language
Theory of language	Language is a system of rule-governed structures hierarchically arranged.	Language is a system for the expression of meaning: primary function – interaction.
Theory of learning	Habit formation; skills are learned more effectively if oral precedes written; analogy not analysis.	Activities involving real communication; carrying out meaningful tasks and using language that is meaningful to the learner promote learning.
Objectives	Control of the structures of sound, form and order, mastery over symbols of the language; goal – native speaker mastery.	Objectives will reflect the needs of the learner; they will include functional skills as well as linguistic objectives.

Syllabus	Graded syllabus of phonology, morphology, and syntax. Contrastive analysis.	Will include some or all of the following: structures, functions, notions, themes and tasks. Ordering will be guided by learner needs.
Activities	Dialogues and drills; repetition and memori-zation; pattern practice.	Engage learners in communication; involve process such as information sharing, negotiation of meaning and interaction.
Role of a learner	Organisms that can be directed by skilled training techniques to produce correct responses.	Learner as negotiator, interactor, giving as well taking.
Role of a teacher	Central and active; teacher-dominated method. Provides model; controls direction and pace.	Facilitator of the communication process, needs analyst, counselor, process manager.
Role of materials	Primarily teacher oriented. Tapes and visuals; language lab often used.	Primary role of promoting communicative language use; task based, authentic materials.

*Source***:** Nunan and Lamb 2001:31

The insight that communication was an integrated process rather than a set of discrete learning outcomes created a dilemma for language education. It meant that the destination (functioning in another language) and the route (attempting to learn the target language) moved much closer together, and, in some instances (for example, in role plays and simulations), became indistinguishable. In educational terms, a useful way of viewing this emerging dilemma in language education is in terms of high- and low-structure teaching. High-structure tasks are those in which teachers have all the power and control. Low-structure tasks are those in which power and control are devolved to the students. However, we do not equate high-structure with non-communicative and low-structure with communicative tasks.

Methodology as a communicative process

Language learning within communicative curriculum is most appropriately seen as communicative interaction involving all the participants in the learning and including the various material resources on which the learning is exercised. Therefore, language learning may be seen as a process which grows out of the interaction between learners, teachers, texts and activities.

This communicative interaction is likely to engage the abilities within the learner's developing competence in an arena of cooperative negotiation, joint interpretation, and the sharing of expression. The communicative classroom can

serve as a forum characterized by the activation of these abilities upon the learners' new and developing knowledge. This activation will depend on the provision of a range of different text-types in different media – spoken, written, visual and audio-visual – which the participants can make use of to develop their competence through a variety of activities and tasks.

Communicative abilities of interpretation, expression and negotiation are the essential or "primary" abilities within any target competence. Also, they continually interrelate with one another during communicative performance and are complex in nature. They will involve psychological processes, for example – and they may contain within them a range of secondary abilities such as "coding", "code substituting" and "style-shifting" (Bernstein 1971, Hymes 1971, Labov 1972).

The use of these communicative abilities is manifested in communicative performance through a set of skills. Speaking, listening, reading and writing skills can be seen to serve and depend upon the underlying abilities of interpretation, expression and negotiation. The skills are the meeting point between underlying communicative competence and observable communicative performance; they are the means through which knowledge and abilities are translated into performance, and vice versa.

In order to allow for differences in personal interest and ease of access, or to permit the search for alternative perspectives on the content, learners should be offered the possibility of working with one or more of a range of media. Learners would be expected to act upon text-types in the appropriate medium: written texts would be read, spoken ones listened to, visual ones seen. Just as communication is governed by conventions, so we can see that different media represent and obey conventions specific to themselves.

Classroom procedures and activities can involve participants in both communicating and metacommunicating. By metacommunicating we imply the learner's activity in analyzing, monitoring and evaluating those knowledge systems implicit within the various text-types confronting during learning. Such metacommunication occurs within the communicative performance of the classroom as a sociolinguistic activity in its own right.

The roles of the teacher and the learners within a communicative methodology

Within a communicative methodology the teacher has two main roles. The first role is to facilitate the communicative process between all the participants in the classroom, and between these participants and the various activities and texts. The second role is to act as an independent participant within the learning-teaching groups. These roles imply a set of secondary roles for the teacher: first, as an organizer of resources and as a resource himself. Second, as a guide within

the classroom procedures and activities. This guidance role is ongoing and largely unpredictable, so the teacher needs to share it with other learners. Related to this, the teacher – and other learners – can offer and seek feedback at appropriate moments in learning-teaching activities. In guiding and monitoring the teacher needs to be a "seer of potential" with the aim of facilitating and shaping individual and group knowledge and exploitation of abilities during learning. In this way the teacher will be concentrating on the process competences of the learners.

A third role for the teacher is that of researcher and learner – with much to contribute in terms of appropriate knowledge and abilities, actual and observed experience of the nature of learning, and organizational capabilities.

As an interdependent participant in the process, the teacher needs to actively share the responsibility for learning and teaching with the learners. This sharing can provide the basis for joint negotiation which itself releases the teacher to become a co-participant.

On the other hand, all learners of a language are confronted by the task of discovering *how to learn* the language. All learners – in their own ways – have to adopt the role of negotiation between themselves, their learning process, and the gradually revealed object of learning.

A communicative methodology is characterized by making this negotiative role – this learning how to learn – a public as well as a private undertaking. Learners also have an important monitoring role in addition to the degree of monitoring which they may apply subjectively to their own learning. In expression and negotiation, the learner adopts the dual role of being, first, a potential teacher for other learners, and, second, an informant to the teacher concerning his own learning progress.

Learner-centeredness

The concept of learner-centeredness has been invoked with increasing frequency in recent years. The philosophy of learner-centeredness has strong links with experiential learning, humanistic psychology and task-based language teaching.

Table 2 shows how the continuum can apply to the learning process domain. Once again, we see that learner-centeredness is not an all-or-nothing process, but can be implemented in a series of gradual steps.

A learner-centred curriculum will contain similar elements to those contained in traditional curriculum development, that is, planning (including needs analysis, goal and objective setting), implementation (including methodology and material development) and evaluation. However, the main difference between learner-centered and traditional curriculum development is that, in the former, the curriculum is a collaborative effort between teachers and learners. Therefore, learners need to be systematically taught the skills needed to implement a learner-

centred approach to pedagogy. In other words, language programs should have dual goals: language content goals and learning process goals.

Table 2. Learner-centeredness in the learning process domain.

Level	*Learner action*	*Gloss*
1	Awareness	Learners identify strategy implications of pedagogical tasks and identify their own preferred learning styles / strategies
2	Involvement	Learners make choices among a range of options.
3	Intervention	Learners modify / adapt tasks.
4	Creation	Learners create their own tasks
5	Transcendence	Learners become teachers and researchers.

*Source***:** Breen and Candlin 2001:170

Language curriculum development

As we can see from *Table 3* (Source: Nunan and Lamb 2001), communicative language teaching has had a major influence on language curriculum development. First, curriculum development has become much more complex. Whereas twenty or thirty years ago, the point of departure for curriculum development tended to be restricted to the identification of the learner's current level of proficiency, with the development of communicative language teaching and the insight that curricula should reflect learners' communicative needs and learning preferences, much more information about and by learners came to be incorporated into the curriculum process. The other major modification occurred with the emergence of the communicative task as a central block within the curriculum. Instead of being designed to teach a particular lexical, phonological or morphological point, tasks were designed to reflect learners' communicative needs. Language focus exercises were developed as a second-order activity.

Table 3. Curriculum decision-making in high-structure and low-structure contexts.

Curricular elements	Management Issues	
	High-structure contexts	Low-structure contexts
At the planning stage Course design	What does the institution tell me to teach? What are the managerial decisions entailed in the teacher's manual?	How do I design / adapt my own content / goals / tasks?
Needs analysis	How can I identify the learning preferences of my students?	How can I involve my learners in identifying and articulating their own needs?

Collegial	How can I cooperate with colleagues in course planning? How can I get the most out of staff meetings? How can staff meetings contribute to effective planning?	What opportunities exist for team teaching?
Resources	How do I manage use of set text?	How do I modify / adapt the text? How do I create my own resources? How do I design split information tasks that will be effective in my context?
At the implementation stage Talk / interaction	What are effective strategies for direct instruction? How do I give feedback on high-structure tasks	What questioning strategies facilitate learner contributions to low-structure tasks? How do I give feedback in low-structure tasks? What types of teacher questions maximize student output?
Learner language	How do I correct learner errors?	How can I provide language models in small group role plays in which the principal focus is on the exchange of meanings?
Learner attitude		How do I deal with group conflicts? How do I deal with student resistance to learner initiated tasks?
Group configuration	How do I organize controlled practice? How do I manage teacher-fronted instruction effectively?	How do I set up small group learning? What strategies exist for setting communicative tasks in which students work independently?
At the evaluation stage Learner assessment	What techniques will help me to assess the achievement of my learners?	How can I help my learners develop effective techniques for self-assessment?
Self-evaluation of the learning process		
Formal evaluation		How can learners be improved in providing input to the evaluation process?

In summary, we can argue that curriculum development represents a delicate juggling act involving the incorporation of information about the learner, about the language, and about the learning process.

Setting goals and objectives

In the content domain, needs analysis provides a basis for setting goals and objectives. There are basically three different approaches to needs analysis. Brindley (1989) calls these approaches the language proficiency orientation, the psychological/humanistic orientation and the specific purpose orientation. The three approaches are differentiated according to their educational rationale, the type of information collected, the method of data collection and the purposes for which the data are collected. The salient characteristics of the three approaches are presented in *Table 4* (Source: Brindley 1989: 67–69).

Table 4. Approaches to needs analysis.

Language proficiency orientation	Psychological/humanistic orientation	Specific purpose orientation
Educational rationale Learners learn more effectively if grouped according to proficiency.	Learners learn more effectively if involved in the learning process.	Learners learn more effectively if content is relevant to their specific areas of need/interest.
Type of information Language proficiency/language difficulties	Attitudes, motivation, learning strategy preferences	Information on native speaker use of language in learners' target communication situation
Method of collection Standardized forms/tests Observation	Standardized forms Observation, interviews and surveys	Language analysis Surveys of learners' patterns of language use
Purpose So learners can be placed in groups of homogeneous language proficiency So teachers can plan language content relevant to learners' proficiency level	So learners' individual characteristics as learners can be given due consideration So learners can be helped to become self-directing by being involved in decision making about their learning	So that learners will be presented with language data relevant to their communication goals So motivation will be enhanced by relativeness of language content

A major purpose for conducting needs analysis is to categorize and group learners. This grouping process facilitates the specification of content and learning procedures.

Goal and objective setting are important tasks in most educational contexts, because they provide a rationale for selecting and integrating pedagogical tasks, as well as providing a point of reference for the decision-making process.

An interesting set of specifications was developed in Australia by Scarino et al. (1988). Called the Australian Language Levels (ALL) guidelines, these specifications were intended to be general enough to help material writers and teachers working in a range of second and foreign languages. The ALL guidelines take as their point of departure a number of broad goals that are refined into specific goals, as shown in *Table 5* (Source: Scarino et al. 1988).

Table 5. Communication and learning-how-to-learn goals.

Broad goal	Specific goals
Communication By participating in activities organized around use of the target language, learners will acquire communication skills in the target language, in order that they may widen their networks of interpersonal relations, have direct access to information and use their language skills for study, vocational and leisure-based purposes	To be able to use the target language to: - establish and maintain relationships and discuss topics of interest (e.g., through exchange of information, ideas, opinions, attitudes, feelings, experiences, plans); - participate in social interaction related to solving a problem, making arrangements, making decisions with others, and transacting to obtain goods, services, and public information; - obtain information by searching for specific details in a spoken or written text and then process and use information obtained; - obtain information by listening to or reading a spoken or written text as a whole, and then process and use the information obtained; - give information in spoken or written form (e.g., give a talk, write an essay or a set of instructions); - listen to, read or view, and respond personally to a stimulus (e.g., a story, play film, song, poem, picture, play).
Learning-how-to-learn Learners will be able to take a growing responsibility for the management of their own learning so that they learn how to learn, and how to learn a language	To develop: - cognitive processing skills (to enable them to understand values, attitudes and feelings to process information, and to think and respond creatively); - learning-how-to-learn skills; - communication strategies (to enable them to sustain communication in the target language).

Most curriculum documents based on a goal and objective approach contain a limited number of goals that provide a basis for the development of objectives. Formal performance objectives specify what learners should be able to do as a result of instruction. Formal objectives should contain a performance, conditions and standards.

The content within communicative methodology

The communicative curriculum will adopt criteria for the selection and organization of the content which will be subject to, and defined by, communicative learning and teaching. The content of any curriculum can be selected and organized on the basis of some adopted criteria, which will influence five basic aspects of content: its focus, its sequence, its subdivision, its continuity, and its direction (or routing).

The content within communicative methodology is likely to focus upon knowledge – both cognitive and affective – which is personally significant to the learner. Such knowledge would be placed in an interpersonal context which can motivate personal and joint negotiation through the provision of authentic and problem-posing texts. If content is to be sensitive to the process of learning and to the interpersonal concerns of the group, it needs to reflect and support the integration of language with other forms of human experience and behaviour.

Traditionally, content has been subdivided into serialized categories of structures or 'functions'. Content would be subdivided in terms of activities and tasks to be undertaken, wherein both knowledge and abilities would be engaged in the learners' communication and metacommunication.

Within a communicative methodology, continuity can be identified within four areas. First, continuity can reside in the activities and the tasks within each activity; and from one activity to another. Second, continuity potentially resides within communicative acts during the learning and teaching. Third, continuity is provided through the ideational system. At the macro level the learner may have access to continuity of theme, while at the micro level – to conceptual or notional continuity. Fourth, continuity can reside within a skill repertoire or a cycle of skill-use during an activity. A communicative methodology would exploit each of these areas of continuity as clusters of potential continuities, rather than exploit any one alone. These kinds of continuity offer two important advantages. They can serve the full process competences of learners – knowledge systems and abilities – and they can allow differentiation.

Evaluation of the curriculum process

The communicative curriculum insists that evaluation is a highly significant part of communicative interaction itself. We judge "grammaticality", "appropriateness", "intelligibility", and "coherence" in communicative performance on the basis of shared, negotiated, and changing conventions.

A genuinely communicative use of evaluation will lead towards an emphasis on formative or ongoing evaluation, rather than summative or end-of-course evaluation which may be based on some prescribed criteria.

Therefore, the essential characteristics of evaluation within a communicative curriculum would be that such evaluation is itself incorporated within the communicative process of teaching and learning, that it serves the dual role of evaluating learner progress and the ongoing curriculum, and that it is likely to be formative in the achievement of dual role.

Conclusions

Communicative curricula need – through time and according to situation – to be open and subject to ongoing developments in theory, research, and practical classroom experience. Communicative curricula are essentially the means of capturing variability. Variability will exist in selected purposes, methods, and evaluation procedures, but variability must also be seen as inherent in human communication and in the ways it is variously achieved by different learners and teachers. The classroom – its social-psychological reality, its procedures and activities – is potentially a communicative environment where the effort to pull together such variability is undertaken. The learning-teaching process in the classroom is the meeting-point of all curriculum components and it is the place where their coherence is continually tested. The learning-teaching process in the classroom is also the catalyst for the development and refinement of those minimal requirements which will underlie future curricula.

A communicative curriculum with its emphasis on the learning and teaching of communication highlights a communicative process whereby the interrelating curriculum components are themselves open to negotiation and change.

Traditionally, learners have been expected to follow the direction implicit in some prescribed content. A communicative methodology would not exploit content as some pre-determined route with specific entry and exit points. In this case, content ceases to become some external control over learning-teaching procedures. Choosing directions becomes a part of the curriculum itself, and involves negotiation between learners and teachers, and learners and text.

A communicative methodology will exploit the classroom as a resource with its own communicative potential. The classroom is only one resource in language teaching, but it is also the meeting-place of all other resources – learners, teachers, and texts. Each of these has sufficiently heterogeneous characteristics to make classroom-based negotiation a necessary undertaking. The authenticity of the classroom lies in its dual role of observatory and laboratory during a communicative learning-teaching process.

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Mateusz SZAL

University of Rzeszow
mateusz_szal@interia.pl

TRANSLATING CULTURAL ELEMENTS IN SPECIALISED TEXTS

Abstract: The aim of this paper is to discuss the occurrence of cultural elements in specialised texts, taking into consideration the translation perspective. It is argued that texts, as the transmitters of messages, include both subject-relevant data as well as implicit cultural elements. Consequently, cultural elements are present on all linguistic levels (morphological, lexical, syntactical, pragmatic etc), and specialised texts are no exception to this. Interestingly, culturally based conventions of text construction may even comprise a major translation problem in scientific communication. Detecting cultural elements in texts is, therefore, decisive for translation. In order to illustrate all the previously mentioned issues, relevant examples have been provided.

Key words: translation studies, culture, special languages, specialised texts.

Introduction

Cultural elements are a background of knowledge which is generally relevant for adequate communication within a society; Goodenough (1964: 36) defines culture in the following manner

Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning: knowledge, in a most general, if relative, sense of the term. By this definition, we should note that culture is not a material phenomenon; it does not consist of things, people, behaviour, or emotions. It is rather an organization of these things. It is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relating, and otherwise interpreting them.

Cultural embedding, viewed as the background of human communication and cultural embedding, is also important for the understanding and translation of technical and scientific texts. Cultural elements in texts are present at all the linguistic levels – ranging from specific concepts and word forms, single sentences and text structure to pragmatic context. Technical translation, as well as research into language for specific purposes (LSP), has long been regarded as a field of the exact sciences, and the idea of a cultural embedding of scientific and technical texts has been dismissed from the theoretical analysis. Translating technical and scientific texts in the professional environment is, however, something more than handling terminology. Any message within a technical or scientific discourse contains both subject-relevant data and some implicit references to the cultural background of the speaker. Thus, the elements of cultural embedding will be present in specialised texts, and culturally based conventions of text construction may even comprise a major translation problem in scientific communication. The key questions seem to be: what are the cultural elements and how are they used in texts? These issues are crucial in translation because a translator from a different culture may not be able to adequately render the implicit cultural traces. In translation one often finds more or less adequate modulations or adaptations resulting in 'cultural shifts', and a translation where foreign elements are not adapted will appear as an *overt translation* (House 1997:29). This is, however, inadequate in technical translation since its purpose is to transfer scientific information across the language border.

Cultural embedding in terminological concepts

In technical translation terminology must be checked conscientiously. It goes without saying that no cultural differences are prevalent in internationally standardised terminology, e.g. words listed in the relevant databases with the mark *CE*, *DIN* or *ISO*. This type of terminology, however, is very much in the minority. Understanding the terminology, which is essential for the adequate translation, is not fully guaranteed by consulting dictionaries and databases as new terms, carrying inherent conceptual differences, are constantly being created. Schmitt (1999:228) presents some impressive examples of an inter-cultural incongruence of concepts, where comparable terms are not equivalent due to the fact that the concepts they designate are different for cultural reasons. There are, for instance, varying standards for steelmaking between the U.S.A. and Germany: *carbon steel* is not equivalent to *Kohlenstoffstahl* (as is indicated in many dictionaries), it is rather *Baustahl,* a less brittle type of steel. Due to climatic variations, safety and construction rules may be different in various countries, even if the terms designating the respective object are apparently the same: *Wärmepumpe* (in Germany for environment-friendly house-heating) ~ *heat pump* (for heating and/or

cooling in the U.S.). From a linguistic perspective we are faced with the so-called 'false friends'. There is also the example of apparently equivalent terms in the construction of power stations: *Druckhalter Wasserstandsmesskanal ~ pressurizer water level sensing channel,* or *integriertes Blockregelsystem~ integrated control system,* etc. Even if the basic function of the respective object is the same, e.g. in American and the German cultures, the terms are still incongruent because the objects are constructed in a different way. The problems of equivalence vary among the languages. For the joining of materials the German and the English languages have special words: *löten – to solder; schweißen – to weld.* The Italian language is, by comparison, less specific and so, for example, the word *saldare* can mean *to solder/to weld,* whereas French, another Romance language, uses the terms *brasage/brasure – to solder* and *soudage/soudure – to weld*, which are occasionally even used interchangeably.

In some cases, new technical terms are created by means of metaphorical terminology referring to similarities in the function, form, or position of an object. But even if the concrete form of an object might lead to a similar cognitive concept in various cultures, this is not necessarily always the case (Stolze 2009:129). Problems in translation can arise when the metaphors are not identical between languages and translators are not aware of this fact. Consider the following examples (of English, German and Polish terms):

male plug/male connector – Steckerstift – wtyczka
head light – Scheinwerfer – światło główne
female mould – Negativform – forma wklęsła
cable sleeve – Kabelmuffe – mufa kablowa
sleeve – Buchse – tuleja
rotor blade – Rotorblatt – łopata wirnika

Other examples (of English and German terms) are provided by Schmitt (1999:238) who mentions different legislation, production methods, varying measuring methods, the specific climate and semantic prototypes, e.g. a 'hammer' that actually has various concrete forms and names (*ball peen hammer – Schlosserhammer, cross peen hammer – Klauenhammer*). This problem can often be solved with the help of a dictionary, but the translators need to be aware of the issue. They will have to be critical and possess the relevant knowledge in order to be able to select the right expressions.

In addition to this variation, there is the basic difference of terminological conceptualisation in the sciences and in the humanities (Stolze 2003:201) that will also be present in the texts. In the natural sciences terminology is based on exact definitions and includes methodical deduction. Every term has its place within a hierarchical system, but it is not always totally free of cultural differences in the

concepts (as shown). In the humanities, in turn, there is an academic convention and interpretation of concepts to be agreed among scholars. Recognition of the relevant terminology and its distinction from general language forms is important in order to prevent naive understanding of a specialist text.

Cultural embedding in the linguistic form

Terminology in the form of nouns and adjectives, combined with a few tenses, is a characteristic feature of the functional style of communication for specific purposes. There are, however, langue-specific forms of word compounding, to be recognised and applied in technical translation. English and German terms are mostly construed by a combination of several nouns, or of an adjective with a noun, in a similar sequence. In Romance languages in turn the word compounding goes in the reverse order and is realised by particles. The following examples (Stolze 2009:132) illustrate these issues:

E 1-2-3-4: brake failure warning lamp
G 1-2-3-4: Bremsstörungskontrolllampe
F 4-3-2-1: témoin détecteur d'incident de frein
I 4-3-2-1: lampada pilota di disturbo del freno
P 4-3-2-1: lâmpada de controle de folha de freio

In a geographical text, for instance, one may encounter the term *undersea basaltic volcanoes* and translate it into German, according to the standard (Stolze 1999:68), with *unterseeische Basaltvulkane,* as more than three parts are unusual, especially for popular texts. However, there are many other solutions possible idiomatically, but not technically:

— *unterseeische basaltische Vulkane* (adjective, not a technical expression)
— *unterseeische Vulkane aus Basalt/des Basalts* (unnecessary explicitation)
— *basaltische unterseeische Vulkane* (focus reversed)
— *basaltische Unterwasservulkane* (unclear)
— *Basaltvulkane unter dem Wasser* (lack of precision)
— *basaltische Vulkane unter Wasser* (unclear)
— *Unterwasservulkane aus Basalt* (general language)
— *unter Wasser liegende Vulkane aus Basalt* (literary).

In the case of analytical languages, such as English, the occurrence of multi-element compounds may be quite ambiguous for a translator due to several possible ways of their interpretation. Consider the following examples:

— *directly controlled pressure relief valve*
— *maximum power point tracking control system*
— *permanent magnet synchronous generator back-to back converter*
— *double fed synchronous generator current dynamics decoupling and linearization*

Due to the language economy the use of this linguistic concentration is developing fast in many European languages. Linguistic differences based on culture are not limited to the word level but they also include syntactic structures.

Cultural elements on syntactic level

Syntactic forms concern the way in which the elements in a sentence are connected idiomatically. Whereas languages in literature demonstrate a wide variety of creative linguistic forms, technical communication applies a purposeful reduction of stylistic forms where the content-oriented nature of technical communication means that short sentences, a linear theme-rheme organisation and a dense syntactic compression are prevalent. There are, however, differences between languages, beyond the technical and scientific writing styles. If the target language structure is different, the translator needs to apply shifts in order to enhance intelligibility. This also concerns the use of discourse markers, which is different in the languages and where interference between two languages in translation may cause less idiomatic formulations (Olohan & Baker 2000:142). For example, the contrastive English-German discourse analyses, made by House, suggest that German speakers and writers tend to present information syntactically in a more explicit manner than their English counterparts. Therefore, according to House, a tendency to explicate, in the case of English to German translators, would simply be a reflection of German communicative preferences. These phenomena are cultural aspects because they are inherent to the idiomatic usage of language, and this should not be omitted in technical communication.

Cultural elements within the text structure

The culture-specific use of language is connected with the communicative situation, and frequently recurring situations lead to the creation of distinctive text types. A fixed structure of texts reinforces intelligibility for the communication partners within their culture. Linguistic research has grouped text types into various text genres, both for literary (Werlich 1975:71) and for specialist communication (Göpferich 1995). The text structure as a reflection of cultural norms is most clearly

noticeable in texts which are totally standardised for their situation rooted in a culture, i.e. medical certificates, tax declarations, weather reports, school certificates and employment references, court sentences, balance sheets bills, business letters, obituaries, menus, cooking recipes, crossword puzzles, tourist information, etc. Such texts are standardised together within their cultural background, and a possible translation may either concentrate on a literal and formal representation or on a target-specific transformation, depending on the purpose. For example, court sentences in Germany begin with the substance of the judgement in a sentence followed by a statement of facts and the presentation of the reasons for the decision, quasi as a justification of the sentence. Court sentences in France show first the statement of facts followed by the reasons for the decision based on a list of relevant articles from the code, which finally ends with the substance of the sentence. In Italy, the court sentences begin with a presentation of the lawyer's conclusions, a description of the instruction proceedings, and the reasons for the decision, the whole ending in the substance of the judgment. In British or American court sentences one may find the accumulation of relative sentences as a typical feature of this text genre. Informative text types on a higher level – possibly with an international perspective – such as user manuals, patent specifications, scientific papers, monographs, articles of law, sales contracts, among others, are based as a text type on a specific communicative situation, and they focus in their content on a specific technical object, and still there are traces of culture left in such texts which have not yet been standardised on an international level (Stolze 2009:132). Texts as language usage within a cultural situation are never a mere response to external conditions or technical objects but, rather, a result of individual language usage. Cultural aspects are mainly visible in the global text structure. It is not always easy to distinguish between cultural embedding and the structures characteristic of a text type. One may note, however, that macrostructures of texts may be culturally different, even if their extra-lingual function as such is comparable. There seem to be culturally different styles of writing, but the importance of cultural styles in academic presentations is often underestimated by academics when presenting abroad. This aspect is relevant for translating such articles as it may even be necessary to rewrite an article in a 'shape' which is preferred in the target culture.

Cultural elements on pragmatic level

Due to the fact that pragmatics refers to senders and receivers of a text message it is also part of the text itself. It is in this respect that we find traces of the cultural background which is mentioned implicitly. There are different procedures for organising social life, especially with regard to law. This is reflected, for example, in legal texts and personal documents. Different legal structures can also have an impact on the text level and in the case of an unwitting translator, with insufficient

background knowledge, this may lead to an inadequate translation that is hardly comprehensible. Cultural differences include different concepts of politeness, stereotypes of foreign people, and special images of a society in another area. Such features tend to reflect on the text level and any literal translation will sound strange in the target culture.

Intercultural differences may also cause problems in business relations when the corresponding texts contain hidden information. Whereas Americans and Europeans follow the norms of clear, direct expression, there are other cultures favouring indirect expression in order not to be impolite or offend their partners, even if they communicate in the English language (Hall 1976:98). Scientific language is a group language, a sociolect. Pragmatic aspects of user preferences may be observed in translation. The translator will have to have a clear knowledge of the cultural specificities and explain them in the translation. There are various possibilities for compensating cultural incongruence between texts: paraphrasing, explication, adaptation, and modification (Stolze 1999:225).

Cultural elements in technical texts – translator's approach

We have discussed various aspects of cultural diversity as they appear in texts. Each and every text as an individual entity is different, and the translator needs a factual, relevant and procedural knowledge base to recognise its characteristics. The translator as a person (and not a machine) needs points of orientation to become sensitive to the content of a text, and at the same time to activate the given knowledge base. When they become aware of a lack of technical knowledge, they will start research activities, analyse parallel texts, ask specialists, or search the Internet. The awareness, however, must first be created and like in the case of finding one's way in an unknown territory, the translator will use a cognitive map for guidance. One may observe some points of orientation, going from macroscopic to microscopic structures. Any linguistic feature has a specific relationship to the text as a whole and it may have a different meaning within a different proposition. Therefore the mere description of linguistic forms indicating cultural aspects such as: standard formulae, strange positions, specific word compounds, unusual expressions, is not sufficient. One also has to determine the 'right culture' which is relevant as the cognitive environment for the text determines the value of the individual structural elements. One will have to first grasp the text's message as a whole, and only later analyse the details with reference to the text's embedding. The orientation in such a holistic approach to texts may be assisted by some 'categories of attention' which are presented in the following table (Stolze 2003):

Translator's reading		*Specialist communication*
Understanding	Cultural context	Epoch of text, sphere of sciences or humanities with state of development
	Discourse field	Special domain and discipline, level of communication (expert/laymen), text type
	Conceptual world	Terminological conceptualisation (definition vs. convention), sector of special discipline
	Predicative mode	Sort of information presentation, speech acts, sentence structure, formulaic language, use of footnotes
Translation writing		*Language for specific purposes*
Formulating	Medium	Form of publication, layout, illustration, space available, structural markers, script fonts
	Stylistics	Functional style, phraseology, standard text blocks, passive voice, directives, controlled language
	Coherence	Equivalence of scientific terminology, specification of scholarly concepts, technical word compounding
	Function	Macrostructure, parallel text types, addressees' expectation, intelligibility

Based on the hermeneutic philosophy of language, Stolze presents the translator's holistic approach to texts. The idea expressed there is that translators begin their work with a global view of the text for translation, rather than with a text analysis focusing on syntactic structures which seem difficult to translate. The translator's approach, a vertical treatment of the text as a whole, is in practice opposed to the sequential text analysis. The global approach is applied in a similar manner in dealing with literary and with technical texts. The above categories for specialist communication are in a somewhat different manner also valid for the translation of literature (Stolze 2003:244) where the knowledge base is more general and language allows for more creative solutions.

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Magdalena TRINDER

University of Rzeszow
magda.trinder@gmail.com

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEARNING STYLES AND ACHIEVEMENT IN RECEPTIVE SKILLS

Abstract: Research into Second Language Acquisition has long focussed on the language produced by the learners at varying stages of the process, using this data as a basis for the production of hypothetical models as to how the process works. There has, however, been very little in the way of persuasive quantitative research to back up the claims made by the multitude of academics who have sought to explain how language acquisition works. As a result, the author of the present paper was inspired to investigate the correlation between learning style and achievement in receptive skills in order to ascertain whether such a link existed or not. The paper describes a limited scale research project conducted on a group of university students in the first year of their part-time studies, before going on to a discussion of the results, which indicate that any such link is tentative at best.

***Key words*:** Second Language Acquisition, learning style, receptive skills, quantitative research.

Introduction

In his story of the barking mouse, Antonio Sacre provides a curious modern-day parable on the value of knowing more than one language. Indeed, the modern world's obsession with learning languages knows no bounds as it is estimated by UNESCO that in excess of three billion people speak more than one language. However, the state of research into Second Language Acquisition remains at the stage of theoretical discussion and qualitative research. This is, in the main, because it is far easier to focus on producing a list of the hypothetical factors which influence the language acquisition process than it is to investigate quantitatively to what extent these factors actually do have some influence. The problem here is that it is very difficult to analyse the factors in isolation as they tend to operate in conjunction.

It is this paucity of quantitative research which inspired the author to embark upon her doctoral research into how gender influences SLA, and the paper which follows has been borne out of that wider research project. Much is made in modern didactics of the individual learning style of the students, and to what extent this influences the success or failure of the learning process, and it is this aspect of SLA which will present the main focus of what follows. It is intended here to demonstrate that learning styles are individual, but that it is impossible to say that somebody who has a specific learning style will be better at a particular subject. As my specific area of research concerns SLA, then I have chosen to investigate whether there is a relationship between learning style and achievement in the receptive skills, which are commonly used in any measurement of language proficiency. The first part of the paper is intended to discuss the theoretical background which gives rise to the assumptions upon which this research is based. Then a brief description of the methodological approach will follow, before a final discussion of the results will lead us to the conclusion that there is no noticeable correlation between the style of learner and their achievement in a given area of language learning.

A brief overview of the place of Learning Styles in SLA research

When examining the state of research into SLA, an interesting observation has been made in Mitchell et al. (2013) who state that [*W]hile methods and theories have become more diverse and sophisticated, the SLA research agenda continues to focus on a number of fundamental issues carried forward from the 1970s [...]*. So, it makes sense to begin our analysis with a brief overview of the evolution of the research into learning styles. Second Language Acquisition evolved from the linguistic backlash to the domination of *behaviourist* theories of first language acquisition in the 1960s. The key proponent of behaviourism, Skinner (1957), declared that learning was the direct result of environmental influences, building his theory on the basic premise of stimulus and response first propounded by Pavlov (after Skinner 1957). Noam Chomsky was the most notable critic of the behaviourist school, basing his severe misgivings on the complete lack of evidence for conditioning, and the fact that this model failed to take into account such things as child creativity. Noam Chomsky, one of the most vocal and prominent critics of Skinner, sought an internal explanation to the question of how language works. He saw humans as possessing an innate language faculty which distinguishes language from other cognitive systems. This faculty was termed Universal Grammar, and was seen as providing a perfect explanation to questions such as how a child is able to overcome the problem of poverty of stimulus, by which it is assumed that the input a child receives is quite insufficient for them to form a comprehensive overview and understanding of a language system.

This debate was primarily concerned with the general question of language

learning, and it was not until the publication of Pit Corder's (1976) essay on what could be learnt from typical errors made by language learners that attention was refocused on the acquisition of second languages. Along with Larry Selinker (1972), the two sought to distance research in SLA from any form of behaviourist theory, and redirect attention to the internal processes which govern the learning of a second language. A great leap forward was taken in 1981 when Stephen Krashen published *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning*, which was to prove the basis for his influential Input Hypothesis. From this point forwards, the volume of research into SLA accelerated exponentially to form an avalanche of theories and ideas. It is in this context that Peter Skehan's book, *Individual Differences in Second Language Acquisition*, was released in 1989. In this work, he begins by lamenting the overwhelming tendency of researchers in the 1980s to focus on the creation of a bigger picture to encompass everything; indeed, he states on the first page that *[I]t is striking, however, that the main thrust of this research has been towards establishing how learners are similar, and what processes of learning are universal* (Skehan 1989:1). As the title suggests, Skehan is far more interested in an examination of how learners differ, and what effect these differences might be said to have on the efficiency of the process of SLA. His work concentrates on four main areas of potential difference: aptitude, motivation, learning strategies and additional cognitive and affective influences (Skehan 1989).

It is the last of these differences which are of greatest interest to the present paper as they include the broad area of learner styles, which will be the focus of the next part of the discussion. To clarify the taxonomy here, it is necessary to differentiate between two commonly used terms: *learning style* and *cognitive style*. For current purposes the definition forwarded by Dornyei and Skehan (2003) will be used here whereby the former refers, in a general sense, to the way in which an individual approaches the task of approaching, processing and storing new information. The latter, as stated by Hummel (2014:208), *is generally defined as a predisposition to process information in a characteristic manner, and is generally restricted to individual preferences in the processing of information.* Given the fact that the majority of research into the correlation between cognitive style and SLA investigates *Field Independence* and *Field Dependence*, and that recently these theories have been subject to serious scepticism,[1] it is the intention of the author to focus on individual learning styles. Again, there had been little in the way of quantitative research into the full relationship between learner styles and SLA, and even if there were a wealth of material, it would be impossible to start a discussion of this subject without reference to the pioneer of research into learner styles: David Kolb.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s Kolb developed the notion that learning was

[1] For a full discussion of the nature of Field Independence and SLA, see Chapelle and Green (1992), among others.

an experiential process, which evolved into his renowned *Experiential Learning Model* which had four stages running from experience, through observation and reflection to the formation of abstract concepts before finally testing the newly formed thesis. He used this basic structure to develop the Learning Style Inventory, which indicates that there are two basic learning preferences: *concrete experience* (CE) or *abstract conceptualisation* (AC), and *active experimentation* (AE) or *reflective observation* (RO). The combination of these two pairs gives a total of four distinct learner styles which Kolb labels: *divergent* (CE/RO), *assimilative* (RO/AC), *convergent* (AC/AE) and *accommodative* (AE/CE). The theory then goes on to explain that each learner will devote more time and feel more comfortable at one of the aforementioned stages of the learning cycle.[2]

However, as Dörnyei (2010) points out *[...] the four types are the 'pure' and extreme cases, whereas people typically display some sort of a combination of these,* meaning that it is necessary to understand that this test is more of an instrument for the measurement of learning style, rather than a character reference.

Building on the traditions of Kolb, Peter Honey and Alan Mumford, working in the commercial sector, developed in the early 1980s the Manual of Learning Styles which was intended to aid business managers in developing personal development plans to achieve optimal results. The accompanying questionnaire consists of 80 statements which the respondent is required to indicate whether they agree or disagree. The results give an indication of the preferences of the participant, giving four possible results: *activists*, who engage in new experiences; *reflectors*, who wish to observe new experiences and cognitively process what they are witnessing; *theorists*, who are more adept and inclined to create models and cogent theories; and *pragmatists*, who are keen to implement new ideas in order to test out new theories.[3]

These theories investigate the general notion of individual learner styles, but are in no way directed towards SLA. Hummel (2014) discusses two such attempts, the first of which took place in Australia in 1988 when Willing investigated migrants learning English. He developed four distinct styles remarkably reflective of Kolb, and then went on to marry them up to four learning strategies. In a very different way, Reid investigated the perceptual learning styles, and in 1987 put forward the Perceptual Learning Style Preference Questionnaire which sought to help the learner identify whether they are visual, auditory, kinesthetic, tactile, group or individual learners. Follow-up studies by a variety of researchers have failed to draw conclusions as to, one way or another, the reliability of Reid's conclusions. In another twist, it has been stated on more than one occasion that perceptive styles do not work in isolation and the learning process relies on all the sense of the learner at various stages. A good exemplification of this can be found in the work

[2] The information pertaining to Kolb has been taken in part from the work of Honey and Mumford (2009), and also Hummel (2014).

[3] For a full explanation of these learner styles, see Honey and Mumford (2009:9-10).

of Edgar Dale and his theoretical *Cone of Learning*, which indicates quite clearly that a combination of sensory input in the learning process is far more effective than isolated input which is restricted to just one sense.[4]

To conclude this section, one could do worse than turn to Ellis (2008:672), who questions the current state of research into learner styles with the rather caustic observation that:

[...] One of the major problems is that the concept of "learning style" is ill-defined, apparently overlapping with other individual differences of both an affective and cognitive nature. It is unlikely that much progress will be made until researchers know what it is they want to measure. [...]

As previously mentioned, the study which follows is part of a wider investigation into the potential influence of gender on SLA, and it is intended here to see, on a preliminary basis, if there is any tangible link between learning style and achievement. As the theoretical literature is both contrasting and inconclusive, it seems that further investigation is worthwhile.

Research methodology

We shall now turn our attention to a description of the actual case study, describing the subjects of the experiment and the methodology before finally engaging in an analysis of the results collected.

The first essential question from the perspective of the credibility of any research project or case study pertains to the subject matter, as there should be absolutely no element of arbitrariness or so-called 'incidental factors'. For any research to be reliable it is essential to ensure that all potential factors that might influence the results of the data collected have been taken into consideration so that they might be factored in to a discussion of the results, and their potential influence on any conclusions may also be considered.

In this specific case, the choice of groups of learners was primarily dictated by the areas that were to be investigated within the realms of the doctoral research, especially the question of learner style[5] and personality. Because of the specific and detailed nature of the various questionnaires that were used, it was considered of paramount importance that the participants in the study have a certain level of maturity and self-awareness. This precluded any groups of young learners and

[4] For a full explanation of Dale's learning theories, see Dale (1969).

[5] The learner Style Questionnaire used in this study is that prepared by Honey and Mumford (2009) and is based on 80 in-depth questions designed to promote self-awareness of one of four main learning styles. For a full discussion of this matter, see Honey and Mumford (2009).

infants as it was deemed that they would require a completely different method of analysis. As a result, two groups were chosen from those available, based at the University of Rzeszow the first year of their Bachelor studies.

When examining the students, there is a low degree of homogeneity as they come from a variety of backgrounds. There are a total of nineteen students, of which there are six males and thirteen females divided into two groups. They also present great diversity in terms of their age (the youngest participant is aged 20, with the oldest being 45), and social background (ranging from working class to upper-middle class). Their motivation is also quite diverse as they attend for a variety of reasons ranging from a passion for the language, through the need to extend their qualifications for work purposes through to the fact that they have nothing else to study and this appeared to be the most useful subject that they had the possibility to enrol for. As part-time students, however, it may be assumed that as they have to pay a regular contribution to their tuition fees, they are not completely disinterested in the subject, and they are in attendance without duress – a fact which may not be true of younger learners in a private language school, who often attend as the result of direct parental pressure. Given the entry level requirements of Polish Institutions of Higher Education, the minimum level of competence is B2, but this does not guarantee a complete level of uniformity as some of the learners are level C1. However, their level of maturity and life experience means that they present a reliable sample in terms of the Learner Styles Questionnaire, which is the main focus of this study.[6]

The groups were subject to analysis over the course of an entire academic year, with their results in all reading and listening exercises being recorded with the use of an Audience Response System (ARS).[7] The ARS was used primarily because of the fact that it presents an excellent way of collecting and collating a mass of data for analysis. Additionally, there are a number of benefits of a pedagogical nature, such as its provision of instant feedback, which were of interest so as not to turn ordinary lessons into a show connected with research. Finally, this unobtrusiveness was considered essential in generating genuine responses to the questionnaires pertaining to learning styles and personality.

The questionnaire pertaining to learning style was introduced in the first lesson of the course, so that it came across to the students as being an integral part of needs analysis. The questions were given on paper while the students used their response cards in order to register their answers. The results were stored and analysed, giving an indication not of a specific and concrete learning style, but rather a general learning preference, the results of which will be analysed below, along with a correlation to their achievement in the two receptive skills, reading and listening.

[6] The information contained in this section was obtained from an introductory questionnaire handed out in order to find out detailed information for research purposes.

[7] An Audience Response System is an electronic data collection platform, in which each student has a response card which they use to send their answers to questions to a PC or Laptop, which stores and collates the data, allowing for instant feedback. For more on this subject, see Hall et al. (2005).

Results of the study

In this part of the paper, we shall examine the results of the questionnaire and the student performance across the academic year in their reading and listening exercises. Of the students, 9 of the respondents demonstrated a very strong preference for the Activist learning style. Of those 9, one indicated a very strong preference for both the Reflector and Theorist learning style too, while three indicated a very strong inclination towards the Pragmatist style as well. There are a total of four students with a preference for the Reflector style, of whom one was the aforementioned participant with multi-preferences, whilst one also had a very strong preference for the Theorist Style, and one for the Pragmatist. Three students are very strongly inclined towards the Theorist style, with two previously mentioned, and one who has a unique leaning towards this style. Finally, in terms of very strong preferences, there were a total of five Pragmatists, including four mentioned above plus one who is uniquely inclined towards this style.

The remaining three had no very strong preference for any of the styles. However, where one examines the strong preferences of these students, it is possible to observe that one has a strong preference for both Activist and Pragmatist style, while one has a strong preference for the Reflector style and one for the Theorist style.

Moving on to the results obtained from the on-going investigation into achievement in reading and listening, the first point is to demonstrate an analysis of average score over the course of the academic year. Below, the results of the nineteen students are visualised in a scatter graph, in which the mean percentage obtained in reading is set against the mean percentage in listening in order to give a general idea of the overall competence of each participant.

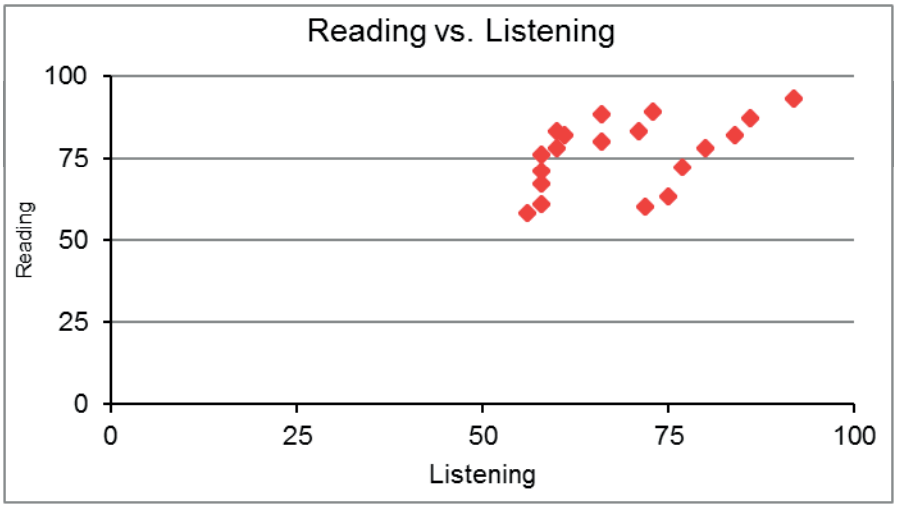

Figure 1. A graph depicting the correlation between reading and listening achievement.

What can be seen from the above is that there are two apparently distinct groups, the first of which seems to have a higher level of achievement in both reading and listening, with a proportional decline in both reading and listening score. In this group the listening score is equal to, or in excess of the reading score for all of the participants, and is visible in the above chart as the group slightly to the left. The second distinct group has a cluster of higher scores for reading than listening, then a sharp decline in reading performance but still the average remains higher than the listening until the final participant, who has scores of below 60% in both reading and listening. The conclusion that this limited survey would tend to indicate is that there exists two distinct clusters within the data set, where one group has a higher mean score in reading, and the other has a higher mean score in listening. What is interesting is that in both groups, the descent in mean score of the higher result seems to be related to a similar descent in the weaker area. In addition, a brief analysis of the Pearson Correlation Coefficient to ascertain if there is any mathematical link between the two sets of data gives a result of 0.464, which indicates that both sets of data have a tendency to change in the same direction, in this case, to increase proportionally.

This leads us on to the next question of what, if any, relationship there may be between the data pertaining to achievement and the learner style of the individual participants. Here, the picture is much more occluded, in the sense that an initial glance appears to shed no light at all on the subject, with an apparent random mixture of learner styles prominent throughout the sample. However, when we examine the learner style of the five individuals who have the highest average listening scores, we begin to see a pattern of sorts emerging from the gloom: of these five, four have either strong or very strong activist preferences, while the student who has a low activist tendency has a strong preference for the pragmatist style (which is incidentally the twin for the activist). Conversely, in this small group there is only one student with a strong preference for the theorist style and one very strong reflector (who is also an activist).

This is encouraging, up to the moment we then analyse the cluster off to the right, which includes the five students who have a mean listening score of below 60%, and declining reading score. Four of them have a very strong activist tendency while the other student has no very strong preference at all. Consequently, we are forced to look for another form of relationship. When examining the mean performance of those with a very strong tendency for any of the learning styles, there appears to be some slight reason for optimism: very strong activists have a mean listening score of just 64%, while their reading performance is a much more commendable 73%, which provides a differential of 9% (which is not insignificant). With very strong reflectors, the difference is 73% against 79%, also in favour of reading. The difference is also minimal for the pragmatists 69% against 75% also reading. Finally, the starkest contrast can be found for the theorists, who have

a paltry 66% for listening, but an impressive 84% mean for reading, indicating a clear and significant difference. When we compare these results by learning style preference to the mean for the group as a whole, we can see that the group's average listening score is 69% and reading 76%. The result here indicates that very strong theorists have a much better performance level in reading than listening when compared to the group as a whole.

Conclusions

While it is possible to go on and try to manipulate and analyse the date from a variety of viewpoints, at this moment it would appear that sufficient ground has been covered to draw some conclusions. First and foremost, there is a slight tendency for students to perform better in general at reading tasks than listening tasks. This could well be put down to the fact that reading is a one-dimensional task, in that the students have only to read questions and then read a text in order to find the answer. Conversely, listening, as a two-dimensional task, requires the student to read the questions while simultaneously focussing on the listening text which continues to play. In terms of the relationship between attainment in reading and listening, and learner style, the data is far more ambiguous. It is true to say that the corpus here is incredibly small, constituting just 19 participants, and a larger scale project over an extended period of time would produce a clearer picture one way or another. However, on the basis of the evidence presented here, it is clear that the only link between learning style and attainment is that theorists in the Honey and Mumford (2006) sense have a greater propensity towards reading than listening. This aside, there is no obvious or clear link between the two, so one feels justified (in as much as the scale of the project allows) in tending towards those researchers in Second Language Acquisition who say that learning style is a personal way of processing and retaining new material that develops as we do, and has no real impact on success or failure in a given subject when taken in isolation.

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Milada WALKOVÁ

Technical University of Košice
mwalkova@yahoo.com

DO ENGLISH ASPECTUAL PARTICLES MARK TELICITY?[1]

Abstract: English aspectual particles in phrasal verbs have been since Brinton (1985) commonly treated as markers of telicity, i.e. markers of an inherent endpoint of events, e.g. *eat* (atelic) – *eat up* (telic). The present paper tests this assumption on 100 aspectual phrasal verbs with ten different particles. Minimal pairs of sentences with and without particles have been created and tested by two of Dowty's (1979) aspectual tests. For these tests acceptability judgments have been elicited from native speakers. The paper points out methodological problems which should be taken into consideration in any study that relies on eliciting acceptability judgments. Most importantly, the results of the present study suggest, contra what is standardly assumed, that aspectual particles are not primarily markers of telicity. Instead, particles contribute other aspectual and non-aspectual meanings.

Key words: phrasal verbs, particles, telicity, acceptability judgments

Introduction

English aspectual phrasal verbs, e.g. *walk on, drink up, sleep away, read (a book) through*, are multi-word verbs composed of a verb root and a particle contributing an aspectual meaning. According to Brinton (1985), aspectual particles mark telicity on the verb root, e.g. *eat* (atelic) – *eat up* (telic). Telicity is the aspectual notion of an inherent endpoint or goal beyond which the event cannot

[1] The research presented in this paper was carried out during my stay at the University of Groningen. I thank Angeliek van Hout and Jack Hoeksema for their comments and suggestions on earlier versions of the paper. I would also like to express my gratitude to the respondents of the surveys reported on in the paper for their time and willingness to judge the sentences.

continue, e.g. *walk, sing, play* (atelic) – *die, sing a song, make a chair* (telic) (e.g. Comrie 1976:45). Telic and atelic verbs differ in the ability to occur with certain words, in certain grammatical structures, and/or they differ in the entailments of such embeddings, e.g. *John walked for/*in an hour* (atelic) – *John built a house *for/in a month* (telic).[2] This property has been exploited for the development of a battery of aspectual tests by Dowty (1979).

Brinton's (1985) account has become so widely accepted that it is now the standard account of English aspectual particles, appearing in e.g. van Hout (1996; 1998), Jeschull (2003:120), Keyser and Roeper (1992:118), and Tenny (1994:150), among others. Brinton's (1985) hypothesis was tested by Giddings (2001) on particle verbs with *down* and *out*. Giddings confirms the hypothesis, yet in her discussion of the findings, she notes that the change in telicity is typically accompanied with a change in transitivity, e.g. *I hunted* (intransitive verb root; atelic) – *I hunted down the fox* (transitive particle verb; telic). Giddings does not further elaborate on how this may affect the interpretation of her findings, yet this question is not trivial, as I will now explain.

What both Brinton (1985) and Giddings (2001) fail to take into account is an important feature of telicity, namely compositionality. It has long been known in aspectual literature, see e.g. Verkuyl (1972; 1989; 2005) and Krifka (1992; 1998), that telicity is a property of the predicate rather than the verb only, determined by the verb as well as its arguments, e.g. *Kelly sang* (atelic) – *Kelly sang a song* (telic). Given the role of verb arguments in the composition of telicity, I propose that conclusions on the aspect-marking properties of particles should be drawn on the basis of a comparison of the same verb frame of a phrasal verb and a corresponding verb root, e.g. *eat an apple* (telic) – *eat up an apple* (telic).

This paper presents precisely such a comparison between minimal pairs of sentences which differ in the presence/absence of a particle. The hypothesis is the following: Aspectual particles alter telicity of the verb root. If the hypothesis holds true, then clear acceptability differences between verb roots and phrasal verbs in aspectual tests can be expected. The study tests the hypothesis on a sample of 100 aspectual phrasal verbs by running aspectual tests *complement of stop* and *complement of finish* from Dowty (1979), relying on acceptability judgments that have been elicited with surveys responded by native speakers of English. I therefore compare native speakers' acceptability judgments of aspectual tests of predicates with verb roots without particles to those of predicates with phrasal verbs.

[2] Only telic verbs are acceptable with *in*-time adverbial in its *within* meaning. In contrast, atelic verbs are acceptable with *in*-time adverbial in the ingressive reading only. This meaning, however, is ignored in this test of telicity.

Data

The data were extracted from the spoken conversation sub-corpus of The British National Corpus (BNC).[3] The study aimed to cover more than just a few particles. Starting with Darwin and Gray's (1999) list of 19 particles, I established the following criteria that a particle had to meet in order to be included in the sample for the present study:

1. The particle had to be tagged as an *adverb particle* or *adverb particle but maybe preposition* in the BNC. This criterion eliminated *aside, away, forth* and *into*.
2. The particle had to combine with enough verb roots to form at least 10 types of aspectual phrasal verbs. This criterion eliminated particles *across* (no hits), *by* (16 hits including only 5 types of phrasal verbs), and *under* (29 hits, containing not a single aspectual phrasal verb).
3. The particle had to have a clear aspectual meaning. This criterion eliminated particles *in* and *back*, which can be said to have a semi-aspectual meaning at most (cf. Cappelle 2005:433–436 for a discussion of *back*), e.g. *fill in a form, kiss a woman back*.

The study therefore includes the following ten particles:

(1) *about, along, around, down, off, on, out, over, up, through*

The search in the corpus was performed as a search for particles, tagged either as *adverb particle* or as *probably adverb particle but maybe preposition*. All instances which were not aspectual phrasal verbs were eliminated, including free combinations of verb and adverb or preposition (e.g. *I can see her down there*),[4] as well as literal (e.g. *people walked in and walked out*) and idiomatic (e.g. *I was brought up in London*) phrasal verbs. As aspectual phrasal verbs I considered compositional phrasal verbs whose particle contributes a non-directional meaning and whose verb root expresses a kind of action denoted in the whole phrasal verb (cf. Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman 1999; Giddings 2001; Jackendoff, 2002).

For each of the particles in (1), ten types (not tokens) of aspectual phrasal verbs were collected. The sample thus includes 100 aspectual phrasal verbs with 10 different particles, see *Table 1*.

[3] Data cited herein have been extracted from the British National Corpus (BNC), distributed by Oxford University Computing Services on behalf of the BNC Consortium. All rights in the texts cited are reserved.

[4] To check for the phrasal-verb-hood, I used the *where*-test from Darwin and Gray (1999).

Table 1. The list of aspectual phrasal verbs from the sample from the BNC.

PARTICLE	VERB ROOTS
ABOUT	*carry, fly, follow, lark, play, roam, swap, trundle, walk, wander*
ALONG	*bring, carry, come, drive, trot, fiddle, flow, go, take , walk*
AROUND	*carry, get, look, shop, push, rush, spread, swim, walk, wander*
DOWN	*close, come, hold, lay, lock, pass, settle, slow, trim, write*
OFF	*chop, copy, cut, finish, kill, pay, peel, sand, send, start*
ON	*chat, come, go, keep, move, pass, sally, struggle, try, walk*
OUT	*clean, clear, let, point, read, sell, send, set, start, try*
OVER	*change, check, come, cover, go, hand, join, send, swap, wipe*
THROUGH	*air, come, cut, get, hoover, leak, patch, pour* "flow", *shoot* "sprout", *take*
UP	*add, bring, come, end, grow, join, link, pack, save, use*

For each aspectual phrasal verb two sentences were created, one with and the other without a particle, e.g. *Peter closed his business down* and *Peter closed his business*.[5] Such minimal pairs make it possible to compare the aspect values of phrasal verbs and the corresponding verb roots with the same arguments. Besides the subject, further verb arguments were added as required by the phrasal verb. Some phrasal verbs required a direct object (DO) and/or a prepositional phrase (PP) complement, e.g. *write down a letter* or *hand a ring over to John*. The DOs, and where relevant subjects, were chosen in such a way that they fulfil the selectional restrictions of the phrasal verb, e.g. *eat up an apple – *eat up apples, *kill off an ant – kill off ants*. Otherwise, an argument was selected that did not induce a repetitive reading, e.g. *clear out the fireplace* instead of *clear out the fireplaces*, as such a reading can affect telicity (see e.g. Walková 2012). In the case of polysemous verb roots, the context induced a particular meaning. For example, to induce the meaning "to sprout" for *shoot (through)*, the subject *the daffodil bulb* was chosen.

All the predicates were tested using two of Dowty's (1979) tests, namely the *complement of stop* and *complement of finish* tests (from now on referred to as the *stop*-test and *finish*-test for brevity) since these result in relatively few unintended meanings (cf. Walková 2012). To prevent such unintended readings (iterative and habitual), the respondents were asked to evaluate the sentences in a way that the given event takes place only once.

For each of the 100 aspectual phrasal verbs, therefore, four sentences in total were tested – a *stop*-test sentence with a particle, e.g. (2a), and a corresponding *stop*-test sentence without a particle (2b), and two *finish*-test sentences, one with and the other without a particle (2c, d).

(2) (a) *Mary stopped writing down a letter.*
(b) *Mary stopped writing a letter.*

[5] The sample did not contain aspectual phrasal verbs which obligatorily require a direct object unselected by the verb root, e.g. *sleep (*a hangover) – sleep off *(a hangover)*.

(c) *Mary finished writing down a letter.*
(d) *Mary finished writing a letter.*

Some verb roots corresponded to more than one phrasal verb, e.g. *walk – walk about – walk around – walk along*). Such verb roots were tested once only. Therefore, the number of phrasal verbs in surveys (100) was slightly higher than the number of verb roots (84). In total, 368 sentences were tested.

The sentences were distributed over a number of surveys of varying length (60 sentences or 20 sentences, depending on the willingness of respondents; given the non-round number of tested sentences, some surveys had fewer than 20 sentences). Paired clauses did not appear in the same survey.[6] Each survey contained several different particles in phrasal verbs and each contained an (at least roughly) equal representation of both phrasal verbs and verbal roots only and an equal representation of both *stop*-test and *finish*-test sentences. The sentences were ordered randomly.

The surveys were filled out by respondents whose native language was English. They were approached in various ways – in person, through social networks (both real-life and on-line), and language fora on the internet. The surveys were distributed on-line, using the *Google Docs* service (docs.google.com), or else in person. The surveys required no personal information from the respondents beyond the variety of English they use/their country of origin. Most participants judged 20 sentences, yet some respondents judged a greater number of sentences (filling out longer surveys or several surveys). There were 128 respondents in total.

Each individual sentence was judged by 10 native speakers of English as either acceptable or not acceptable by checking either *yes*-box or *no*-box (i.e. a *yes* or *no* choice, not a Likert scale, which allowed me to keep the study manageable). In case a respondent skipped a particular sentence, this sentence was given to another respondent to judge so that there are no missing data points in the results.

Variation among respondents

The aspectual literature does little (with the exception of some notes in Tenny 1994 and Smollet 2005) to point out to what extent, or if at all, speakers vary in their judgments of the acceptability of aspectual tests. The research of this kind is commonly done by native speakers who seem to rely solely on their own judgments (e.g. Brinton 1985; Dowty 1979; Giddings 2001; Hay, Kennedy and Levin 1999; contra e.g. Keyser and Roeper 1992:f.4). Evidence that speakers vary in what they find acceptable, at least in aspectology, is largely anecdotal: some papers mention in passing that the authors' judgments differ from those of other authors or of reviewers (e.g. Beavers and Koontz-Garboden 2012:n.3; Jackendoff

[6] This means that the two sentences of a minimal pair were not judged by the same respondent.

1990:236). This gives an impression that speakers generally agree in what they find acceptable, which is not necessarily true, as has been observed by Svartvik (2005), recounting his experience that *the judgements of informant groups occurred anywhere throughout the entire range between unanimous acceptance and unanimous rejection*, and as will be demonstrated by the present study.

The respondents for the present study varied in acceptability judgments of verb roots and phrasal verbs, as shown in Figure 1 for the *stop*-test and Figure 2 for the *finish*-test. The *x*-axis is given by the ratio of *yes* and *no* answers; the *y*-axis shows the percentage of responses for each given ratio. (The responses are given in percentages so that verb roots and phrasal verbs can be easily compared: Recall that the surveys tested 100 sentences with phrasal verbs but only 84 sentences without particles.) For instance, the 0/10 column shows the percentage of sentences with a uniform judgment of being unacceptable by all 10 respondents, and the 8/2 column shows the percentage of responses judged as acceptable by 8 respondents and unacceptable by 2 respondents.

If the judgments of the respondents were largely uniform, the data would show little variation and the graphs would have a U-shape, with most answers at the extremes of the *x*-axis. This is not the case, however, for either verbs roots or phrasal verbs with either type of test. There is, though, slightly more variation in phrasal verbs than in verb roots. The data of phrasal verbs cluster around middle values (columns 2/8 – 5/5) for both tests. In contrast, verb roots have more of their data concentrated around the extreme values (columns 0/10, 1/9, 9/1, 10/0), especially with the *finish*-test.

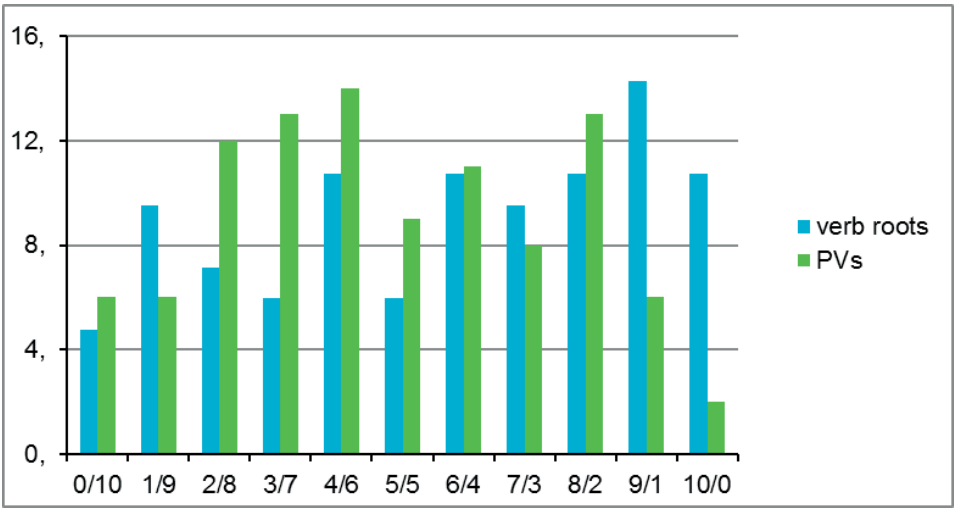

Figure 1. The percentage of responses to stop-test sentences across acceptability ratios (yes/no) for the ten responses per verb root and phrasal verb.

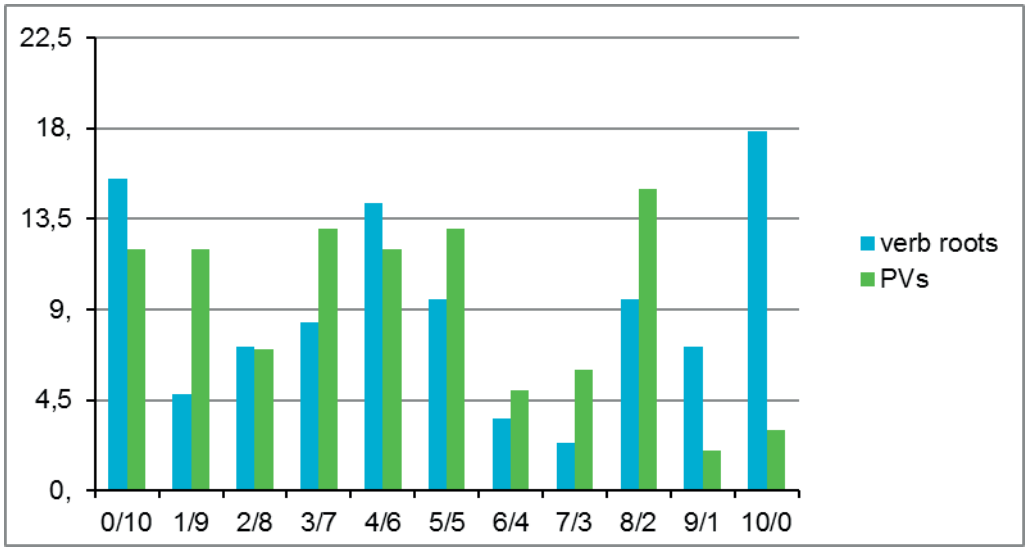

Figure 2. The percentage of responses to finish-test sentences across acceptability ratios (yes/no) for the ten responses per verb root and phrasal verb.

The surprisingly high variation in acceptability judgments raises the question what the source of the variation may be. I can offer only tentative answers and possible explanations. I assume the variation is given by a pragmatic principle such as Grice's (1975) Cooperative Principle. Put simply, language users, when confronted with discourse, try to make as much sense of it as possible and assume that it is meaningful. This principle seems to remain intact even when speakers are asked to judge the acceptability of sentences and understand that some sentences might not be acceptable. I base this assumption on the occasional comments of the respondents such as those in (3). In particular, at least some people approach the acceptability judgment task in such a way that they try to construct an extralinguistic context in which the utterance may be produced (3a, b). Only when they fail to invent such a context, do they consider the sentence unacceptable (3b). Others, though, may approach the task depending on whether the sentences may be regularly encountered (3c). In addition, the aspectual tests require that the respondent deliberately ignore unintended meanings, such as a repetitive/habitual reading (see above). For some laymen such stripping off of one of possible readings proves difficult (3d).

(3) (a) *...you might be able to say "he finished walking around", even though it sounds a little funny, if* [sic] *there is some goal associated with it. Maybe he was tired and wanted to wake up, so he walked around until he was awake.*
(b) *In my opinion they are all grammatically correct; some of them though are semantically extremely difficult to think up real case scenarios for.*

(c) *We just don't say it.*
(d) *"Mary stopped jumping" is a completely acceptable sentence. I cannot imagine anyone considering that someone would stop jumping in the middle of a jump. That is rather stupid.*

What further complicates the interpretation of the judgments is the obscurity of why sentences are rejected. When a sentence such as *Mary finished cleaning out the oven* is judged as acceptable, it can be concluded that *clean* is good with *out*, that *clean out* is good with *the oven* as well as with *finish*, and that the word order is good for this construction. If, however, the same sentence should be judged as unacceptable, it does not straightforwardly mean that *clean out* is bad with *finish*. Instead, there are alternative explanations. For instance, respondents may prefer a different word order (verb + particle + DO, or verb + DO + particle) or a different particle or a DO. Such preferences vary among speakers (e.g. Dušková et al. 1988:204; Fraser 1976:17). Consider *send out,* defined in *CPVD* as "send something to a lot of different people", e.g. *We sent out the wedding invitations about three weeks ago*. However, *send out* is also sometimes used with a singular DO, e.g. *a parcel* (4). (Note that *a parcel* is not something that can be sent to many people at the same time, unlike an email, for instance.)

(4) *If you want to send out a parcel or package, you just need to call them and they will send a representative to collect the parcel.* (Example taken from http://www.collectmyparcel.com/blog/parcel-collection-makes-things-easier/391/, accessed July 7, 2012)

The use of *send out* with a singular DO, however, is not acceptable to all speakers: My informants expressed preference for *send* or *send off*. Similar observations are found in Lindner (1983:57), according to whom variation among speakers is given by their diverse linguistic experience, resulting in overlapping but distinct inventories of phrasal verbs.

In a similar vein, some respondents commented that some of the verb roots and phrasal verbs in the survey are non-interpretable and/or non-acceptable as such, e.g. *?lark, ?sally, ?trundle, ?hoover through, ?patch through, *air through, *sally on, *fiddle along*. Recall that these phrasal verbs were extracted from a British corpus of spoken conversation. I assume that some of these verbs are regionally marked and unknown to speakers of other varieties, e.g. *hoover, lark*. In addition, some of the verbs may be used as a phrasal verb more frequently than without a particle, although both uses are possible, cf. the dictionary entry of *lark* "to engage in harmless fun or mischief — often used with *about*" (*MWD online*). In such a case, a speaker may accept a phrasal verb but reject the corresponding verb root without a particle. Conversely, some of the phrasal verbs, e.g. *fiddle along, air through*, may have been unacceptable to respondents

for the combination of a particular verb root with a particular particle. This may be related to the semi-productivity of certain particles (cf. Jackendoff 2002 and McIntyre 2002). These forms, nonetheless, seem to show an asymmetry between comprehension and production: While they are rejected in acceptability surveys, they are attested in a conversation corpus. The observed asymmetry, noted also in Lindner (1983:57), requires further research.

All these factors make the interpretation of the findings rather difficult. The results are not only the reflections of the aspect of a particular verb or phrasal verb but also of other factors, mainly frequency, particle placement, particle selection, or DO selection. Further discussion therefore has to be understood in this light.

The effect of particles on telicity

This section aims to establish in how many of the aspectual phrasal verbs in my list (see Table 1) the particle alters telicity of the verb root. In order to compare the verb roots' and phrasal verbs' acceptability with *stop* and *finish*, I ran a series of Fisher's chi-square two-tailed tests on the results of the judgments, one test per verb root – phrasal verb pair, separately for the *stop*-test and the *finish*-test. I then determined in how many minimal pairs there was a significant difference between the acceptability judgements of a verb root and a phrasal verb: It is in these cases that the addition of the particle affects the compatibility with *stop* and/or *finish*.

The results show that for only 17 minimal pairs of verb root and phrasal verb there was a significant difference ($p < 0.05$) in acceptability (17 out of 200, or 8.50%). These pairs are listed in *Table 2*. Three of them are the same verb root – phrasal verb pairs, in which the particle had an effect according to both tests. Therefore, the particle changes the judgment of compatibility with *stop* or *finish* in only 14 out of 100 phrasal verbs.

Brinton (1985) argues that aspectual particles are telicity markers, e.g. *eat* (atelic) – *eat up* (telic). If this claim holds, one can expect clear acceptability differences between verb roots and phrasal verbs in aspectual tests. In the present study, judgements were significantly different only in 14% of the studied phrasal verbs. (In addition, it has to be borne in mind that some of these changes may have been caused by non-aspectual factors, see above.) In sum, the results suggest that aspectual particles do not change the aspectual behaviour of verb roots on a large scale. Therefore, contra Brinton (1985), I conclude that aspectual particles are not primarily markers of telicity. My conclusion concurs with Cappelle's (2005:355) assertion that *[s]ome verb-particle combinations may be telic while their corresponding simplex verbs are not, but this difference cannot be extended to all ore* [sic] *even most verb-particle combinations*.

Table 2. Phrasal verbs in which the association between the type of verb (verb root or phrasal verb) and the acceptability judgment is statistically significant. **Legend:** type of test: S – stop-test, F – finish-test; AJ – acceptability judgment (yes to no ratio)

type of test	**verb root**	**AJ (*yes*/*no*)**	**phrasal verb**	**AJ (*yes*/*no*)**	***p* value**
S	fiddle	10/0	fiddle along	5/5	0.0325
F	flow	6/4	flow along	0/10	0.0108
F	wander	5/5	wander around	10/0	0.0325
F	write	10/0	write down	5/5	0.0325
F	hold	10/0	hold down	0/10	< 0.0001
S	start	9/1	start off	2/8	0.0055
S	point	2/8	point out	9/1	0.0055
S	struggle	10/0	struggle on	4/6	0.0108
S	walk	8/2	walk on	2/8	0.0230
S	chat	10/0	chat on	3/7	0.0031
F	chat	8/2	chat on	1/9	0.0055
S	cut	10/0	cut through	3/7	0.0031
F	cut	0/10	cut through	7/3	0.0031
S	leak	1/9	leak through	7/3	0.0198
S	change	8/2	change over	2/8	0.0230
F	change	10/0	change over	3/7	0.0031
S	grow	9/1	grow up	1/9	0.0011

My results run counter to Giddings' (2001) conclusions that aspectual particles *down* and *out* turn atelic verb phrases into telic ones. In my opinion, the difference between Giddings' results and mine are caused by different methodologies. In the present study the transitivity of the verb root and the type of the DO were the same for both a phrasal verb and a corresponding verb root, e.g. *eat an apple* (telic) – *eat up an apple* (telic) in order to avoid the effects of the verb arguments on the telicity of the predicates, e.g. *eat* (atelic) – *eat up an apple* (telic) (see also below). In contrast, Giddings (op.cit.: Appendix 2) apparently compared the telicity of the predicates with simplex verbs without DOs to the telicity of the predicates with phrasal verbs with a DO, e.g. *They argued – They argued out the proposal*.[7]

Although particles are not direct markers of telicity, they sometimes determine it in an indirect way: by imposing selectional restrictions on the verb root, e.g. *kill a man/wildlife/birds – kill off ?a man* (acceptable in a context of plot narration)*/kill off wildlife/kill off birds*. Such selectional restrictions have an aspectual impact: Namely, non-quantized (mass noun and bare plural noun) DOs do not appear in telic predicates, while quantized (definite noun and indefinite singular count noun)

[7] While Giddings (2001) does not state explicitly that the verb frames of verb roots and phrasal verbs in her study were different, her Appendix 2 lists pairs which differ in the argument structure. In addition, she notes that the aspectual change is frequently accompanied by a change in the transitivity of the verb, e.g. *I hunted – I hunted down *(the fox)*.

DOs do (does not apply to the *push*-type of verbs, e.g. *push a cart* without a goal PP is atelic), e.g. *eat porridge* (atelic) – *eat apples* (atelic) – *eat the porridge* (atelic/telic) – *eat the apples* (telic) – *eat an apple* (telic), see e.g. Verkuyl (1989; 2005), Krifka (1992; 1998), Tenny (1994), and Jackendoff (1996). Now when a particle imposes selectional restrictions on the verb root, it restricts the range of aspectual interpretations of the predicate. For instance, *up* imposes selectional restrictions on *eat*, so *eat up* can only license quantized DOs, e.g. **eat up porridge* – **eat up apples* – *eat up the porridge* – *eat up the apples* – *eat up an apple*. It follows that *eat up* does not appear in atelic predicates. This does not mean, however, that *up* marks telicity on *eat,* since *eat* with a quantized DO without the particle is also telic.

Lexical meaning of particles

From my argumentation that particles do not mark telicity, however, does not follow that aspectual particles are redundant, as argued in e.g. Hampe (2005) and Jackendoff (2002). To the contrary, aspectual particles may have other aspectual and non-aspectual meanings, as illustrated in this section. The aspectual effect of particles includes for instance continuative meaning in e.g. *walk on*, iterative meaning in e.g. *write an essay over*, or distributive meaning in *send out* "send something to a lot of different people".

Another kind of effect of aspectual particles on the verb root is non-aspectual: Aspectual particles sometimes contribute subtle lexical meanings, as illustrated in (5).[8]

(5) (a) *chop the onion* "chop into pieces" or "chop into two" – *chop up the onion* "chop into pieces" but not #"chop into two"
(b) *read* "read aloud" or "read quietly" – *read out* "read aloud" but not #"read quietly"
(c) *cry* "shout" or "weep" – *cry out* (intransitive) "shout" but not #"weep" – *cry one's eyes/heart out* "weep" but not #"shout"
(d) *slow down* "slow quickly" or "slow gradually" – *slow up* "slow quickly and completely" but not #"slow gradually"
(e) *write down* "set in writing" – *write up* "write something in a complete and final form", e.g. *write down a sentence – write up a proposal*
(f) *clean up* "tidy a place" – *clean out* "clean the inside of a room, container, etc.", e.g. *clean up the kitchen – clean out the oven*

Notice that all the phrasal verbs in (5) are compositional and aspectual. Nonetheless, the particle restricts the lexical meaning of the verb root, which runs counter to

[8] (5a, d) are taken from Lindstromberg (2007) and I owe (5e) to Jack Hoeksema (pers. comm.).

the claim that many aspectual particles are redundant because they can be omitted (e.g. Hampe 2005; Jackendoff 2002). I conclude instead that aspectual particles sometimes contribute a subtle non-aspectual lexical meaning. If aspectual particles are not "purely" aspectual and the interpretations of aspectual phrasal verbs and the corresponding verb roots may slightly differ, then phrasal verbs might not be fully interchangeable with the respective verb roots, at least not in all contexts.

Conclusions and implications

This paper has presented a survey study of acceptability judgments designed to determine the effect of particles on telicity of predicates. Parts of the survey were inconclusive, due to methodological problems, as pointed out in the paper. These concern factors such as regional variation, different attitudes towards the survey task, preferences for particle placement, particle selection or DO selection, and frequency of tested items. I propose that future studies aimed at comparing the acceptability of verb roots and phrasal verbs should control for frequency and only use verbs and phrasal verbs of high frequency which are not regionally marked. Another improvement that can be done is to elicit acceptability judgments together with the respondents' comments on the reasons why they rejected certain sentences.

The results of the study suggest that particles are not direct markers of telicity. Instead, particles sometimes determine telicity indirectly, by imposing selectional restrictions on the verb root. In addition, aspectual particles may contribute other kinds of aspectual meanings (continuative, iterative, distributive, etc). On top of that, aspectual particles sometimes contribute a subtle non-aspectual lexical meaning, which restricts the range of the meaning of the verb root. Aspectual phrasal verbs, therefore, might not be fully interchangeable with the corresponding verb roots in all contexts. It follows that aspectual particles are not semantically redundant.

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Z E S Z Y T Y N A U K O W E UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO
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Edyta WIĘCŁAWSKA

University of Rzeszow
edytawieclawska@poczta.fm

ON LINGUISTIC FEATURES OF LEGAL DISCOURSE

Abstract: The paper aims at discussing selected linguistic features of legal communication with special reference to prescriptive legal texts. The areas focused upon are examples of verbal constructions. In order to cover the objective referred to above, the author uses the method of electronically-driven text analysis. The language data are extracted from *JRC-Acquis Corpus* (*Joint Research Collection of Acquis Communautaire*).

Key words: legal language, prescriptive texts, concordance strings/matches, frequency, verbal construction.

Introductory remarks

The paper aims at discussing some aspects of legal style on the basis of electronically-retrieved corpus data. It is assumed after (Bartmiński and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2009:111) that *speech style* manifests itself in the recurrent use of specific language structures (Bartmiński and Niebrzegowska-Bartmińska 2009:111). The focus here is on verbal constructions. In particular, the aim of the study is to (1) verify the recurrent use of some well-acknowledged linguistic patterns in legal texts of the said type (e.g. the predominant use of passive voice) and (2) identify some new style-related patterns in these texts as regards verbal structures that are not discussed in the literature of the subject in this context (e.g. the type of infinitive following modal verbs).

It needs to be noted that in using the notion of *style*, the author follows the conceptual and terminological distinctions as made in the literature of the subject. The concept of *speech style* is distinguished from the notion of *style of speaking* and *style of communication*. In short the *style of speaking* is considered to be

an individual phenomenon and refers to individual preferences in using specific language structures in order to communicate given messages (Kurcz 1987:293). In turn, *the style of communication* belongs to the field of socio-linguistics and it is considered to be *a social phenomenon*, which implies the use of specific language structural resources, as adjusted to the interlocutor, the type of relationships between the speakers and the socio-cultural context (Handke 2008:156).

In the foregoing, the author seeks to confirm the thesis proposed in the literature of the subject that the *speech style* of legal communication is – in most general terms – marked by precision, standardisation and impersonality (Wierzbicka, Wolański, Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak 2008:94-97). To this end a corpus-based study was carried out and some systematic patterns as regards specific verbal constructions have been identified and analysed.

Corpus of the analysis

The analysed language data have been extracted by means of an electronic tool from the corpus which comprises a body of European Union prescriptive texts referred to as *Acquis Communautaire*. Since the corpus was construed within the framework of a joint research initiative started by the European Commission it is referred to as the *Joint Research Collection of Acquis Communautaire* (in short *JRC-Acquis Corpus*). The texts making up the corpus were written between the 1950s and the present, which constitutes a rather long time span and thus contributes to the reliability of the statistical data. Importantly, the corpus includes parallel texts and in order to compile the corpus the research committee selected texts of the said type that were available in at least 10 of all the EU official languages. For English the total number of words in the corpus amounts to 34,588,383.

In view of some limitations of technical and strategic nature the number of structures analysed here is limited. The reasons for this are twofold. Firstly, this discussion is supposed to be a pilot study and the aim – also determined by limitations of space – is to verify and identify only some general tendencies related to the use of verbal constructions in prescriptive texts. Secondly, since this was a first effort at computational linguistic research the author encountered some technical obstacles as regards formulating and operating the search formula to extract the desired concordance strings. For these reasons the analysis covers only selected lexical items (i.e. the repertoire of modal verbs extracted from the corpus includes *can*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall* and *should*), selected grammatical contexts that these lexical items are placed in (i.e. the types of infinitive forms that follow modal verbs) and various variants of passive voice with reference to the frequency factor of specific lexical verbs used as components of the passive voice constructions. Notably, due to technical limitations the search was limited to regular verbs.

The corpus-based method used here involved extracting relevant verbal constructions by means of a custom-designed computer application which – by way of processing a regular, computational search formula – allowed the author to obtain the relevant data. The data extracted were segregated into sub-groups, according to specific criteria, they were subsequently annotated for their formal and semantic characteristics. Finally, the data gathered were analysed statistically.

Verbal constructions in legal English

There are a few patterns as regards the use of modal verbs that are characteristic for legal prescriptive texts. The quantitative and qualitative analysis of the corpus data enables us to formulate some conclusions related to the field-specific use of modal verbs with specific reference to the notion of frequency, their semantics and the infinitive structures that follow. The concordance search covered the following modal verbs: *can*, *may*, *might*, *must*, *shall* and *should*. Others were not taken into account here since they are considered to perform minor functions in legal texts. *Figure 1* below illustrates the frequency of occurrence of the modals with *shall* holding the lead reaching the number of 359,075 occurrences, followed by *may* and *should* with a frequency of 101,638 and 94,466 occurrences respectively, *must* registered somewhat below them scoring 70,976 occurrences and *can* as well as *might* in marginal positions, evidenced with 41,065 and 4,063 occurrences respectively. In percentages, the incidence level of *shall* corresponds to 53.49% and it is followed by *may* scoring 15.14% and *should* with 14.07%. The use of *must* accounts for 10.57%. *Can* and *might* occupy the final positions accounting for 6.12% and 0.61 % respectively.

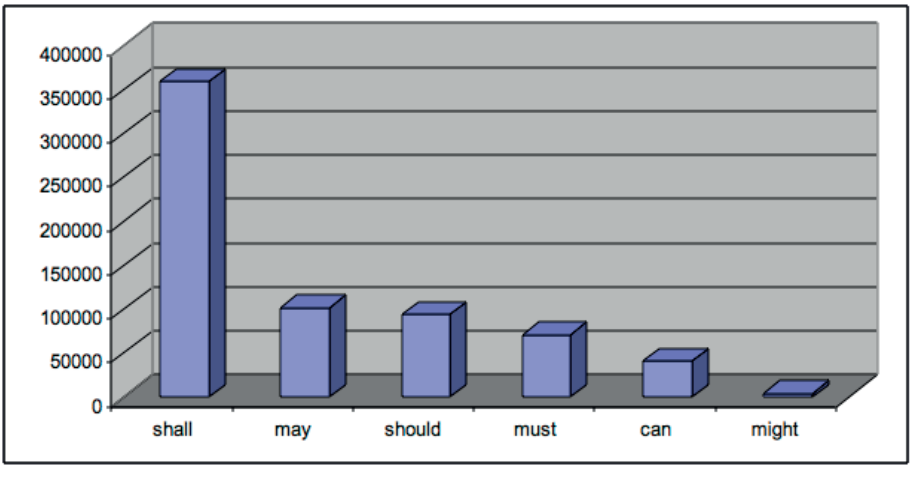

Figure 1. Frequency of modal verbs in numbers.

The frequency data displayed above confirm the well-acknowledged thesis as regards (1) the restricted number of modals used in legal English and (2) their law-specific semantics (Bázlik and Ambrus 2008:65). Referring to the second point, the concordance data retrieved in the search of the corpus show that there seems to be a consistent tendency as regards the use of a specific type of modality. Out of the types of modality most commonly distinguished in the literature of the subject, i.e. epistemic and deontic modality, legal English mostly uses epistemic meanings (Bázlik and Ambrus 2008:65).[1] These are meanings *[...] which involve some kind of intrinsic human control over events*; that is, the meanings of permission, obligation and volition (Bázlik and Ambrus 2008:65). Here belong naturally *must*, *may*, *might*, *should*, *can* and *shall* in one of its uses referring to obligation in the positive form and prohibition in the negative form, thus roughly corresponding to the meanings of *must* (obligation) and *must not* (prohibition) (Bázlik and Ambrus 2008:66).

Shall deserves special attention here in view of its dominant position amongst other modals covered by the analysis and its semantic duality, i.e. *shall* used (1) in the sense of obligation or prohibition and (2) its concurrent, future meaning. The concordance search points to the dominance of the first meaning classified as epistemic meaning. The following sample material drawn from the corpus illustrates this: *the Commission shall at the same time forward a copy of the request, the Commission shall state the legal basis, the consultation shall take place at a joint meeting*.

The repetitiveness and schematic nature of the legal style is also manifested in the low incidence levels of the qualified variants of the infinitive structures used after modal verbs. *Figure 2*, below, visualises the numbers corresponding to the use of selected variants of the infinitival structures in active or passive mode and perfective or continuous aspect. The data displayed in *Figure 2* are extracted from the concordance strings that include the modal verb *must* and the findings are assumed to be indicative of the aforementioned constructions used after other modals in general.

Figure 2 shows that in English legal language the most frequently used infinitival form following *must* is the present infinitive (e.g. *an investment company must take, the depositary must act, company must have sufficient financial resources*). The numerical data shown in *Figure 2* point to significant disproportions in the use of the infinitival forms in question. Namely, the dominating present infinitive forms account for 44,986 occurrences in its active voice variant (i.e. 63.38%) and 25,428 occurrences in its passive voice variant (i.e. 35.82%). Another finding that may be formulated on the basis of this data is that the passive voice forms, whether in the case of the present infinitive (i.e. 35.2%) or the perfect infinitive (0.46%), show themselves as more favoured than their active voice counterparts, i.e. the present

[1] Note that Nuyts (2006:2-6) distinguishes additionally a dynamic type of modality which covers abilities, capacities and internal needs.

and perfect infinitive in the active voice. The proof is in the statistics related to the incidence levels of present and perfect infinitive. To illustrate, the passive voice variant of the perfect infinitive occurs almost twice as often as the active one. To support the observation, the use of the active voice perfect infinitive accounts for 181 occurrences (i.e. 0.25%), while the incidence levels of the passive perfect infinitive amount to 329 (i.e. 0.46%). Finally, the continuous infinitive forms seem to be statistically insignificant, constituting 0.08 % of the total.

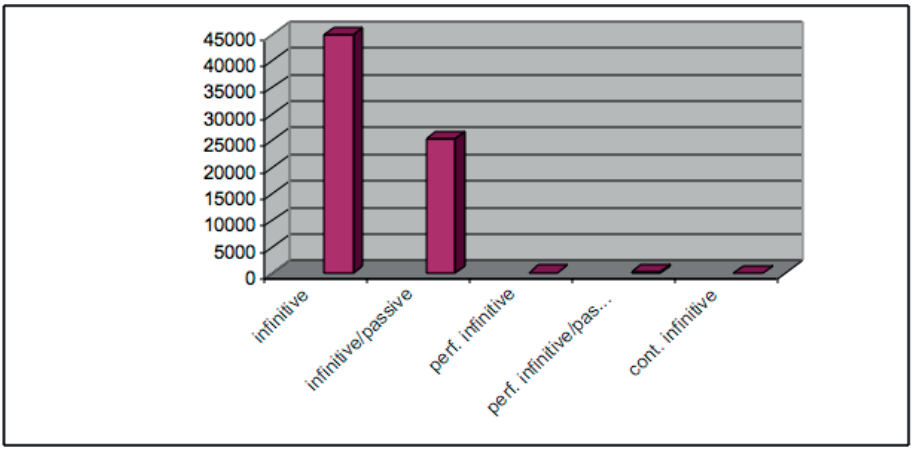

Figure 2: Frequency of infinitive forms used after 'must'.

The corpus-driven data clearly confirm the extensive use of passive voice structures, which is said to be one of the characteristic features of legal English (e.g. Williams 2005:159, Bázlik and Ambrus 2008:74). Although it is often the case that passive structures are blamed by legal actors for making the legal texts ambiguous and misleading, by omission of the agent, their use may be said to be justified. It is pointed out in the literature of the subject that agents are often omitted in legal texts for reasons of text economy since – in some cases – it may not be possible to specify the agent without drawing up a long list of bodies acting as collective agent (e.g. bodies responsible for signing a convention). It may also be the case – and it is most often the case here – that the drafters' prescriptive legal texts often resort to passive voice structures in order to avoid identifying the agent, because there is simply no need to do so, the agent being a legislative body competent in a given context. For example, the following extracts contain agentless passive constructions illustrative of the second scenario:

(1) *Such notification shall state whether those bodies are competent for all apparatus covered by this Directive or whether their responsibility is limited to certain specific areas.*

(2) *In rest rooms appropriate measures must be introduced for the protection of non-smokers against discomfort caused by tobacco smoke.*

(3) *Whereas the purpose of fixing a subsidy by means of an invitation to tender is to permit better management of deliveries; whereas to this end it is essential that tenders include the information necessary for their assessment and are accompanied by certain formal undertakings.*

A closer look at the data extracted from the corpus shows significant disproportions as regards the frequency levels of the passive voice constructions that refer to the present, i.e. the use of present infinitive in the passive voice and passive voice forms in Simple Present.

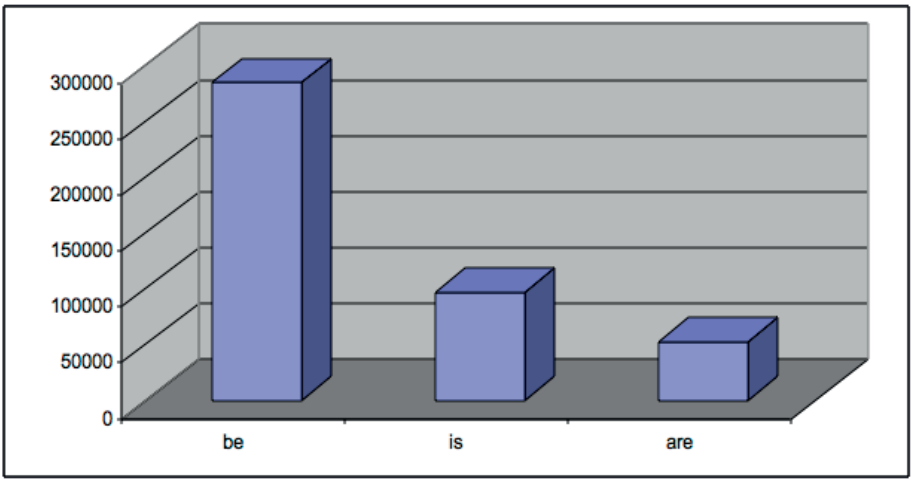

Figure 3. Frequency of passive voice constructions in Present Simple and present infinitive in the passive voice.

The present infinitive in the passive voice reaches the level of 285,202 occurrences, which accounts for 66% of the total, while the passive constructions starting with the auxiliary verbal component *is* or *are* display significantly lower level of incidence, scoring 52,546 and 97,099 occurrences, that is 12% and 22% respectively.

The high frequency of the passive non-finite form in question, that is *be* followed by the past participle in question, may be accounted for by the frequent use of modal verbs in legal English which require infinitival constructions. The most frequent combination of this kind is *shall* followed by present infinitive in the passive (e.g. *Documents which an institution of the Community sends to a Member State or to a person subject to the jurisdiction of a Member State shall be drafted in the language of such State.*).

Likewise, the corpus data allow us to formulate some frequency-related findings as regards the use of passive voice with past time reference. The concordance data

extracted from the corpus cover the forms of the selected passive voice structures in question.

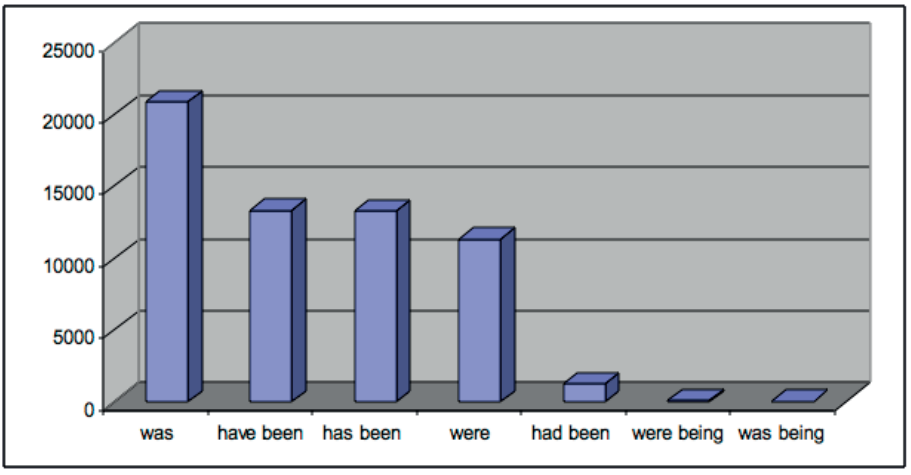

Figure 4. Frequency of passive voice constructions in Simple Past, Present Perfect, Past Perfect and Past Continuous.

Figure 4 shows that the distribution of the passive voice structures in the said tenses varies in terms of frequencies. The highest level of incidence belongs to the passive construction in Simple Past tense (i.e. 53.51%). These are followed by Present Perfect forms (i.e. 44.26%). Clearly, the passive voice structures in the narrative tenses, i.e. Past Perfect and Past Continuous are statistically insignificant, together constituting 2.06 % of the total.

Certain regularities can be noticed as regards the numbers related to the incidence levels of particular lexical verbs acting as components of the passive voice constructions. In view of the limited scope of this analysis, which – among others – is conditioned by the processing capacities of the electronic tool used to carry out the automatic text analysis, the data discussed at this point are the concordance strings of the passive voice formula in Simple Present tense, i.e. *are*/*is* followed by the past participle of the regular verbs. The relevant data reveal that in the said type of the passive voice structures we can identify certain rates of incidence of specific verbs. There are cases of single occurrences (e.g. *are fluidified*, *are fluxed*, *are knowledge-based*, *are CE-marked*) and cases of the highest incidence levels with *replaced* topping the list with 11,458 occurrences, followed, for example, by *intended* and *addressed* scoring 6,888 and 4,903 respectively.

The repetitive use of ever the same lexical verbs in the passive voice structures in the sample seems to be a fact that illustrates the schematic character of the prescriptive legal texts and confirms that repetitive use of certain structures in legal language is a consistent stylistic trait, as visualised in *Figure 5*.

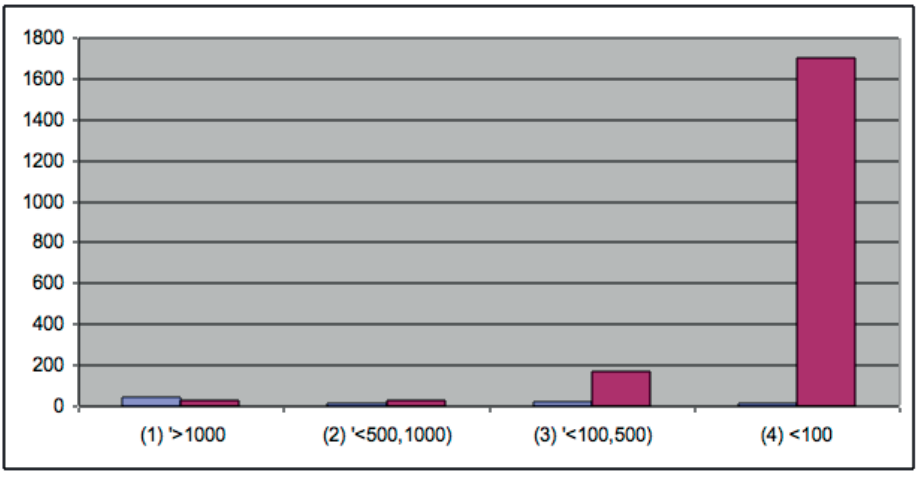

Figure 5. Frequency of lexical verbs used as components of passive voice constructions in Simple Present.

As displayed in *Figure 5*, the incidence levels of lexical verbs used in the passive voice structures in Simple Present are varied and they may be fitted into four classes. Starting from the right hand side, the first column in each block shows: (1) the number of verbs having an incidence level above 1000, (2) the figures for verbs scoring between 500 and 1000, (3) those verbs associated with an incidence level between 100 and 500, and finally (4) verbs evidenced as occurring less than 100 times. The second column in each of the blocks labelled (1) to (4) gives us the number of individual verbs fitting into each numerical range. There are 27 lexical verbs that have the highest number of occurrences, i.e. those fitting into class (1) scoring more than 1000 occurrences. Since they are repeated a number of times they account for almost 50% (46.97%) of the total number of the lexical verbs acting as components of the passive voice constructions in Simple Present. The second class comprises lexical verbs that are evidenced as having between 500 and 1000 occurrences. There are 32 such verbs and they constitute almost 15% of the total verbal load considered here (14.77%). Classes (3) and (4), covering respectively verbs registered as having occurred between 100 and 500 times and less than 100 times, constitute around 26% (25.88%) and 12% (12.38%) respectively. Notably, the number of such lexical verbs is the highest in these two classes, especially class (4), which is the most significantly represented here. Closer analysis of the data extracted from the corpus lets us formulate some conclusions that account for the disproportions at this point. It might be assumed, somewhat prematurely, that the verbs scoring the lowest numbers in this classification lie semantically outside the legal context *sensu stricto*. For example, verbs *to fluidify*, *to flux* relate to an industry-related context and are used by the legislator in the texts examined in reference to construction materials (e.g. *fluxed/fluidified bitumens*). Unlike these

verbs registering the lowest incidence levels, those that are on top of the list with the highest incidence levels seem to be part of the field-specific, legal formula that are recurrently repeated in fixed wording, which confirms the standardised character of legal language. These include, for example, *are adopted by all Member States in place of their national rules*, *are allowed to move freely in the Community*, *are achieved through the legislative processes*, *are administered by the European Commission on the basis of joint guidelines*, *Member States are called upon to* or *are alleged to be contingent upon*.

Furthermore, the analysis of the relevant concordance strings shows that most of the verbs ranked as the lowest-incidence verbs that are most abundantly represented here, i.e. verbs fitting into class (4), are more often morphologically complex. They include, for example, compounds like, *well-informed*, *means-tested, biotechnology-derived, semi-finished, state-owned*, some of which seem to be contextual neologisms coined specifically for the purpose of the specific situation. Another subcategory in point here is constituted by verbs qualified by the standardised prefixes *sub-*, *pre-*, or *re-* (e.g. *re-evaluated, pre-treated, re-checked, sub-contracted*).

The frequent use of prefabricated expressions in legal language is a widely-acknowledged fact in the literature of the subject (Kjær 2007, Więcławska 2013) and this stylistic feature has also been evidenced in the data extracted from the corpus analysed. This is because specific passive voice structures often appear in coordinated structures. For example, the phrase *are advertised and sold* is – as the concordance matches show – repeated a number of times throughout the texts making up the corpus. Likewise, the case of *is designed and intended* is evidenced to be recurrently used in the said texts (e.g. *This provision shall not apply to the above apparatus where it is designed and intended exclusively for radio amateurs within the meaning of Article 2 (3).*).

Concluding remarks

The corpus data discussed in the paper show that legal language in the prescriptive texts has a specific structure which – as regards verbal constructions – in most general terms involves using a limited repertoire of finite and non-finite forms in specific proportions. The statistics show that certain forms are used in a repetitive way in specific contexts, which allows us to formulate the conclusion that what is considered to be linguistically awkward or pathological in general English proves to be a statistically confirmed trait of the discussed language style. To instantiate, recurrent use of specific phrases and lack of differentiation of grammatical forms as regards mood and aspect are very much demanded in a well-construed legal text of the type investigated. A closer look at the data prompts us to formulate two conclusions. Not only do the figures point to a preference in the

use of specific verbal constructions, but they also show significant disproportions in the percentage rates of incidence. This shows that the characteristic of being highly schematic at points is not a linguistic pathology, but a well-acknowledged trait of legal texts classified as prescriptive texts.

It needs to be remembered at this point that the findings here were formulated on the basis of data extracted from texts classified as belonging to a specific legal genre, i.e. prescriptive texts, and thus – although it may be assumed they are informative of some general tendencies as regards the linguistic features of legal communication – no definite generalisations may be made here as regards the stylistics of legal texts in general. Undoubtedly, extending the research beyond regular verbs, into other grammatical categories, other textual genres of legal communication and other languages, would bring clearly revealing results and thus it would enable us to get an authentic, empirically derived picture of legal communication with all its nation-specific and genre-specific peculiarities.

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Jarosław WILIŃSKI

Siedlce University of Natural Sciences and Humanities
jarwili@poczta.onet.pl

COVARYING COLLEXEMES OF THE CAUSED-MOTION CONSTRUCTION IN THE DOMAIN OF SOCCER

Abstract: This article adopts a constructional approach to grammatical structure and a corpus-based method that is specifically geared to investigating interactions between lexical items occurring in two different slots of a grammatical construction. The method, referred to as *covarying collexeme analysis*, is used to identify the strength of association between the verb and the direct object occurring in the caused-motion construction in English: in other words, to determine strongly attracted and repelled pairs of covarying collexemes of this construction. On the basis of the case study dealing with the caused-motion construction in the soccer domain, the article demonstrates that there are pairs of lexical items that co-occur significantly more frequently than expected in this construction. In addition, the results of the analysis of the co-variation of collexemes in two different slots of the same construction seem to suggest that such interactions are determined by frame-semantic knowledge.

Keywords: caused-motion construction, collexeme, frame, corpus, soccer

Introduction

Recently, researchers have shown an increased interest in investigations of how words and constructions interact. Special attention has been devoted to the preferences or restrictions associated with one particular slot in the construction. In previous work, Stefanowitsch and Gries have proposed corpus-based methods for investigating the strength of association between a particular construction and the lexical items occurring in a particular slot provided by it, both in relation to the language as a whole (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2003) and in relation to semantically or functionally near-equivalent constructions (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004a). In this work they have indicated that such associations are based on the degree of

semantic compatibility between the meaning of the construction and that of the lexical item occurring in a given slot of it.

So far, however, there has been little discussion on potential interactions between two or more such slots. Previous studies have only attempted to analyze possible interactions between two (or more) words occurring in two different slots of the into-causative, English possessive constructions, and the way-construction (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004b; Stefanowitsch and Gries 2005). This research has shown that there are constraints on different slots of a construction (that is, lexical items in such slots may covary systematically) and that these constraints are based on three kinds of semantic coherence: one based on frame-semantic knowledge, one based on semantic prototypes, and one based on image schemas.

This article aims to investigate correlations between lexical items occurring in two different slots of the caused-motion construction in the domain of soccer, and attempts to show that such correlations are determined by frame-semantic knowledge.

The article is structured as follows. Section 2 discusses theoretical and methodological frameworks underlying the analysis. Section 3 introduces some fundamental methodological issues, and provides a step-by-step description of how the analyses are performed. In section 4 data, material and tools are discussed. Section 5 provides an account of the caused-motion construction in the soccer domain. The results are presented in section 6. Section 7 gives an evaluation of the results and makes some proposals for future research.

Theoretical and methodological frameworks

The analysis rests on two frameworks, one theoretical and one methodological. The theoretical framework is provided by constructional approaches to language and frame semantics.

Construction Grammar, associated with the works of Goldberg (1995, 2003, 2006) and Croft (2001, 2007), argues that grammar consists of constructions or linguistic signs (form-meaning pairs) of various degrees of complexity and schematicity (morphemes, words, partially lexically filled idioms, argument structure constructions, etc.), and that it is thus not fundamentally different from the lexicon. Both lexical units and grammatical structures are meaningful. Sufficient frequency of grammatical units is a necessary condition for their entrenchment in a speaker/hearer's linguistic system, and thus for their construction status. All grammatical units can be represented as constructions, from words and morphemes (atomic, substantive constructions) to the most general syntactic rules and associated rules of semantic interpretation (complex, totally schematic constructions).

Frame Semantics developed by Fillmore (1982) holds that concepts or meanings of words are organized and represented in the mind in terms of so-called *frames*. The term *frame* has been applied to *a schematic knowledge structure of a particular*

situation type (activities and situations which make up our everyday life) together with a list of the semantic roles or *frame elements* (the typical participants, props, and roles) that can be found in such a situation (see e.g. Atkins and Rundell 2008:145).

The methodological framework is offered by quantitative corpus linguistics. In this study a corpus-based method, referred to as *covarying collexeme analysis* (cf. Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004b, Stefanowitsch and Gries 2005), is used to investigate the interrelation between two different slots of the same construction. This approach differs from traditional colligation or collocation-based methods in that it focuses on both syntactic and semantic structure. In addition, instead of comparing the frequency of a particular word in a construction to its frequency in the corpus as a whole, this method determines the frequency of a lexeme in one slot of a given construction in relation to the lexemes occurring in a different slot of the same construction. In other words, the method identifies pairs of lexical items that co-occur significantly more frequently than expected in a particular construction (Stefanowitsch and Gries 2005:9).

Data, material, and tools

The data to be analyzed have been extracted from the corpus of the language of soccer compiled for the purposes of this study. The English corpora contain approximately 650 thousand words. Corpora comprise different types of texts (such as official news, comments, biographies, written interviews with people linked with the sport, match reports and reviews, etc.) derived from two different online resources: google.com and uk.yahoo.com. All of the texts found on these websites were virtually written no later than ten years ago, which means that the compiled vocabulary is up-to-date. The observed frequencies were retrieved from the corpus by means of a software program, MonoConc Pro. The rest of data and expected frequencies are calculated by means of Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. All data needed for the calculation of the association strengths are entered in the 2-by-2 table and submitted to the Fisher exact test. The p-value provided by this test was taken as an indicator of association strength, i.e., a word's strength of attraction/repulsion to a construction: the smaller the p-value, the stronger the association. This statistical analysis was performed by means of on-line Fisher's exact test calculator for two-by-two contingency tables.

Procedure, data retrieval and evaluation

Let us exemplify the statistical procedure using the verb *play* in the verb slot together with the noun *ball* in the noun slot of the direct object in the caused-motion construction. *Table 1* shows the frequencies needed to calculate the direction of

association and the strength of association between these two words in the caused-motion construction.

The first step of this procedure involves working out the frequencies of each row and each column in the table, as well as the total frequencies of all five cells (these frequencies are the result of an addition or subtraction). The frequencies are calculated in a straightforward way. First, all occurrences of the caused-motion construction are identified from the corpus: 1951. Second, the frequency of the verb *play* in the verb slot is determined: 108. Third, the frequency of the noun *ball* in the direct- object slot is extracted: 885. Finally, the frequency of the verb *play* and the object *ball* is counted: 89.

Table 1. Cooccurrence table for a covarying-collexeme analysis

	Play in verb slot of caused-motion construction	*All other verbs in verb slot of caused-motion construction*	*Total*
Ball in object slot of caused-motion construction	Frequency of verb (*play*) and object (*ball*) in caused-motion construction	Frequency of all other verbs and object (*ball*) in caused-motion construction	Total frequency of object (*ball*) in caused-motion construction
Other nouns in object slot of caused-motion construction	Frequency of verb (*play*) and other object nouns in caused-motion construction	Frequency of all other verbs and other object nouns in caused-motion construction	Total frequency of all other object nouns in caused-motion construction
Total	Total frequency of verb (*play*) in caused-motion.	Total frequency of all other verbs in caused-motion.	Total frequency of caused-motion construction

These four values are derived from the corpus directly while the remaining ones result from addition and subtraction. *Table 2* below shows the actual frequencies required for a covarying collexeme analysis of the verb *play* and the object *ball* in caused-motion construction (for expository purposes, it also gives the expected frequencies for the verb *play* and the object *ball* in parentheses). The figures in italics are derived from the corpus while the other figures are the results of additions and subtractions.

Table 2. The distribution of play and ball in the caused-motion construction

	Play in verb slot of caused-motion construction	*All other verbs in verb slot of caused-motion construction*	*Total*
Ball in object slot of caused-motion construction	*89* (48.99)	796	*885*
Other nouns in object slot of caused-motion construction	19	1047	1066
Total	*108*	1843	*1951*

These observed values now allow us to calculate the expected frequency of the verb (*play*) and the object *ball* in caused-motion construction. The way in which this is done is actually quite simple. For the verb *play* and its object *ball* in the caused-motion construction, you simply have to multiply its column total by its row total, and divide the result by the overall table total. For example, for the top left cell in *Table 2* − the one containing the figure 89, you take the column total (108) and multiply it by the row total (885). This gives you the rather large figure (95580). You then divide this figure by the table total (1951), giving you the result (48.99). In the case of the analyses in this article, these calculations will be performed in Microsoft Excel. If the observed frequency of verb (*play*) and its direct object *ball* in caused-motion construction is significantly higher or lower than expected, the relation between the verb *play* and the direct object *ball* is one of attraction or repulsion respectively (the verb *play* and the direct object *ball* are then considered to be significantly attracted or repelled *collexemes* of caused-motion construction).

The third step of this procedure involves working out the association strength of the verb *play* and the direct object *ball.* This is done by means of the Fisher exact test. The p-value resulting from the calculation of Fisher exact test for this distribution is exceptionally small: 4.0088690577121217e-16. This indicates that the verb *play* and its direct object *ball* are highly significantly attracted to each other in caused- motion construction, but it can only be determined by comparing the observed frequencies of the verb *play* and its direct object with the expected ones. As this comparison shows, the verb *play* occurs more frequently than expected with the direct object *ball* in caused-motion construction. In other words, *play* and *ball* are highly significant, very strongly attracted collexemes of caused-motion construction.

Such results become meaningful only when this procedure is applied to every relevant pair of words in the caused-motion construction. This will be done in section (6) where *Tables 3─4* show the top attracted and repelled pairs of verb-object collexemes in the caused-motion construction. In the next step of the procedure, the pairs are sorted according to direction of association and strength of association. Finally, the data are interpreted in a variety of ways. Suffice here to say that (i) there are indeed pairs that are significantly attracted or repelled to each other in caused-motion construction, and that (ii) relations between two different slots of the same construction are determined by frame-semantic knowledge.

Caused-motion construction

Let us now concentrate on the caused-motion construction in the soccer domain. This abstract construction represents a form-concept pair that integrates a complex form (syntactic form: Subject + verb + direct object + PP complement)

as well as both schematic concepts (Agent + cause-move + Theme + Source/Path/Goal/Recipient) and specific ones (Player + cause-move + Ball/Pass + Source/Path/Goal/Teammate or Shooter + cause-move + Ball/Shot + Source/Path/Goal) into meaning, namely a specific use in a particular situation. This specific use is shown in (1a-c):

1. a) *He lifted a beautiful shot into the top corner past Connor.*
   b) *He slipped a pass to Nakamura.*
   c) *He sent the ball to Ronaldo*
   d) *He sent the ball into the box*

According to the definition of caused-motion construction proposed above, the meaning of these sentences is identified with their specific uses in a particular situation. Such specific uses are constructed dynamically as a result of conceptual integration and inheritance. To put it differently, their meanings result from the way we build mental spaces and set up mappings between them and frames, as well as between specific frames and schematic ones. Thus, in addition to the schematic CAUSED-MOTION frame (in which an Agent causes a Theme to move in a certain direction from the source location along a path to a goal location or a Recipient), the afore-mentioned examples are structured by two more specific frames: either the TO SHOOT frame or the TO MOVE THE BALL frame. In the former case, a shooter causes a ball to move in a certain direction from a source location on the pitch along a path to a target (a goal location) by hitting it in a particular manner with a body part. In the latter case, a passer causes a ball to move in a certain direction from a source location on the pitch along a path to a goal location, or a teammate. The subject in both cases refers to a player. The direct object is realized either by a ball or an action (e.g. *pass, cross, throw-in*). If it is realized by the action then either this action metonymically stands for the object involved in the action − that is, *pass* or *throw-in* stands for a *ball* − or the manner of performing the action stands for the action itself: that is, expressions such as *hit/fire/rifle a shot, play/slip a pass, plant/power/glance header,* etc., are used metonymically to refer to the action (the shot or the pass). In these examples, the action itself (the shot or the pass) is considered as the semantic predicate of the sentence, and the verbs are treated as support verbs (that is, verbs whose primary function is to combine this predicate with other lexical items to form a sentence and to provide it with tense and aspect information). The verbs contribute little to the meaning of LUs (the shot and the pass) due to the metonymic relation: the manner of performing the action stands for the action itself. The directional complement is a prepositional phrase that is realized by the following frame elements, both specific and schematic ones: Location on Field, Teammate, Source, Path, Goal, Recipient.

Given these semantic specifications, it is possible to predict roughly what verbs and nouns are likely to occur in both slots of this construction. The verbal slot

should prefer verbs denoting the acts of moving a ball or shooting at a target. The object slot should prefer nouns denoting a ball or an action (e.g. *pass, cross, header,* etc.). These predictions for a covarying-collexeme analysis of two different slots of caused-motion construction in the soccer domain will be tested below with reference to semantic frames these slots evoke. According to the principle of semantic compatibility, words occurring in two different slots of the same construction must be compatible with the semantics provided by the construction for those slots. Of course, this principle does not explain the kind of semantic coherence we can expect for those slots. It will be argued that semantic coherence between two different slots of the caused-motion construction is determined by frame-semantic knowledge. That is, if two words evoke a situation in which a shooter causes a (moving) ball to move in a certain direction from the source location on the pitch along a path to a target (a goal location) by hitting it with a body part, we would expect semantic coherence based on the TO SHOOT frame. If in turn they refer to a situation in which a passer causes a ball to move in a certain direction from the source location on the pitch along a path to a goal location, or a teammate, then we could expect semantic coherence based on the TO MOVE THE BALL frame.

Results and discussion

Let us turn briefly to the issue of identifying the association strength between pairs of lexical items occurring in two different slots of the caused-motion construction. As already mentioned, this involves determining for each verb occurring in verbal slot, which nouns in object slot co-occur with it significantly more often than expected. This is done by comparing observed frequencies of co-occurrence with expected ones. More specifically, in order to calculate the association strength between pairs of lexical items (e.g. the verb *head* and the direct object *cross*) occurring in two different slots of the same construction, the following four frequencies need to be employed: observed frequency of verb (*head*) and direct object (*cross*) in the caused-motion construction; frequency of all other verbs and direct object (*cross*) in this construction; observed frequency of verb (*head*) and other direct objects in the construction; frequency of all other verbs and other direct objects in the construction. These are entered in a two-by-two table and examined by means of the Fisher exact test.

Table 3 shows the frequencies required to calculate the direction of association (attracted or repelled) and the strength of association between pairs of lexical items occurring in two different slots of caused-motion construction in English. It also provides the expected frequency for verb (e.g. *head*) and direct object (e.g. *cross*) in the caused-motion construction: (a), as well as the results of a co-varying collexeme analysis ($P_{\text{Fisher exact}}$) for the 20 most strongly attracted combinations

Table 3. The results of co-varying collexeme analysis for caused-motion construction.

	a	**x**	**e**	**z**	**b**	**c**	**y**	**f**	**d**	**(a)**	$\mathbf{P_{Fisher\ exact}}$
head cross	37	185	86	1951	148	49	1766	1865	1717	8.15	2.48E-17
play ball	89	885	108	1951	796	19	1066	1843	1047	48.99	4.01E-16
hit shot	36	347	54	1951	311	18	1604	1897	1586	9.60	9.21E-16
fire shot	44	347	88	1951	303	44	1604	1863	1560	15.65	1.38E-12
pass ball	32	885	32	1951	853	0	1066	1919	1066	14.52	7.56E-12
head corner	12	25	86	1951	13	74	1926	1865	1852	1.10	8.12E-11
power header	9	100	16	1951	91	7	1851	1935	1844	0.82	1.45E-08
glance header	6	100	6	1951	94	0	1851	1945	1851	0.31	1.57E-08
cut ball	21	885	21	1951	864	0	1066	1930	1066	9.53	5.41E-08
move ball	21	885	21	1951	864	0	1066	1930	1066	9.53	5.41E-08
send header	26	100	167	1951	74	141	1851	1784	1710	8.56	7.67E-08
slip pass	9	89	22	1951	80	13	1862	1929	1849	1.00	1.75E-07
concede free kick	5	57	7	1951	52	2	1894	1944	1892	0.20	3.59E-07
kick ball	18	885	18	1951	867	0	1066	1933	1066	8.17	6.01E-07
direct header	8	100	19	1951	92	11	1851	1932	1840	0.97	1.70816E-06
plant header	5	100	6	1951	95	1	1851	1945	1850	0.31	1.8491E-06
whip cross	9	185	16	1951	176	7	1766	1935	1759	1.52	3.27004E-06
curl free kick	8	57	41	1951	49	33	1894	1910	1861	1.20	1.45303E-05
nod cross	7	185	11	1951	178	4	1766	1940	1762	1.04	1.46842E-05
lash drive	5	47	15	1951	42	10	1904	1936	1894	0.36	1.63945E-05

a = Observed Frequency of verb (e.g. *head*) and object (e.g. *cross*) in caused-motion construction; **b** = Frequency of all other verbs and object (*cross*) in caused-motion construction; **c** = Observed Frequency of verb (*head*) and other object nouns in caused-motion construction; **d** = Frequency of all other verbs and other object nouns in caused-motion construction; **e** = Total frequency of verb (*head*) in caused-motion; **f** = Total frequency of all other verbs in caused-motion; **x** = Total frequency of object (*cross*) in caused-motion construction; **y** = Total frequency of all other object nouns in caused-motion construction; **z** = Total frequency of caused-motion construction; **(a)** = Expected frequency of verb (*head*) and object (cross) in caused-motion construction; $\mathbf{P_{Fisher\ exact}}$ = index of co- varying collostructional strength

of the verbs and direct objects. The 20 most strongly repelled collexemes of the caused-motion construction are included in *Table 4*. The figures (a, e, x, z) were derived from a corpus directly, the other figures (b, c, d, f, y) are the results of additions and subtractions.

The results confirm the predictions made above, in that the semantic coherence between two different slots of the same construction is based on either the TO MOVE THE BALL frame or the TO SHOOT frame. In addition, the specific suggestions concerning the meaning of both specific instantiations of caused-motion construction are also confirmed. For this construction in the English language, we find in *Table 3* that the three most strongly associated pairs of covarying collexemes, which instantiate the TO SHOOT frame, are *head cross, hit shot, fire shot.* The p-values resulting from the calculation of Fisher exact for these collexeme pairs are exceptionally small: 2.48E-17; 9.21E-16; and 1.38E-12. Note also that *head cross* is the most strongly associated covarying-collexeme pair in the construction, since its p-value is exceptionally small (2.48E-17) and the expected frequencies indicate that this collexeme pair occurs more frequently than expected in the construction. *Head cross* and most other strongly associated co-varying collexeme pairs encode transfer that involves the act of moving a theme from a source location to a target. This transfer may be literal (as in the case of *head, play, hit*) or it may be metaphorical, instantiating one of the metaphorical relationships. For example, *Fire a shot* instantiates the metaphorical relationships: TO SHOOT AT GOAL IS TO SHOOT AT TARGET. *Plant a header* instantiates the SHOOTING AS PLACING. There are also less significantly attracted collexeme pairs, such as *Blast a shot* or *blast a drive,* which instantiate the SHOOTING AS EXPLODING.

If we take all significant covarying-collexeme pairs into consideration, it turns out that in the majority of cases the situation of shooting at a target is in fact the predominant one in the construction. Sixth-ranked and seventh-ranked collexeme pairs *head corner* and *power header* also belong to this frame. Their indices of co-varying collostructional strength are 1.45E-08 and 1.57E-08. The minority of cases belongs to TO MOVE THE BALL frame. The three most strongly associated pairs of covarying collexemes, which evoke this frame, are *play ball*, *pass ball* and *slip pass*. Their p-values resulting from the calculation of Fisher exact are very small: 4.01E-16; 7.56E-12; 1.75E-07. This tells us that these collexeme pairs are significantly attracted to the construction. Note also that *play ball* is the second most strongly associated covarying-collexeme pair in the construction. *Concede free-kick* collexeme pair, which belongs to the DEAD BALL POSITION frame, can be realized either as a pass or as a shot. Comparing the observed and the expected frequencies of pairs of lexical items included in *Table 3* shows that these collexeme pairs occur more frequently than expected in the caused-motion construction. In other words, they are highly significant, very strongly attracted to each other in this construction.

Having specified the most strongly associated covarying-collexeme pairs, let us examine collexeme pairs that are not significantly attracted to each other in this construction, i.e. co-occurrences of verbs and objects that occur less frequently than expected.

Table 4. The twenty most strongly repelled collexeme pairs of caused-motion construction in English.

	a	x	e	z	b	c	y	f	d	(a)	$P_{Fisher\ exact}$
power ball	4	885	16	1951	881	12	1066	1935	1054	7.26	0.974130137
direct shot	1	347	19	1951	346	18	1604	1932	1586	3.38	0.976247904
drag ball	2	885	11	1951	883	9	1066	1940	1057	4.99	0.987067548
deliver shot	1	347	23	1951	346	22	1604	1928	1582	4.09	0.989247862
fire header	1	100	88	1951	99	87	1851	1863	1764	4.51	0.991257707
deflect ball	2	885	12	1951	883	10	1066	1939	1056	5.44	0.992383801
slot shot	2	347	37	1951	345	35	1604	1914	1569	6.58	0.993922182
flick shot	1	347	30	1951	346	29	1604	1921	1575	5.34	0.997325591
crash ball	1	885	10	1951	884	9	1066	1941	1057	4.54	0.997673812
slam ball	2	885	15	1951	883	13	1066	1936	1053	6.80	0.998496523
nod ball	1	885	11	1951	884	10	1066	1940	1056	4.99	0.998734439
palm ball	1	885	12	1951	884	11	1066	1939	1055	5.44	0.99931177
curl ball	8	885	41	1951	877	33	1066	1910	1033	18.60	0.999880783
head ball	23	885	86	1951	862	63	1066	1865	1003	39.01	0.999909379
whip ball	1	885	16	1951	884	15	1066	1935	1051	7.26	0.999940069
play cross	1	185	108	1951	184	107	1766	1843	1659	10.24	0.999984617
head shot	2	347	86	1951	345	84	1604	1865	1520	15.30	0.999999342
hit ball	8	885	54	1951	877	46	1066	1897	1020	24.50	0.999999719
send ball	43	885	167	1951	842	124	1066	1784	942	75.75	1.00E+00
fire ball	16	885	88	1951	869	72	1066	1863	994	39.92	0.99999999

As *Table 4* shows, the five most strongly repelled collexeme pairs are *fire ball*, *send ball*, *hit ball, head shot,* and *play cross*, since their p-values resulting from

the calculation of Fisher exact are very high: 0.99999999; 1.00E+00; 0.999999719; 0.999999342. Furthermore, comparing the observed and the expected frequencies for each pair of words confirms that these collexeme pairs occur less frequently than expected in the caused-motion construction. Thus, they are strongly repelled pairs of covarying (verb + direct object) collexemes in this construction.

In sum, the results show that in the case of the caused-motion construction in soccer domain, the semantic coherence between the covarying collexemes is based on frame-semantic knowledge. That is, if two words evoke a situation in which a shooter causes a (moving) ball to move in a certain direction from the source location on the pitch along a path to a target (a goal location) by hitting it with a body part, then we can find semantic coherence based on the TO SHOOT frame. If in turn they refer to a situation in which a passer causes a ball to move in a certain direction from the source location on the pitch along a path to a goal location, or a teammate, then we can find the semantic coherence based on the TO MOVE THE BALL frame. There are also some examples of covarying collexeme pairs whose semantic coherence is based on the PLAYER'S INTERVENTION frame, the GOALKEEPER'S INTERVENTION frame, the DEAD BALL POSITION frame and the TO DELIVER PASS frame.

Conclusion

In this article the analysis of the co-variation of collexemes in different slots of the same construction has been carried out. In order to perform this analysis, the perspective of construction grammar and the collostructional method, referred to as covarying collexeme analysis, have been adopted. This method has been applied for identifying the association strength between pairs of lexical items occurring in two different slots of the caused-motion construction. The results of this investigation show that such relations between two different slots of the same construction are determined by frame-semantic knowledge. In the case of the caused-motion construction, the covarying collexeme analysis has shown not only the high degree of semantic coherence that exists between two different slots of the same construction, but also systematic relationships between semantic frames that determine this semantic coherence. These relationships are clearly not the exception, but the rule for this construction. For the caused-motion construction in the soccer domain, the results have confirmed that the semantic coherence between the most strongly associated covarying collexeme pairs is based on either the TO MOVE THE BALL frame or the TO SHOOT frame.

The method presented above can have a wide range of applications in pedagogical lexicography and language pedagogy. First, it can be employed for developing linguistic theory. Second, it can be used to increase the precision of language account by providing more precise results than traditional collocate-

based-approaches. Finally, it can be adopted for the purpose of identifying the meaning of a grammatical construction and determining which lexical items or pairs of lexical items are strongly associated with or repelled by a particular construction. The potential of this method is much wider, and future research will show the full extent of this potential.

Clearly, this article is only a first step towards more in-depth studies of lexical units occurring in two or more different slots of various types of constructions. To adopt this approach further, future research might investigate the differences between varieties of English and the potential register or dialect specificity of collexemes. In order to do this, first we need to provide a complete analysis of constructions and all lexical units occurring in their different slots, and a detailed account of all frames evoked by those constructions and words.

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LITERARY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

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Jaydeep SARANGI

University of Calcutta
jaydeepsarangi@gmail.com

Patrycja AUSTIN

University of Rzeszow
p.austin@uw.edu.pl

RETHINKING POST-COLONIALISM: AN INTERVIEW WITH BILL ASHCROFT

Bill Ashcroft is an Australian Professorial Fellow at the University of NSW, Sydney. A renowned critic and theorist, one of the founding exponents of post-colonial theory, co-author of the seminal *The Empire Writes Back* , the first text to examine systematically a field that is now referred to as ”postcolonial studies.” In *The Post-Colonial Studies Reader* he gives a thorough theoretical account of a wide range of post-colonial texts and their relation to the larger issues of postcolonial culture. He is the author and co-author of sixteen books and over 140 chapters and papers, variously translated into different languages.

JAYDEEP SARANGI: Your seminal work, The Empire Writes Back *is a radical critique of Eurocentric notions of language and literature. How do you view this from a distance decades after the publication of the book?*

BILL ASHCROFT: The book was perfect for its time. This was a time when the academic world was hungry for a language that could approach the proliferation of writing in English, of cross-culturality and the general diversification of literary production. The book was designed to bring together the textual attentiveness of Commonwealth literature and sophisticated approaches to contemporary theory that could evolve a way of reading the strategies and cultural products of the

continuing engagement of colonial societies with imperial power. I use the word "continuing" because imperialism is not over and postcolonial theory continues to be applicable to the global operation of power. Postcolonial Literary Studies came from two streams: Commonwealth Literature and colonial discourse theory, but it developed a reading practice that now extends far beyond its initial brief. Most of the things in the book still hold true. I think the chapter on language is still useful for understanding the approaches of writers who use English as a method of cultural transformation.

J. S.: "Re-Placing Language" (The Empire Writes Back) *is one of the chapters I read again and again. Being a sociolinguist working on postcolonial theory and literatures I would invite your take on this situation of English and its nativised versions.*

B.A.: It would be hard to summarise this since I have written an entire book on the subject in *Caliban's Voice.* We are seeing a growing discipline of World Englishes, which finds itself in dialogue with postcolonial studies. While there are now many forms of world English it is important to keep in mind that the postcolonial subject appropriates the dominant language by abrogating its centrality and transforming it into a relevant cultural vehicle. The various forms of postcolonial English have a very specific undercurrent of political resistance. The important thing to remember is that the postcolonial subject is not a passive object, someone who by using a dominant language continues to be colonized. Such a writer is interpolating the scene of literary writing in a very particular way. Choosing a language means choosing an audience.

J.S.: Can a subaltern speak? If he speaks, can he retain his position as the subaltern?

B. A.: Gayatri Spivak's controversial question "Can the Subaltern Speak?" (Spivak 1985b), was frequently misinterpreted to mean that there was no way in which subaltern peoples could ever attain a voice. Such negative misreadings of Spivak's position inevitably produced counter-claims from critics such as Benita Parry who asserted the political necessity of maintaining the idea of oppositionality between the binary divisions such as black-white, colonizer-colonized, oppressed-oppressor (Parry 1987). In fact, Spivak's essay is not an assertion of the inability of the subaltern voice to be accessed or given agency, but only a warning to avoid the idea that the subaltern can ever be isolated in some absolute, essentialist way from the play of discourses and institutional practices that give it its voice. My work has demonstrated an important way in which the subaltern speaks by appropriating and transforming the dominant language. No subjectivity is static and one of the most significant aspects of the agency of postcolonial subjects has been the facility with which they have adopted and adapted the dominant technologies and discourses of imperialism.

J.S.: Will postcolonialism travel with the changing demands of time?

B.A.: Interestingly, postcolonial discourse is well placed to provide a way of reading the various and increasing aspects of cultural globalization as we move into the twenty first century. In fact the language of post-colonialism drove the cultural turn in globalization studies in the 1990s, and it did so for three reasons. First, the systematization of postcolonial theory occurred at about the same time as the rise to prominence of globalization studies in the late 1980s. Second, it was around this time that literary and cultural theorists realized that debates on globalization had become bogged down in the classical narrative of modernity. Third, it became clear, particularly after Appadurai, that there were many globalizations, and that far from the homogenizing downward pressure of economic globalization and the Washington Consensus, a circulation of local alternatives could be seen to affect the nature of the global. It was through *cultural* practices that difference and hybridity, diffusion and the imaginary, concepts that undermined the Eurocentric narrative of modernity, were most evident.

J.S.: How will you conceptualise aborigine /Maori/dalit writings these days, in the after-months of so called democratisation of life/society?

B.A.: Indigenous critics have been wary of postcolonial theory for the obvious reason that colonialism is not over. But this chronological interpretation of the term, though understandable, misinterprets the way in which the term has been used by the authors of *The Empire Writes Back.* While the "post" in postmodernism might refer to a way of writing or of understanding culture as overtaking modernism, postcolonial refers to a way of reading. Furthermore, "postcolonialism" refers to post-invasion and not post-independence, it identifies neither a chronology nor a specific ontology – it is not "after colonialism" nor is it a way of being. While some authors may claim to be "postmodern" writers, nobody gets up in the morning and says, "I think I'll write a postcolonial novel." Therefore as a way of reading it is particularly apt for the interpretation of the ways in which indigenous and Dalit writers express their various forms of contestation with a dominant colonial society. When we actually read the literature and other cultural productions of indigenous peoples we see that the tools of postcolonial reading are ideal for understanding the forms of transformative resistance in which they engage.

J.S.: The term post-colonialism also is applied to denote the Mother Country's neo-colonial control of the decolonised country, effected by the legalistic continuation of the economic, cultural, and linguistic power relationships that controlled the colonial politics of knowledge (the generation, production, and distribution of knowledge) about the colonised peoples of the non–Western world. Do you think this observation fit enough to describe postcolonial context these days?

B.A.: The forces of neo-colonialism and globalization are clearly part of the contentious problem of whether independence really meant the end of colonial control

or merely its mutation. Disputes about the term "independence" overlap those about the term "postcolonial" itself. Neo-colonialism was coined by Kwame Nkrumah, the first President of Ghana, and the leading exponent of pan-Africanism in his *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (1965). This title, which echoed Lenin's definition of imperialism as the last stage of capitalism, suggested that, although countries like Ghana had achieved political independence, the ex-colonial powers and the newly emerging superpowers such as the United States continued to play a decisive role in their cultures and economies through new instruments of indirect control such as international monetary bodies, through the power of multinational corporations and cartels which artificially fixed prices in world markets, and through a variety of other educational and cultural NGOs (Non-Governmental Organizations). In fact, Nkrumah argued that neo-colonialism was more insidious and more difficult to detect and resist than the direct control exercised by classic colonialism. The IMF and World Bank are also often considered to be instruments of neo-colonial or neo-imperial control. This is why these organizations appear in our *Postcolonialism: the Key Concepts.* But it is not the Mother Country in this case, although neo-colonial control is still exerted by Britain, it is the neo-imperial hypernation – the US – that exerts such power today. In a more subtle way, if we consider the IMF and World Bank, it is the entire structure of neo-liberal capitalism that maintains a neo-imperial control over former colonies

P.A.: In contemporary literary studies there seems to be a proliferation of various forms of cosmopolitanism, including Appiah's rooted cosmopolitanism, Bhabha's vernacular cosmopolitanisms, Gilroy's rootless cosmopolitanism, or Mignolo's critical cosmopolitanism. Where do you situate the concept of "Transnation" in relation to them?

B.A.: This points to one of the problems I have with the term "cosmopolitan" – if it can be understood in an almost limitless number of forms, then it is located in an empty space, a *polis* that is not "of the *cosmos*", but of nowhere, a protean term amenable to almost any meaning. The idea of citizen of the world is a compelling one but who exactly is cosmopolitan? It can be a useful adjective but it's a failure as a noun. The problem I have with the term is one I also encounter in places such as India and Africa: "cosmopolitan" is often referred to as "white," polluted by the lingering aura of urbanity sophistication and wealth that surrounds it. Although Appiah believes the term can be 'rescued,' none of the many attempts to define the term, including the oxymoronic concept of "indigenous cosmopolitanism" has managed to entirely rid itself of the fact that the person who is able to travel freely, to experience and participate in other cultures for long periods, who has the time to engage with the Other in a 'cosmopolitan' way, must almost inevitably be a person with considerable material resources.

Another problem with "cosmopolitan" is that it tends to refer to an international or transnational situation. The purpose of coining the term "transnation" is to

demonstrate that the mobility and fluidity of peoples is one that begins within the borders of the nation. Postcolonial theory has been critical of the postcolonial nation state for some time, because of its failed promise of liberation, its simple adoption of the structure of the colonial state. Transnation demonstrates that around the striations, the warp and woof of the cloth of the state, the subjects of the transnation carry out their daily lives, occupy their various subject positions in ways that the state can never control.

A third problem revolves around the difficulty the concept has in coping with class. Certainly our theory of class must be much more nuanced in a globalized world, and indeed a world in which a mass movement into the middle class is taking place within postcolonial societies.

P.A.: In Caliban's Voice *you emphasise the agency that speakers of English in post-colonial societies have in the way they use the language in their identity formation. Is it then the same as calling English the glocal language?*

B.A.: This is a good way of understanding the dialectic of world Englishes. "Glocal" is a two-way term, referring to the ways in which the local adapts the global and in turn affects what we understand to be global. In this respect the appropriation and transformation of English is glocal in that the language is adopted, adapted to communicate local cultural difference, and transformed in a way that changes what we understand by the term "English." I see this as a much more proactive phenomenon than the proliferation of world Englishes and its study but the two disciplines – postcolonialism and World Englishes can begin to have useful and mutually beneficial conversations. The important thing to remember is that like other "glocal" transformations the use of English does not obviate cultural identity as some have claimed. Identity itself is a phenomenon that emerges in symbolic discourse and affects the ways in which the global language is appropriated and transformed.

P.A.: Post-colonial theory is now used to relate to new geographical areas, including Central Europe, or the Palestine. Do you think it is still relevant to call the field post-colonial, especially as more than six decades have now passed since the first colony gained independence?

B.A.: I think postcolonialism continues to be an important and strategic reading practice. It was never simply "after colonialism." In the case of Palestine we have a classic case of colonialism whereas in Central Europe we have forms of cultural and economic dominance not unlike the dominance of the US empire. The tools of postcolonial reading are appropriate for a widening range of purposes because the phenomenon of imperial hegemony is a protean one and the resistance to it takes various forms. I used to be much less accommodating about "what is postcolonial?" But since the growth of globalisation studies in the 1990s adopted the language of postcolonial theory it has become clear that postcolonial strategies – those that

direct acts of resistance against continuing forms of imperialism – are ever more relevant.

P.A. You write about the power of art and literature to affect real change in the world. Could you explain why creative art may be more potent than theoretical discourse?

B.A.: In my recent work I have been inspired by the utopian theory of Ernst Bloch who writes about the utopian function of art and literature. I have always thought that postcolonial literature and art have a particularly powerful function because of three factors: identification, affect and imagination.

Literary works have the power to produce empathy in the reader by 'showing' rather than 'telling'. When the writer takes you into the postcolonial world you identify because you are entering a different world, rather than being subjected to polemic.

Where literary works might be more potent than theoretical discourse also resides in the phenomenon of affect. Art and literature have the power to move us. Certainly those of us who are inspired by theory can be thrilled by significant ideas, but the strictures of theoretical language can prevent a widespread engagement with those ideas until they appear in a form that can move the reader. I don't think we can emphasise too much the importance of literature in producing affective change.

This power of affect is allied with the power of imagination and identification. It is through the imagination that we can enter the world of the other, not just gaze at it from a distance. In my work I am particularly concerned with postcolonial writing and cultural production and the power of these over, say, political rhetoric that have the power to embrace rather than allienate.

Having said this I think postcolonial theory has effected great change in the critical world. This is because it produced a way of reading for which the world was hungry, a way of reading the proliferation of cross-cultural writing in English and other imperial languages.

P.A.: What advice would you give to a critic of post-colonial literature in the second decade of the twenty-first century?

B.A.: My advice would be to not be non-plussed by the frenetic and heated arguments that characterise the field. Don't fall into the trap of thinking that you have all the answers. But also don't be surprised that this field is the most self-critical field in contemporary theory. Above all don't fall into the trap of thinking that "postcolonial" is either an ontological or chronological term. In this way you will be able to use the tools of postcolonial reading to engage the continuing reality of imperial and neo-colonial domination in a globalized, neo-liberal, late capitalist world.

Thank you very much for answering our questions.

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Anna DZIAMA

University of Rzeszow
anna.dziama@gmail.com

JEWISH IDENTITY EXPRESSED IN YIDDISH: THE HISTORY OF NEW YORK JEWS

***Abstract*:** The aim of this paper is to present New York Jews, their history and upward mobility mirrored in the Yiddish language. In the years between 1880 and 1920, New York City was home to an enormous immigrant Jewish working class, most of which was concentrated in the garment industry on the impoverished Lower East Side. Yet, many of these Jews were influenced by an energetic group of émigré Jewish intellectuals who had to master their knowledge of Yiddish in order to communicate with the rest of the Jewish New York community.

Key words: New York City, Jewish immigration, Yiddish language.

At the end of the 19th century, Europe experienced the growth of anti-Semitism, especially in the eastern part of the continent, which culminated in the pogroms in Tsarist Russia. This sparked a large-scale movement of Jewish immigration to the United States. It is estimated that between the years 1877-1917 about two and a half million Jews arrived in the United States (Steinmetz 2001:16). However, the history of Jewish immigration in the United States can be traced much earlier.

Jewish Settlement in the United States

The Jewish settlement in the United States of America is traditionally divided into three main periods (see Doroshkin 1969):

1. The Sephardic-Spanish period which lasted from the second half of the 17th century until the second or third decade of the 19th century. The newcomers were either Iberian Jews or their descendants, and the first recorded settlement of Jews

in the American Colonies dates back 1654, when a tiny barque, the St. Charles, arrived in New Amsterdam carrying a cargo of 23 Jews. Significantly, this era of Jewish immigration left no visible traces on non-Jewish varieties of English.

2. The period of Western Ashkenazim, i.e. Yiddish[1] speakers and their descendants. After 1700 Jews from different parts of Europe, such as Germany, Holland, Bohemia, Poland and England, started coming and by 1776 the total Jewish population was over 2000. By 1820 the number was about 5000, most of them from Germany or places under the influence of German rulers. This era lasted until the 1870s or the 1880s and left some lexical items in non-Jewish English, like *kosher* and *schlemiel*.
3. The period of Eastern Ashkenazim settlement, i.e. Jews from the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires and their successor states, from the 1870s to the present. Altogether, between 1880 and 1910 more or less 1.5 million Jews arrived in the USA, most of them Yiddish speakers.[2]

The third group is most interesting culturally because these Eastern European immigrants pursued numerous cultural activities and Yiddish language served as a means of unification different groups of Jewish immigrants. This has been also observed by D.D. Moore (2012:211) who provides an example of Emma Lazarus famous poem "The New Colossus." According to Moore, Lazarus

[…] knew of the arrival of masses of Yiddish speaking immigrants. What she did not know was that the newcomers had begun to create the conditions for an American Jewish literature, first in Yiddish and later in English. […] New York become one of the main centers where a modern, secular Yiddish literature developed. New York Jews distinguished themselves especially in the areas of Yiddish poetry and journalism.

Moreover, before the New York Jewish population might be completely "Anglicized," it scores of Yiddish-speaking immigrants settled in the New York boroughs. That was Yiddish which become an important language of public and private discourse in the metropolis. The publication of newspapers and books, maintaining theaters and being involved in the entertainment industry, establishing Yiddish academic studies emphasized the continuity of Yiddish culture.

The masses of poor Jews settled in the shabby townhouses of New York's Lower East Side, creating the ghettos and adapting the shtetl[3] culture and

[1] Yiddish is the language of Ashenazim, central and East European Jews and their descendants. It is written in the Hebrew alphabet, but has its roots in Germanic, Romance and Slavonic languages (Weinreich 1980).

[2] Wells (1928:58) observed that when so many Eastern-European Jews came to America, their mother tongue, i.e. Yiddish was seen as *[…] a sort of chatter hopelessly, unintelligible and supremely comical*.

[3] *Shtetl* refers to a poor and small Jewish community or town in Eastern Europe before World War II.

yiddishkeit.[4] Jews who left Europe to seek political freedom in America, organized political, social educational institutions as well as various trade unions and the language spoken at those meetings was Yiddish. Thus, Steinmetz (2001:17) concludes that *Yiddish, in effect, was the principal language of American Jews at home and in the streets from late 1880s to the late 1920s.*

Interestingly, New York City was the center of the Yiddish press with over 150 different newspapers, journals, periodicals and magazines.[5] Likewise, many Yiddish poets and writers based in the metropolis, such as *Di yunge* 'The Young' or the *Inzikhistn* 'Introspectives' found a wide audience. Also, The Jewish-Yiddish theater was booming thanks to the works of such playwrights as Jacob Adler and Jacob Gordin. Although the Yiddishkeit in New York City was at its height at that time, the process of acculturation of the immigrants and their children to the American way of life was taking place, foreshadowing the decline of Yiddish or its transformation into Jewish English.

Yiddish transformation into Jewish English

Gold (1985a:282) states that as far as Jewish languages are concerned *[...] people, as they get older, find it even harder to acquire a native grasp of another*

[4] *Yiddishkeit* (Yiddish: *yidishkeyt* טייקשידיי in standard transcription) literally means 'Jewishness', i.e., 'a Jewish way of life', in the Yiddish language. It can refer to Judaism or forms of Orthodox Judaism when used by religious or Orthodox Jews. In a more general sense it has come to mean the 'Jewishness' or 'Jewish essence' of Ashkenazi Jews and the traditional Yiddish-speaking Jews of Eastern and Central Europe in particular. From a more secular perspective it is associated with the popular culture or folk practices of Yiddish-speaking Jews, such as popular religious traditions, Eastern European Jewish food, Yiddish humour, shtetl life, and klezmer music, among other things. Before the Haskalah and the emancipation of Jews in Europe, central to *Yiddishkeit* were Torah study and Talmudical studies for men, and family and communal life governed by the observance of Jewish Law for men and women. Among Haredi Jews of Eastern European descent, who compose the majority of Jews who still speak Yiddish in their every-day lives, the word has retained this meaning. But with secularization, *Yiddishkeit* has come to encompass not just traditional Jewish religious practice, but a broad range of movements, ideologies, practices, and traditions in which Ashkenazi Jews have participated and retained their sense of 'Jewishness'. *Yiddishkeit* has been identified in manners of speech, in styles of humor, in patterns of association. Another quality often associated with *Yiddishkeit* is an emotional attachment and identification with the Jewish people (Bridger 1976:298).

[5] As reported by Steinmetz (2001:18) the first daily newspaper in published Yiddish and circulated in new York City area was *Yiddishes tageblat*. However, the most influential newspaper and, continuously published since 1897, is *Forverts* or *Jewish Daily Forward*. Under the leadership of the newspaper first editor Abraham Cahan, the *Forverts* came to be known as the voice of the Jewish immigrant and the conscience of the ghetto. It fought for social justice, helped generations of immigrants to enter American life, broke some of the most significant news stories of the century, and was among the nation's most eloquent defenders of democracy and Jewish rights at the beginning of the 20th century.

language, hence features of other languages one knows may influence the newly acquired one [...] to impart a more Jewish character to a newly acquired language. Gold (1985a:283) also claims that Hebrew and Yiddish are archistratal languages in Anglophone countries, and they may be potential sources of influence on the English used by Jews.

First and foremost, New York Jews were inclined to use certain words to express the peculiarities of their daily existence. They used such words as *Shabes clocks* 'a clock which shows when the Shabes begins and finishes,' *yortsal calendar* 'anniversary' or *matse-meal* 'a brittle, flat piece of unleavened bread eaten during Passover'. For example, a native speaker of Yiddish who learnt English as an adult may have spoken English with traces of English Yiddish. This influence was passed on to the succeeding generation. Hence, when a hearer became acquainted with a certain dialect, he or she normally would begin hearing the vestiges of a certain substratum in one's speech. In his seminal sociolinguistic work titled *The Social Stratification of English in New York City* Labov (1966) demonstrates that certain features of New York speech, such as raised intonation in words like *off* and *cough*, were more common among Jewish Americans in the 1960s than among Italian American and Irish Americans.

Interestingly, in its mildest form Jewish English may be manifested in allolingual influence in the form of phonological patterns passed on from previous generation. The speaker, who probably does not know the *hidden* language, may even be unaware of such allolingual influence on his or her speech. The difference can be also manifested in the quality of intonation patterns and the syntactic constructions employed: constructions of Yiddish origin such as *Great art it isn't* or *this is coffee!?* appeared in the editorial page of the *New York Times* (see Gold 1985a:118).

Moreover, there are many communal variations among American Jews, for example, the speech pattern of members of different religious synagogues (e.g. Orthodox, Conservative, Reform), or between religious speakers and secularized New York Jews. For example, Jewish dietary laws are universally known as *kosher*, but a few Sephardic Jews hold out for *kasher*. This well-known word can serve also as an example for geographical differences as in Jewish American English it is *kosher* which in Jewish British English *kasher*. Native speakers of Israeli Hebrew would more likely say *kasher* when speaking English since the word in Israeli Hebrew is *kasher*. To illustrate this issue further, in Jewish English to *nosh* means 'to nibble' or 'to eat a snack between meals'; in Jew.Br.E. it is used in the general sense 'to eat'. As Gold (1985a:283) puts it *[...] each item of Jewish English has a certain currency from the individual, generational, chronological, Jewish communal, and non-Jewish viewpoints.*

The major communal line of division in Jew.E. runs between Ashkenazic and non-Ashkenazic varieties, with most of the Ashkenazic varieties being Sephardic English. As observed by Gold (1985a:284), if one needs to integrate, for example, Yiddish verbs into American English the Yiddish infinitive ending must be dropped. Therefore, Yiddish *shepn* 'draw' or *kvetchn* 'complain' appear in a modified form as *shep* and *kvetch*.

There are American Jews who communicate in vulgar varieties of Jew.E. to express swearing and obscenity (see, for example, writings of P. Roth, B. Malamud and L. Rosten). Normally, style-shift occurs when one discusses Jewish subjects with a non-Jew or in order to be more cryptic so that non-Jews will be hindered in understanding a thing. Significantly, normally a Jew tends to avoid expressions with non-Jewish connotations such as the *Old Testament, B.C.* 'before Christ', *A.D.* 'anno domini'. Instead, they are likely to use the *Hebrew Bible* when communicating with non-Jews or *Tanakh* when speaking to another Jew, *C.E.* 'Common Era' and *B.C.E.* 'before the Common Era' may be substituted for *B.C.* and *A.D.* accordingly. Typically, paralinguistic markers may be revealed in the form of gesticulation, swaying hands and body movements; it is said the Jews use hands when talking more than others. In the Arab world, to which – broadly speaking – Jewish culture is very much related, gesticulation, and – more generally – paralinguistic patterns are a part and parcel of any routine act of communication.

According to McArthur (1992:546), Jewish English is a collective term for several varieties of English which are spoken and written by Jews all over the world, mostly in English speaking countries. The language is marked by a range of lexical items, grammatical and other linguistic and paralinguistic elements. McArthur (1992:546) informs us that *Jewish English has existed in one way or another as long as Jews have been speaking English*. At present, the most common variety of language is English which is evidently influenced by strong Yiddish and Hebrew admixture. Indeed, the impact of Ashkenazi Jews on mostly Northern American culture, enhanced by New York Jewry, is so immense that the introduction of such neologisms as *mave,*[6] *nebbish,*[7] *nosh*[8] and *shlep*[9] is easily observable. McArthur (1992:546) also enumerates Judezmo-influenced English used by Sepharic Jews, a 19th century variety of Australian English, and a formal variety that uses general English words such as *academy* for Yiddish-origin *yeshiva,* [10] *skullcap* for Yiddish-

[6] Rosten (1982:207) explains that Hebrew *maven* means 'understanding', but in American and English newspaper stories, editorials and advertisements the verb is used in the sense 'an expert' and 'a connoisseur'.

[7] Rosten (1982:229) informs us that *nebech*, *neb*, *nebbish* is an Yinglish term meaning 'a weak sister', 'a born loser', 'a very unlucky person', 'a small, thin, unimpressible sort', 'a nonentity', 'a namby-pamby *schlemiel*'.

[8] Rosten (1982:234) writes that *nosh*/*nash*, *nosher*, *noshen* (v.) comes from German *naschen* 'to eat on the sly'. In Jewish English it means 'a snack', anything eaten between meals and, presumably in small quantity. *Nosher* is a person who eats between meals or one who has a sweet tooth. The verb *noshen* means to 'have a little bite before dinner' or 'to have a little something between meals'.

[9] *Shlep*, *shlepper* or *shleper* means 'to drag', 'to pull', 'lag behind' and comes from German *schleppen* to drag (Bluestein 1998:147). Also, a *shlep*, *shlepper* is 'a jerk', 'someone unkempt, run-down-at-the-heels', 'a beggar', 'a petty thief' and 'bum'.

[10] *Yeshiva* (Rosten 1982:351) from Hebrew 'to sit' is a rabbinical seminary and in American English a secondary Hebrew school.

origin *yarmulke*[11] or Hebrew-origin *kipa*, *ritual bath* or *ritualarium* for Yiddish- or Hebrew-origin word *mikva.*[12]

As far as Jew.E. pronunciation is concerned there are numerous phonetic features which may be traceable to the sound pattern in Yiddish. For example, the substitution of /ng/ for /n/ in present participles and other words, such as *singing* and *singer*; raising of /o/ in words like *off*, *cough*, *soft*; over-aspiration of /t/, confusion of /s/ and /z/ in pronouncing the plural ending *-s* in certain environments. McArthur (1992:546) informs us that *[...] certain features of Eastern Ashenazic New York City English of the immigrant generations (c.1880-1940) are still sometimes heard*: pronunciation of such words as *circle*, *nervous*, *first* as if [soikel], [noivis], [foist], and an intrusive /n/ in words like *carpenter* [carpentner], *painter* [paintner]. Also, a widespread feature of Ashenazic Jewish English is the replacement of Yiddish-origin word-final *–e* /e/, as in *pastrame*, *khale*, *shmate,*[13] *tate*, *Sore* with *–i* /i/, as in *pastrami*, *khali* 'Sabbath loaf', *shmati* 'rag', 'clothes', *tati* 'daddy', *Sori* 'Sarah'. All in all, American Azhenazic Jewish English possesses numerous characteristic stylistic features, for example, pitch, amplitude, intonation, voice quality and rate of speech that reflect the influence of the Yiddish conversational style of the immigrant generations.

McArthur (1992:546) provides numerous examples of Yiddish-based constructions found in colloquial American English, boosted by New York Jewish cultural activities, such as *I want you should do this*; *He is a boy is all* 'that's all'; *Don't be crazy*; *Again with the complains!* 'Complaining again'; *Enough with the talk*; *They don't know from nothing* 'Don't know anything)'. Similarly, Yiddish-origin idiomatic expressions are often used and spread into Am.E.. The most frequently used and quoted by Rosten (1982:133) are, for example, *Get lost!*; *Eat your heart out!*; *I need it like a hole in the head*; *I should live so long* 'I would need to live a long time to see that'; *You should be so lucky* 'You are never going to be so lucky'. Interestingly, another feature of Yiddish frequently reflected in Am.E. is the use of rhetorical questions, e.g., *Who needs it?*; *What's with all that noise?*; *So what else is new?*; *What's to forgive?* Having examined Jew.E. vocabulary, one has grounds to state that several Yiddish morphological forms have become common formatives, e.g., the dismissive *shm-* present in hundreds of reduplications, such as *Oedipius-shmoedipius*, *rich-shmich*, *value-shmalue* (see McArthur 1992:546). Moreover, the agentive suffix *–nik*[14] is frequently put to use,

[11] *Yarmulke* (Rosten 1982) is the small caplet worn on the top of the head by a religious Jew.

[12] *Mikva* (Bridger 1976:163) in Hebrew means a ritual purification and cleansing bath that Orthodox Jews take on certain occasions such as before Sabbath or after menstruation.

[13] Rosten (1982:291) explains that *shmate* or *shmatte* (Polish *szmata* 'a rag') means in mostly American English 'cheap, junk', 'a softy', 'a pushover', 'unworthy of respect', 'a woman of weak character, weak will, or wicked wills', 'slattern' also 'a fawner', 'a sycophant', 'a toady'.

[14] Rosten (1982:233) further explains that suffix *–nik*, from Slavic languages, is well-ensconced in Yinglish and often lends itself to strange inventions, e.g. a *sicknik* someone who fancies black

e.g., *beatnik, kibbutznik*, *peacnik, real-estatnik*, *spynik, noshnik*, *Freudnik* and also the endearing diminutives *–ele*/*–l*, often appended to English given names, e.g., *Stevele*, *Rachele*, sometimes with common nouns, e.g., *roomele*, *boyele*, *boychickl*, *storele* and *storkele*.

There are also numerous Yiddish and Hebrew terms currently employed in Jewish English. Note that some of these words clearly relate to Jewish life and Judaism, e.g., *shadhn* 'a matchmaker', *hesped* 'a eulogy', *kanehore* 'preserve us from the evil eye', *halevay* 'would that it be' and *Shabbes* 'holy day'. There are also many compounds of Yiddish and Hebrew loanwords combined with English words, e.g., *matse balls* 'round dumplings', *shana tova card*, 'a Jewish New Year card', *sforim store* 'a Jewish bookstore', and lexical items formed upon general English, e.g., *Jewish Star*, *Hebrew School*. Likewise, as pointed out by Rosten (1982:22), adjectives have been used by Jews as nouns. This is due to the fact that first generation of American Jews, residing mainly on the Lower East Side, in Brooklyn, in the Bronx, in the Jewish enclaves of Chicago, Detroit or Los Angeles were converting adjectives to nouns with equanimity, e.g., *a crazy*, *a skinny*, *a goofy*, *a silly*.

Having examined certain words used by Jews of New York, one observes semantic shifts in English words, often due to the existence of homophony with terms of Yiddish provenance, e.g., *learn* 'to study Torah', from Yiddish *lernen*; *give* used in the sense 'to take', from *gebn*, as in, for example, *Give a look*; *by* meaning 'with' or 'from', as in *The money is by him*. Moreover, informal abbreviations for vulgarisms of Yiddish origin are found mostly in Am.E., e.g., *TL* 'a sycophant', from Yiddish *tokhes lecker* 'ass-licker'; an acronym *A.K.* meaning *alter kocker* literally 'an old defector', 'an old man', 'a constipated man', 'a slow-thinking man, or 'an old codger' (see Rosten 1982:32); pejorative terms with English components, e.g., *JAP* 'Jewish American Princess' or *A.M.* an acronym for *able momzer* which denotes 'able bastard', 'someone who is very clever, competent and tough'; and Yiddish and Hebrew expressions *B'H* meaning 'with God's help' an acronym meaning *of blessed memory* or *YHVH* which stands for the four sacred letters for the name of God and is often rendered as *Yahweh*, *Yahveh*, *Yehova*, *Jehovah* (see Rosten 1982:353).

Finally, let us turn to *Yinglish*[15] which is an informal and often facetious term referring to English that contains many Yiddish words and expressions. At the same time, it is an informal synonym of Jewish English (of the Ashkenazic or Eastern European variety). It also denotes Yiddish words and expressions that have become

humor, a *Freudnik* is an uncritical acolyte of the Master. Also, homosexuals refer to heterosexuals as *straightniks*.

[15] Although the term *Yinglish* has been widely recognized by linguists, Feinsilver (1979) proposes other terms, such as *Endishism* and *Engdish*, the latter one being more logical than Yiddish for the first name category (Yiddish with interpolating English) since the beginning of each classifier, i.e. *Engdish*, *Yinglish* indicates the outside influence.

part of colloquial English, an informal collective term for Yiddishisms, as well as words and expressions that blend Yiddish and English, such as *borscht circuit*, *fancy-shmancy*, a *whole megillah*, a *hearty mazel tov*. Very frequently, the term is viewed by scholars of Yiddish as slangy and slightly disparaging (see, for example, MacArthur 1998).

Jewish New Yorkers and Yiddish Future

Finally, New York Jews have left their marks in many fields, including non-Jewish English. It is also believed by some, mostly secular American Jews that Yiddish is definitely not essential to Judaism and its decline or disappearance would have no effect on the ancient religion. However, it seems that Yiddish has not disappeared yet, as Yiddish language and culture have flourished in the United States of America not only as long as there were fresh immigrants whose mother tongue was Yiddish. In the 21st century, there is a remarkable renewal of interest in its roots among New York Jews which is realized by the rediscovery of Yiddish, which is promoted, among others, by the New York City based *YIVO* (*Yidisher Visnshaftiker Institut*) offering scholarship in the field of Yiddish culture and language.

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Agnieszka KALLAUS

University of Rzeszow
akallaus@univ.rzeszow.pl

POET IN THE THEATRE: THE RECEPTION OF W.B. YEATS'S PLAYS

Abstract: The subject of the article is the reception of W.B. Yeats's dramatic works and his experiment in the theatre. The author compares the critical assessment of Yeats's plays when first produced and in the modern day. W.B. Yeats is commonly known as a distinguished poet, while his poetic plays have long been dismissed as lacking theatrical qualities. It was the theatre avant-garde of the 1960s and 1970s, with its concepts of ritual drama and innovative actor training methods, that enabled modern directors to see in Yeats's plays the potential for stage production. This article aims at showing the influence of the modern avant-garde on the reception of Yeats's work as a dramatist and man of the theatre.

Key words: William Butler Yeats, poetic drama, experimental theatre, reception, Abbey Theatre.

Although William Butler Yeats is universally recognized as an excellent poet, his contribution to the theatre seems to be overlooked. Yeats's dramatic art has been long neglected by critics, who used to think of Yeats's plays as a mere offshoot of his poetry. The majority of critical studies published in Yeats's lifetime examined Yeats's drama as an illustration of his philosophical views and dramatization of the complex imagery of his poems. An influential American critic and writer, Edmund Wilson, wrote in *Axel's Castle* in 1931:

Yeats's plays have little dramatic importance because Yeats himself has little sense of drama, and we think of them primarily as a department of his poetry, with the same sort of interest and beauty as the rest (Wilson 1984:42).

This opinion was questioned by an authority on drama and theatre, Eric Bentley, in his influential study *In Search of Theater* (1947), where he described Yeats as

the only considerable dramatist in English for several hundred years (Bentley 1947:316). However, he denounced Yeats for becoming too absorbed in the obscure language of poetic drama; a style *that might lead an audience to quickly lose interest in life itself* (McAteer 2010:3). Wilson's and Bentley's opinions determined the approach to Yeats's drama adopted by both theorists and practitioners of the theatre for a long time after Yeats's death in 1939, with the result that his plays were rarely staged outside of Yeats festivals, both in Ireland and abroad, and many artists and scholars dismissed them as untheatrical. Consequently, critics in the 1950s and 1960s discussed Yeats's dramatic texts in reference to their poetic qualities, ignoring their theatrical application (cf. F.A.C. Wilson (1960), Helen Vendler (1963)). Likewise, the poet's idea of theatre had long waited for a serious critical assessment which would have appreciated its experimental values and potential for stage adaptation. It was only the theatrical experiment of the avant-garde playwrights of the 1960s and 1970s, with their concepts of ritual theatre and innovative actor training methods, that made it possible to adapt Yeats's plays to the contemporary stage. Their experiments had an effect on some critics in the 1970s and 1980s, such as Richard Taylor (1976), James W. Flannery (1976), Katharine Worth (1978) and Karen Dorn (1984), who appreciated Yeats's innovations in the theatre. However, apart from those few isolated voices, there is still much uncertainty concerning Yeats's contribution to modern theatre. As Michael McAteer remarks in his most recent study of Yeats's drama:

Despite her [Worth's] efforts and those of other scholars, such as James Flannery and Karen Dorn in the 1980s, the enduring impression of Yeats's drama to present times is that of a corpus value in understanding the development of the poet and anticipating the more assured achievement of Beckett, but of limited significance in itself (McAteer 2010:3).

The following paper is an attempt to present an overview of the reception of stage productions of Yeats's plays by critics and reviewers, as well as by the performers and the audience. It confronts eyewitness accounts with a critical assessment of contemporary stage adaptations of his plays. The opinions presented below point to a gradual transformation of the approach to Yeats's plays in view of recent experiments in ritual theatre in the 1960s and 1970s. The aim of the paper is to re-evaluate Yeats's drama in the context of the experiments carried out in the spirit of contemporary avant-garde playwrights and thus to prove the essential value of Yeats's contribution to modern theatre.

Although no scholar had the courage to question the beauty of Yeats's poetry, the majority of critics and reviewers accused him of lacking dramatic talent and skills for stage adaptation. Consequently, his plays generally met with a lukewarm reception in his lifetime. The reviewers of the performances directed by Yeats at the Abbey Theatre shared the common view that Yeats was primarily a dramatic

poet not a playwright. In her comprehensive study of the reception of Yeats's plays, Sylvia Ellis remarks:

Many of Yeats's contemporaries, including Joseph Holloway (1861–1944), the playgoer and chronicler of the Abbey Theatre, said of Yeats that he was not a practical man of the stage, that his notions on chanting of verse were cranky, that his ideas of staging, particularly with E. Gordon Craig, were innovative but not pleasing and press reviews of the plays as they were mounted in Ireland or England reveal bewilderment, sometimes mockery, but also grudging or guarded tribute in their realisation that Yeats was indeed a visionary and revolutionary whose ideas were in advance of his time (Ellis 1995:320).

Therefore, there was much misunderstanding and misjudgement concerning Yeats's experiment in drama. Critics were reluctant to admit that Yeats was a visionary whose revolutionary concepts were far ahead of his time. The opinions quoted below illustrate the way critics perceived Yeats's dramatic achievement.

A great importance in shaping the image of Yeats's stage art is attributed to Joseph Holloway, who made his name in the history of the Abbey Theatre as a regular playgoer, diligent recorder and fervent critic of Yeats's plays. His journal covering the years from 1899 to 1926, *Impressions of a Dublin Playgoer*, which consists of 221 bulky volumes, is the most exhaustive chronicle of the Abbey Theatre. Although his record was intended as a private diary and does not have the authority of an academic text, it has a historical value as an accurate description of what was going on in the Abbey in its early years. As the editors of Holloway's journal, Robert Hogan and Michael J. O'Neill, remark in the introductory note to their edition, *readers will find his chattily familiar style a refreshing excursion into the Dublin drama world* (Hogan, O' Neill 1967:xii).

After the premiere of *The Countess Cathleen*, which was selected to inaugurate the Abbey Theatre on 8th May 1899, Holloway wrote in his diary:

Yeats's beautiful narrative poem in dramatic form, The Countess Cathleen*, as the literary world knew for years past, reads admirably, but that it would make a good actable play as well as performance to-night incontestably proved. It was weirdly, fantastically, pathetically, or picturesquely effective by turns; and as I followed its progress, Poe's words, "All that we see or seem is but a dream within a dream," floated in on my mind […].*

As to the interpretation, it was not acting in the ordinary sense, but a laudable attempt "to lend to the beauty of the poet's rhyme the music of the voice" in half chant-like tones, and that the artists wholly succeeded… I cannot truthfully say… as indistinctness was the result of their efforts (Hogan, O'Neill 1967:7).

Although Holloway appreciated the enchanting atmosphere and poetic qualities of the dramatic text, he noticed some imperfections in the acting technique. He was

hesitant to evaluate the play's success, which implies that Yeats's early experiments with speaking verse to music failed, probably due to the lack of adequate technical skills which would allow actors to convey the unique melody and rhythms of Yeats's drama. Yeats's innovative method of reading verse was described by John Masefield as follows: *He stressed the rhythm until it almost became a chant. He went with speed, marking every beat and dwelling on the vowels. That ecstatic wavering song… was to remain with me for years* (qtd. in Flannery 1976:196). In a note to the diary entry Holloway adds a remark:

Chanting is hard to follow until the ear grows accustomed to listening to measured rhythm. Many of the artists failed to allow those in front to clearly understand what they spoke. This should not be, of course, as the first essential of effective stage work is the clearness of articulation in the speech of the actors (Hogan, O'Neill 1967:8).

The comment clearly points to some deficiencies in the acting technique which make it impossible for a spectator whose ear is unaccustomed to the unique rhythms of the chant to understand the message. As James W. Flannery notes, lack of technical skill in chanting verse could be attributed to the short time that Yeats had for training the actors. Yeats found it impossible within a few weeks of rehearsals *to transform technically unqualified and intellectually unresponsive commercial English actors into Florence Farrs* (Flannery 1976:196).[1] On the other hand, Holloway's opinion proves the primary value of the dramatic text in Yeats's theatre and the subordinate function of the actors, who were mere mediators between the poetic word and the stage performance.

Yeats's own dissatisfaction with the chanting style in the play made him rely more on amateurs than on professional actors. Therefore, in 1902 he turned his attention to the small company of actors placed at his disposal by the Fay brothers (Flannery 1976:199).[2] After the première of *The Shadowy Waters* with a new amateur cast, on 14 January 1904, Holloway wrote:

What it was all about was hard to say, but the atmosphere of the poet was caught by the interpreters in a way that compelled attention, despite the depression

[1] Florence Farr was regarded by Yeats as the most talented actress in the Abbey. Yeats's theatrical ideas were strongly influenced by his work with Farr and her psaltery – an instrument based upon the Grecian lyre, specially made for her by Arnold Dolmetsch. Their early experiment with chanting verse to music is described in Yeats's essay "Speaking to the Psaltery" (1902) (cf. Flannery 1976:196–197).

[2] Actors Frank and Willie Fay performed a crucial role in Yeats's experiment. Frank's interest in the history of acting styles made him study speech techniques and apply in the Abbey experimental training methods *utilized by the great Italian singing masters*. As a result of training he transformed his weak voice *into a beautiful instrument that was undoubtedly his chief strength as an actor* (Flannery 1976:179).

conjured up by the poet's weird imaginings [...] Had this dramatic poem any real dramatic life in it, it must have discovered itself under the living treatment given it by the players (Hogan, O'Neill 1967:32).

The critic found the acting compelling but he regarded Yeats's dramatic poem as *depressingly gloomy*, weird, puzzling and incomprehensible, which only proves Holloway's lack of authority as a reviewer, who merely relies on the effect of the play and becomes depressed as he is unable to interpret the meaning of Yeats's complex imagery. Holloway's commentary not only exposes the technical imperfections of Yeats's play but – what is more noteworthy – it also points to the critic's incompetence, as Holloway fails to grasp the overall message of Yeats's play while focusing on the mere shortcomings concerning the mode of acting. In this way, the critic unintentionally demonstrates his ignorance and inability to assess a modern experiment that he does not understand. As Padraic Colum, a distinguished Irish poet, observed: *He [Holloway] had the shrewdness of a first-nighter, but had, I should say, no real literary judgement* (Hogan, O'Neill 1967:xviii).

The première of Yeats's play *Deirdre* on 24 November 1906 was greeted with numerous reviews and accounts. Holloway appreciated the performance of Sara Allgood: *A really beautiful impersonation was the 'First Musician' of Miss Sara Allgood; her beautiful voice was a joy to the ear, and her singing of the various snatches of songs was thrilling in its purity of tone and pathetic significance* (Hogan, O'Neill 1967:76). The approving remark proves Yeats's experiment with speaking verse to music finally brought the desired effect.

Holloway's record was one of the few eyewitness accounts of Yeats's experiments in the Abbey. The press reviews reflect a mixed reception of Yeats's stagecraft. The review that appeared in *The Leader* on 1 December 1906 questions the theatrical values of Yeats's play:

We do not think that Mr Yeats's Deirdre could be called a play. There was little or no action in it, as we understand action in plays. [...] To be sure, some of Mr Yeats's characters waved their hands and walked up and down the stage as they were orating – in excellent prose, we have no doubt – but that is not what we understand by dramatic action (qtd. in Ellis 1995:324).

However, the tone of appreciation for the declamatory skills and the language of Yeats's plays prevailed in the review issued in *The Pheasant*, which praises the successive performances of *Deirdre* and *Electra* at the New Theatre in London on 26 December 1908:

An atmosphere is created and sustained, and the story moves naturally in its poetic setting. The characters, too, get infused with life – a want that one misses in many of Mr. Yeats's plays. Of the quality of the verse I am not in a position to speak – I have not read the play – but at least once it made a most moving impression

upon me. And Mr. Yeats has, I think, the theory that the value of all verse is in the effect produced by the speaking of it aloud (qtd. in Ellis 1995:325).

The years from 1909 to 1912 are marked by Yeats's close collaboration with Gordon Craig, which resulted in the rewriting of some of his early plays to restage them in Craig's new scenery. He uses Craig's screens in his revised version of *The Hour-Glass* staged in the Abbey on 12 January 1911. When the screens were set up on the stage for the first time on 29 November 1910, Holloway described them as impractical:

I called in at the Abbey and saw the stagehands setting Gordon Craig's new ideas of scenery – a series of square box-like pillars saffron-hued, with saffron background, wings, sky pieces and everything. The entire setting struck me as like as peas, only on a big scale, of the blocks I as a child built houses of (Hogan, O'Neill 1967:146).

The opinions and comments quoted above make it clear that the true value of Yeats's theatrical experiment was difficult to assess as there was no competent authority that would determine the criteria for the assessment. On the other hand, even if the reviewers were critical of Yeats's plays for lacking dramatic action, they appreciated the poetic qualities of the dramatic text. Therefore, it was hard to establish the poet's position in the theatre at an early stage of Yeats's activity in the Abbey.

The year 1913 brought a change in Yeats's experiment as he was introduced to the Japanese Noh plays by Ezra Pound. Their work on Fenollosa's notebook on the Noh theatre of Japan provided Yeats with a new model on which he based the style of his further plays. In 1915 Yeats met a Japanese dancer, Ito, who was largely responsible for his conversion from speaking verse to dance drama. Yeats spent some time with him at the London Zoo, studying the movements of hawks which were incorporated into the climactic dance in his first play based on the Noh, *At the Hawk's Well* (Flannery 1976:285). Yeats's essay "Certain Noble Plays of Japan" (1916) constitutes the poet's declaration of his principles which determine the direction of his work from 1916 until his death in 1939 (Miller 1977:191–192). His two subsequent *Plays for Dancers*, *The Cat and the Moon* and *The Only Jealousy of Emer*, produced on 9th May 1926, were staged according to the Noh convention.

In 1927 the Abbey School of Ballet was set up under the auspices of a great dancer, Ninette de Valois, and two years later, on 13 August 1929, the ballet performance of *Fighting the Waves* was staged, presenting the results of Yeats's collaboration with the eminent dancer. The play was a re-written version of *The Only Jealousy of Emer* adapted to the music of an avant-garde American composer George Antheil. Although the score made the delicate opening and closing lyrics impossible to understand, Yeats was so pleased with the overall effect that he wrote:

I have left words of the opening and closing lyrics unchanged, for sung to modern music in the modern way they suggest strange patterns to the ear without obtruding upon it their difficult, irrelevant words (Yeats 1962:370). Yeats's comment proves his readiness to sacrifice the lyrics for the music and testifies to his constant effort to adapt his poetry to the stage.

However, Yeats's experiment with music and dance met with Holloway's adverse reaction.

It is the first time I ever heard Stephenson sing that I didn't enjoy his lovely, clear, carrying voice. Oh, the harsh, discordant notes he had to sing. I said when I heard that Yeats liked the music that was enough for me – as he has no ear for sound!…The principles [sic] wore masks and also some of the dancers. It was a pity to waste such talent on such strange materials. In the balcony, people started to leave shortly after the ballet started. It was worse than the talkies. The steam whistle organ or a merry-go-round discourses heavenly music by comparison with the music shook out of a bag of notes anyhow by the American concoctor of this riot of discords […] (Hogan, O'Neill 1968:75).

Nevertheless, when the initial astonishment and a wave of distrust were overcome, Yeats's experiment with dance and music gradually received more recognition. Holloway's comment on Yeats's play *At the Hawk's Well*, staged on 8 November 1930, proves the play's powerful effect on Holloway: *I like this Irish 'Noh' play […] Michael J. Dolan was quite excellent and impressive as 'The Old Man'. […] This play for dancers by W.B. Yeats gave me much pleasure* (Hogan, O'Neill 1968:70).

The performance was the turning point in the reception of Yeats's dramatic work. From this point onwards Holloway's opinions on Yeats's dramas were more favourable. The stage production of Yeats's next play, *The Dreaming of the Bones* performed on 6 December 1931, was highly approved by the critic:

The first production of the imitation Japanese Noh play, "The Dreaming of the Bones", by W.B. Yeats was a complete success; it worked out quite simply and beautifully […]. Yeats was called at the end of the piece and spoke a few words about the ballet and such-like plays as suited the ballet treatment (Hogan, O'Neill 1968:81).

The remark suggests that perhaps by this time Holloway was getting used to the Modernist aesthetics with its emphasis on novelty and experimentation. On the other hand, it proves that Yeats's experiment with the Japanese drama seemed to be more accessible to the audience now educated in Yeats's ways. Although Holloway's opinions on Yeats's late experiment with the Japanese Noh are more favourable, he still maintains the view that Yeats is a distinguished poet, not a

man of the theatre. His statement, expressed after watching the performance of *Deirdre* on 10 August 1936, one of the last performances Yeats saw during his lifetime, can serve as Holloway's resumé of Yeats's activity in the theatre: *Yeats missed the poetic diction and intoning of the earlier performances. He thinks in poetry rather than drama* (Hogan, O'Neill 1969:58). Thus, the fact that Yeats was a distinguished poet determined the perception of his experiments in the theatre, which were doomed to fail from the start.

The eyewitness accounts of Yeats's performances point to some difficulties he had to face while producing his plays. He had to cope with technical shortcomings, such as poorly trained actors and problems with the stage design, especially as regards restaging his plays in Craig's innovative scenery. Moreover, his ideas for the performance were met by misinterpretation and misunderstanding on the part of the critics and reviewers. Long after his death, the views expressed by the opinion-forming scholars and critics have accounted for a stereotypical perception of Yeats as a *poet-in-the-theatre*, which further discouraged both actors and directors from staging Yeats's poetic plays. According to Sylvia Ellis:

The overall impression gleaned from these reviews and eyewitness accounts of performance is that Yeats won through to the respect which was rightly his despite his being characterised as a poet-in-the-theatre rather than a playwright. He was very demanding of his actors and dancers as well as his audiences (Ellis 1995:332).

Yeats's dramas were not staged in the Abbey Theatre for many years after his death as actors and directors denounced them as dull and untheatrical. The following opinion was prevalent among the performers:

Yeats's plays are dull, boring performed in sing-song voices, wallow in Eastern mumbo jumbo, and preach an outdated naive view of Irish culture and nationalism. The greatest poet of the twentieth century – of course, but a playwright he is not! (qtd. in Finneran 1992:205).

As Joan O'Hara (1930–2007), a well-known Abbey Theatre actress, remarks in one of her interviews, when she first came to the Abbey as a student in 1948, the official verdict on Yeats's plays appeared to be: *early plays, "airy fairey," favored description; later plays, blasphemous and sexually perverted; all "untheatrical."* (qtd. in Finneran 1992:204).

The failure of Yeats's early experiment in the theatre can be partly blamed on the fact that his concepts were much ahead of his times and hardly anybody was able to understand the integrity of his vision. In her attempt to assess Yeats's contribution to modern theatre, Sylvia Ellis observes:

[...] we do suspect that, except on very rare occasions, Yeats never saw realised in performance quite what he had visualised for his play in his mind's eye. Part of his genuine genius, however, certainly lay in his integrity of vision and the incessant effort to make that vision and the performance of it correspond. The other part lay in his constant readiness to adapt, to suggest, to experiment, as a consideration of some of his stage directions has shown (Ellis 1995:332).

Yeats's contemporaries, both actors and directors, were not able to meet his demands and thus failed to capture the integrity of his vision. Apart from a few performers, such as Florence Farr, Sarah Algood, the Fay brothers, Ito and Ninette de Valois, actors could not understand what he was trying to achieve in theatrical terms. The brief overview of the staging of Yeats's dramas shows that during his lifetime, due to his personal involvement in the work at the Abbey Theatre, Yeats was able to stage a few performances of his own plays which did not fully come up to his poetic vision for lack of adequate methods of actor training and stage setting. It was not until the 1970s and 1980s that Yeats's dramas were set on the stage again.

There were, however, some experts who appreciated the value of Yeats's experiment for the theatre. An interesting record of the reception of Yeats's plays by his contemporaries, playwrights and men of the theatre was presented by Padraic Colum, an Irish poet and dramatist associated with the Abbey in the 1930s. He introduces Yeats as a poet who *was able to take possession of a theatre* (Colum 1948:151) – the stage practice endowed Yeats's poems with the directness of expression and energy while his poetic genius made him appreciate the value of the lyric in the theatre. Colum calls attention to Yeats's *Plays for Dancers*, as departing from the formal dramatic pattern and becoming *ritual rather than drama* (Colum 1948:1950). He further comments: *These plays are evocative rather than dramatic, calling up some high, remote mood* (ibid.). The enunciation of the lyric, the suggestive mood, as well as the reiterative rhythm, create a dramatic effect evocative of the ritual experience.

Yeats as a poet has been a leaven in the theatre, putting into it that element that is essential if the theatre is not to be trivially entertaining – exalted speech. And the theatre transformed the poet. The living speech with a rhythm which has the modulation of the natural voice becomes the vocabulary of the later lyrics, giving them a directness of statement that has not been in poetry in English since the seventeenth century (Colum 1948:151).

Yeats himself was aware that his poetic achievement was inseparable from theatre. As he said in the Preface to his play *At the Hawk's Well* in 1917: *I need a theatre; I believe myself to be a dramatist; I desire to show events and not merely tell of them… and I seem to myself most alive at the moment when a room full of people share the one lofty emotion* (qtd. in Finneran 2002:xv). Likewise, in his

speech accepting the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1923, Yeats confessed: *perhaps the English committees would never have sent you my name if I had written no plays, no dramatic criticism, if my lyric poetry had not a quality of speech practised upon the stage […]* (ibid.). The Nobel Prize, apart from being a reward for his poetry, was a tribute to Yeats's dramatic work as well as his activities as a founder and director of the Abbey Theatre (Hallström 1923).[3]

Yeats's effort to combine a poetic phrase with the dramatic expression was recognized by Richard Londraville, a contemporary critic and Yeats scholar, who appreciated Yeats's dramatic skills after watching selected performances of Yeats's plays directed by James W. Flannery during the Dublin Yeats Festival in 1989–1991. Londraville recalls Flannery's statement that Yeats's inner conflict reflects the *struggle between lyric instinct and histrionic temperament* which aims at *the unity that he ultimately created out of the dialectic of opposites* (Flannery 1976:1–2). Then he adds: *It is exactly this dialectic, this tension between lyric and dramatic, that makes Yeats such a remarkable playwright* (Londraville 1992:115). In the closing paragraph of his book, *W.B. Yeats and the Idea of a Theatre: The Early Abbey Theatre in Theory and Practice* (1976), Flannery concludes that the true stature of Yeats as a dramatist remains still unrecognised, both generally and, particularly, in Ireland (Flannery 1976:376). Therefore, for a full appreciation of Yeats's experiment, his vision must be re-interpreted in the spirit of modern concepts of ritual theatre and recent actor training methods.

Modern productions of Yeats's dramas made by James W. Flannery prove those critics who underestimated the value of Yeats's experiment in the theatre to have been wrong. The success of Flannery's production of Yeats's Christian dramas *Calvary* and *The Resurrection* during the 1965 Dublin Theatre Festival convinced Flannery *not only of the theatrical validity but of dramatic significance of Yeats's work* (Flannery 1996:100–101). In consequence, he decided to combine his academic interests in Yeats's theatre with the stage practice as a director of Yeats's plays. During the Yeats International Theatre Festival in Dublin in 1989–1991 fifteen of Yeats's dramas were staged within a period of three years and all of them met with an enthusiastic reception from both the critics and the audiences. Yeats's last play, *The Death of Cuchulain*, was produced as part of the Cuchulain Cycle which opened the Festival in 1989. In his speech opening the Festival, Fintan O'Toole, a drama critic who produced his own plays in the Abbey, wrote:

More than half a century after his death, William Butler Yeats is still Ireland's foremost avant garde playwright. We return to his theatre work, in all its diversity and contradiction, not because we are sure of its place in the repertoire of modern Irish theatre, but because we are not. Yeats's plays are unsettled and unsettling, radically incomplete until methods of performance and reception by an audience

[3] http://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/literature/laureates/1923/press.html

which are adequate to them are found. Even in his own theatre, the Abbey, indeed especially in the Abbey, Yeats is not part of a given tradition, but of a search for new forms (qtd. in Finneran 1992:229).

The change in the perception of the performative value of Yeats's plays was due to the modern experiments in actor training methods which put an emphasis on the process of performers' personal evolution directed towards their spiritual integrity. As Flannery notes, Yeats's dramatic instinct and poetic imagination were leading him in the direction of *the training of the actor [that] must be a total educational process involving a refinement of his intellectual and spiritual as well as physical resources* (Flannery 1976:210). Therefore, as Flannery further adds, many of Yeats's ideas concerning the theatre can be put into practice today *due to the influence of Grotowski as well as teaching methods evolved to train the total actor* (Flannery 1976:211). The success of Flannery's productions of Yeats's plays confirmed by the participants and the audience made him express the belief that the key to a theatrically successful interpretation of Yeats's drama is discovering an adequate actor training method, similar to Grotowski's and Brook's experiments:

[...] the true significance of Yeats's dramatic endeavour will not be realized until a company similar to Grotowski's Polish Laboratory Theatre or Brook's Centre for Theatre Research is created in Ireland to meet the manifold challenges of his plays in a systematic, disciplined, and theatrically imaginative manner (Flannery 1976:376).

This idea could be put into practice due to the W.B. Yeats Drama Foundation, U.S., an organization that emerged out of Flannery's concept of Yeats's theatre, whose purpose was to give Yeats – an already distinguished poet – universal recognition for his extraordinary accomplishment as a dramatist and thinker. In the W.B. Yeats Drama Foundation, U.S. Newsletter, the Irish critic Seamus Deane points to Yeats's influence on contemporary theatre directors:

The importance of Yeats's dramatic work extends far beyond Ireland, however. Like all visionary artists, Yeats was ahead of his time. Today we can see that, in attempting to express new forms of consciousness appropriate to the modern age, Yeats anticipated the work of such revolutionary theater artists of our own time as Peter Brook, Jerzy Grotowski and Robert Wilson. But important as these artists may be, even they express only part of the mythopoeic vision of Yeats's plays, which combine the language of theater and the language of literature, each raised to their highest power (qtd. in Flannery 1992:5).

Therefore, the crucial role in the re-evaluation of Yeats's drama must be attributed to Peter Brook and Jerzy Grotowski and their innovative actor training

methods. It is the actor's voice and body with the energy it produces, which is in the centre of their research.

As Olwen Fouére, a leading Irish actress and member in the 1989 and 1990 Yeats Festival Companies, records her own experience, an actor must go through the process of transformation in order to faithfully reflect the spirit of Yeats's drama:

Yeats's theatre is a holistic theatre. To perform in that theatre demands a wide range of physical and vocal skills, discipline, precision, courage, commitment, love, the ability to cast a cold eye and observe oneself, and above all the ability to transform. […]

As we reach for these transformations as performers, we have to journey to the extremities of our beings, always testing and pushing the limits. How far can I go with this? Can I go farther? (qtd. in Finneran 1992:202–203).

Absolute commitment to art, actor training which is a physical and spiritual process that involves precision and discipline, constant striving for personal integrity, and, finally, pushing one's creative abilities to the limits are the focal points of modern actor training methods.

An interesting account was given by Helen Gauthier, a participant of the Yeats's Summer School in Sligo, who in a letter to James W. Flannery compared the performances of Yeats's dramas directed by him to Peter Brook's *Mahabharata* and the Japanese experiments of Ariane Mnouchkine:

Both Peter Brook and Ariane Mnouchkine, though being completely different, try to integrate foreign theatrical traditions and, at the same time, to create a living theatre, using all the possibilities an actor has to communicate as fully as possible with her audience. […]

Seeing your plays, it occurred to me how appropriate an author Yeats is for this kind of approach, since he was so powerfully influenced by different civilizations and esoteric traditions. This showed in your production (qtd. in Finneran 1992:252).

Both Grotowski and Brook through their work with international groups of amateur actors were able to open the theatre to many different traditions and thus to move it further in the direction that was in the centre of Yeats's idea of theatre. Consequently, their experiment attracted modern performers to Yeats's drama due to the challenges it posed, as well as due to the possibilities it created for personal development.

The opinions quoted above prove how much modern experiment in theatre helped to transform Yeats's vision from a poetic metaphor into a dramatic image.

Having given priority to the spoken word, the poet evolved into a creation of a poetic drama where poetry is not confined to the poetic language, but it also

encompasses the theatrical form. What is more important, the poetic language, as we have seen, is moulded upon theatrical elements, such as movement, setting, masks, music and rhythm. Even though the poet does not always successfully manage to unite all these elements, his drama does not cease to be a significant experiment, breaking the ground for the attempts undertaken in England after the second World War (Krajewska 1976:364, translation mine).

The mixed reception of Yeats's performances in various periods of their stage production leads to an undeniable conclusion that Yeats as a dramatist and man of the theatre was far ahead of his times. The possibilities for stage production and actor training methods provided by modern experiment, which no theatre at the beginning of the 20th century could create, have caught up with Yeats's innovations in art and endowed them with a new stage life. Yeats's method of composition and stage presentation exerted significant influence upon the Theatre of the Absurd as well as the work of Samuel Beckett and Harold Pinter.[4] Although Yeats's experiment had a considerable effect upon the members of the modern avant-garde, the position of Yeats's plays in the contemporary European theatre repertoire is still unsettled. They are not well-known outside Ireland and rarely produced in his own country. Despite some successful although isolated attempts to bring Yeats's poetic drama back to life in modern times, Yeats's vision still needs to be reassessed in recognition of its true value for modern theatre.

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[4] Some critics suggest that Beckett's *Waiting for Godot* was inspired by Yeats's play *The Cat and the Moon* (Miller 1977:252). Likewise, they draw parallels between Yeats's play *Deirdre* and Pinter's *Dumb Waiter* (Krajewska 1976:316). The motif of waiting for some unknown and evil force as a source of dramatic tension is common to these playwrights.

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Zuzana KLÍMOVÁ

Masaryk University, Brno, Czech Republic
145169@mail.muni.cz

PROBLEMATIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE THEORETICAL EVOLUTION OF POSTCOLONIAL STUDIES

Abstract: This paper does not attempt to present solutions to the currently debated problem of the continuing relevance of the Postcolonial Studies, but tries to open the Foucauldian 'field of problematization' within the theory which is rather a set of various approaches than a consistent theory. It points out aspects of the theory as well as its methodology that lead to the questioning of its relevance in the twenty first century. There is a great need to rethink basic concepts like 'post-colonialism', 'postcolonial' author, 'counter-discourse', and 'First' and 'Third' world that are no longer sustainable. The critical feature of postcolonial literary theory is its association with a particular historical period and specific political transformation of the world. Despite its direct connection to history, politics and economy, the preoccupation of postcolonial literary studies with epistemological and cultural questions still prevails. With recent inclination to Rhetoric and Cultural Studies, 'postcolonial' literary criticism should open more to interdisciplinary approaches rethinking the 'postcolonial' space of questioning, drawing on the reciprocity of the power-struggle experience and its discursive re(-)presentation. Despite the academic inconveniences of such an approach, cooperation across fields of research seems inevitable if 'postcolonial' studies want to accomplish its aim on which its existence is based – to allow the emergence of a truly autonomous subject.

Key words*:* Postcolonial Studies, neo-colonialism, globalization, discourse.

This paper does not attempt to provide an ultimate solution to the currently debated problem of continuing relevance of Postcolonial Studies, but it tries to open a space of questioning within the field which is characterised by a set of various approaches rather than a uniting consistent theory. I would like to present here some of the main aspects of Postcolonial Studies as well as its methodology that lead to questioning of its relevance in the twenty first century by such scholars as, for example, Helen Scott, who expresses her concerns about the development of postcolonial theory towards a greater abstraction and postmodern celebration of

multiplicity, which leads to the depoliticization of the field (Scott 2006). Withdrawal of concerns of Postcolonial Studies from material grounds and particular socio-cultural and historical contexts towards almost purely theoretical abstract concerns distances the field from more direct appeal for actual change in structures of global society within which imperial and colonial practices still exercise immense power. Similar ideas can be found in work of Paul Gilroy. Aijaz Ahmad is also critical of the influence of postmodernism on postcolonialism, especially because of its *cult of utter non-determinacy* (Ahmad 1987:23-24) which raises feelings of uncertainty and doubts about any true possibility of grasping in a manageable way and understanding the extreme complexity of the postcolonial question and therefore reaching any achievable solution. Anne McClintock and John Hawley even talk about the exhaustion of the field and see the possibility of abandonment of postcolonialism as such.

With continuing development of a 'global'[1] society and a socio-political, as well as cultural and economic situation in the countries which gained political independence in the post-war era, there emerged various challenges to the early concepts Postcolonial Studies had adopted and there is a great need to rethink even the most basic notions like 'post(-)colonialism', 'postcolonial' author, 'counter-discourse', and 'First' and 'Third' world that stood at the inception of the Postcolonial Studies, but are no longer fully sustainable within the current academic debate.

I would like to present here reasons standing behind the ambiguity of the basic concepts of Postcolonial Studies and how they contribute to debates questioning the relevance of the academic discipline of Postcolonial Studies which is caused by unsustainability of the most basic terms and ideas on which the academic discipline was established.

Despite the continuing need to deal with problems that are seen as more or less direct consequences of imperial and colonial influences, we should not forget one of the basic principles on which Postcolonialism was established as an area of academic interest – to deal with and support a more active application of its findings in the world that clearly continues to show signs of a strong presence of various forms of inequality, and various cases of hegemony and marginalization.

Developing out of earlier oppositional strategies of anti-colonialism and focus on the marginalized, with continuing presence of unequal division of power (socio-political, economic and cultural) and development of the world towards more

[1] The whole concept of globalization faces quite similar criticism as postcolonialism, because of the ambiguity and confusion surrounding it. Some of the critics who treat academic fascination with globalization with a great deal of suspicion are, for example, Paul Hirst, Grahame Thompson, Arif Dirlik and Masao Myioshi. Nevertheless, while sharing some significant features (origin in practices of colonialism and imperialism and continuing domination of the West in terms of power-control), theories based on the idea of globalization present significant challenge to postcolonial theory (especially through globalization's universalizing tendencies) (Hawley 2001:211-216).

global forms of society, diversification of approaches was trying to reflect those changes, but nevertheless, the original concepts began to lose the firm anchorage needed to support struggles for more active participation in changes in society.

A paradoxical feature of postcolonialism is its close association with a particular historical period and specific political transformation of the world.[2] Yet, despite its strong link to history, politics and economy, there prevails a preoccupation with epistemological and cultural questions within the academic debate. Postcolonial Studies are beginning to open up to more interdisciplinary approaches rethinking the postcolonial space of questioning, drawing on the reciprocity of the power-struggle experience and its discursive re(-) presentation.[3] Despite academic inconveniences of such an approach, cooperation across fields of research seems inevitable. I believe, the future relevance of Postcolonial Studies depends on their ability to evolve into a complex system of cooperating theories and even disciplines that may still pursue questions of identity, exile, subalternity, cultural colonialism (and many more that have preoccupied Postcolonial Studies from the very beginning of the discipline), but which is capable of reflecting changes (or lack thereof) in the current organization of the world. Acceptance of the great complexity of the field of Postcolonial Studies does not dissolve the somewhat 'paradoxical' and not unified nature of the discipline, but I believe we should accept the differences in perception and understanding within the field as enriching, allowing evolution of new approaches that can react to old, but also new situations appearing within its scope of interest.

Firstly, I believe it is necessary to open this debate on the discrepancy in Postcolonial Studies with a discussion of some basic terms connected to the 'postcolonial' – including this central concept itself. From the 1990s the whole concept of the 'postcolonial' has been debated by scholars such as Bill Ashcroft and Stephen Slemon, but also by Anita Loomba, Bart Morre-Gilbert, or Leela Gandhi, who contributed significantly to codification of the field of Postcolonial Studies, while already questioning its future.

There are several interpretations of the term that crucially alter not only a material basis of the theoretical approach (as it includes or excludes whole communities and even historical periods that are seen as relevant or irrelevant to a particular approach) but also the scope of 'the space of questioning' that is being considered for theoretical analyses of Postcolonial Studies. Apart from the term 'postcolonial', there is a necessity to rethink concepts like 'postcolonial author', 'counter-discourse', and 'First' and 'Third World' which are no longer applicable in

[2] Although span of space and time of interest of Postcolonial Studies varies greatly depending on individual scholars and their approaches, emergence of the discipline is closely connected to fighting for and emergence of newly independent states after the collapse of European-controlled empires.

[3] The hyphenated version of the word including the brackets is used here to indicate the dual meaning of the term combining both Spivak's concepts of *vertreten* and *darstellen*) presented in her essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?".

a form of interpretation that has prevailed in Postcolonial Studies for the previous three decades.

As a scholar focusing predominantly on literary studies, I will aim more closely at postcolonial literary theory and criticism with its important role in the establishment of Postcolonial Studies and discuss the implications of different interpretations and approaches to the topic of postcolonialism in relation to literary criticism whose position within Postcolonial Studies has been significant since its inception. I shall point out the need to draw literary theory (with its tendencies for political neutrality and ahistoricity) closer to other fields of study discussing processes directly influencing literary production that we now call postcolonial and its critical analysis.

Postcolonial Studies were established in the 1980s, the seminal work being Edward Said's *Orientalism* published in 1978. I believe, the main reason for the first emergence of systematic study of what became known as postcolonialism was an acute necessity of academic, intellectual reaction to waves of independence struggles within the European imperial systems and the resulting political independence of several countries that had formed parts of those empires after the Second World War. Terminology of the emerging field of studies was mostly built on existing systems of reference, borrowing terms and concept and trying to adopt and adapt them to specific needs of the new theory that attempted to form a counter-discourse to a dominant Western practice. However, with development of the theoretical-academic approach, but also with great changes in spheres of politics and economy, it soon became increasingly apparent that many of the deployed terms and structures were ambiguous or even highly contradictory in their essence and needed to be thoroughly reconsidered. This change did not come, of course, only with the recognition of insufficiency of concepts that were employed, but also with a change of understanding the aims postcolonial theory was aspiring to. The early debates of the 1950s and 1960s concerned with the topics we now classify as postcolonial served, at first, mostly as a theoretical support for newly emerging nations and their cultural production. Especially with the help of Said's continuous work throughout the 1980s and 1990s (but also that of his predecessors such as Fanon, Cabral and C.L.R. James) postcolonialism became a worldwide approach striving to encompass its subject globally. Continuously challenging Western literary production as well as the theoretical tradition of Eurocentric academia, postcolonial literary criticism looked for ways of establishing new formulations that would authentically express postcolonial experience.

Different approaches of individual postcolonial intellectuals resulted in alternate uses and interpretations of the same terminology that has been defining the field of Postcolonial Studies. A changing approach to the whole field of studies that can be squeezed under the term 'postcolonial' or 'post-colonial' (the use of the hyphen depending on various interpretations of the meaning of the prefix 'post' and varying from author to author) is well documented by the parallel coexistence

of several understandings of the expression and therefore also delimitation of a matter of research and analysis that is being considered consequential (Ashcroft 1998:186-7 and Shohat 1992:101).

We can identify three main uses of the term 'postcolonial' pointed out by Arif Dirlik in his essay "The Postcolonial Aura: Third World Criticism in the Age of Global Capitalism." Out of these very different interpretations of the term stem some of the ambiguities Postcolonial Studies face nowadays. In the narrowest and also most concrete use 'postcolonial' refers to *a literal description of conditions in formerly colonized societies* (excluding, naturally, those societies that have not yet gained formal independence as well as those politically free, yet subject to economic or cultural imperialism) (Dirlik 1994:332). The second understanding of the term (preserving flaws of the previous one and adding others) is more abstract and already aiming for a world-wide scale when interpreting postcolonialism *as a global condition after the period of colonialism* (Dirlik 1994:332). Although such explication would be able to take into account the reciprocity of colonial/ imperial experience, it unjustifiably assumes an end of colonialism. The third interpretation refers according to Dirlik to *a description of a discourse on the above-named conditions that is informed by the epistemological and psychic orientations that are products of those conditions* (Dirlik 1994:332). This third conception shows, as far as I am concerned, a possible reason for a shift, or rather the inclination of postcolonial theory in the last decades to literary criticism with dominating discussions of counter-discourse. This tendency, partly coming out of the European post-Enlightenment scholarly tradition which prefers to keep humanities separate from other fields of studies and science, has led to seeming ahistoricity and universality also in Postcolonial Studies. This inclination is criticized by contemporary scholars such as Ella Shohat, who understands it as a principle betraying the very idea originally standing behind postcolonialism which is built on conditions of historicity and experience of difference/ 'Otherness' (Shohat qtd. in Dirlik 1994:344). The broadest understanding of the postcolonial cancels out a possibility of targeted change, which has been one of central concerns of Postcolonial Studies because by focusing on demonstrations of colonialism and imperialism in terms of continuing power struggles and tendencies to prolonged instances of hegemony and subordination caused by unequal division of economic, political as well as cultural influence, such an approach diminishes the possibility of ever ending colonial and imperial practices. With such a point of view, struggles against the inequality and humiliation of people on account of categories such as race, ethnicity, and religion would be futile and meaningless. While a certain amount of skepticism is to the point, the nihilistic position into which theories under the influence of postmodernism often draw the earlier reactionary approaches undermines their original purpose – to achieve change in political as well as wider socio-cultural structures. Part of the problem with these tendencies in academia is also their focus on an analysis of postcolonial discourse which draws academic

attention away from acute questions of politics, economy, and the purpose of culture in the everyday lives of those people who find themselves in a position of colonial or postcolonial subject. Although I understand and share the view of the impossibility of acknowledging a definite end of colonialism/imperialism in the contemporary world (especially the cultural and economic one), I agree with an opinion of the Guyanese-born writer and scholar Wilson Harris that postmodern, rather nihilistic, perception of continuing 'neo-colonialism' of global society turns the whole approach into something universal, inevitable, and unchangeable – a principle common to a Eurocentric view that postcolonialism desires to challenge (Harris in Williams and Riach 1991:58).[4] Such an approach is therefore equally erroneous as it suggests that it is futile to strive for positive change and in this way it virtually abandons the purpose of Postcolonial Studies as such.

The often-mentioned question connected to ambiguity of the 'post-colonial' is that about the meaning of the prefix 'post-' and its connotations among other 'posts' in academic context. Drawing on Ella Shohat's explanation, we can talk about two essential connotations of the prefix. Depending on these associations of the 'post-' we can translate the meaning of 'post(-)colonial as a part of intellectual history or historical teleology (Shohat 1992:101).

As a part of philosophical teleology we align post-colonialism with terms such as post-structuralism, post-modernism, post-Marxism and so forth. Such concepts all share the notion of moving beyond – transgressing outmoded theoretical approaches. In this respect, post-colonialism signals the transcendence of the older, academic tradition with the dominating Western point of view that is associated with colonial hegemony and its continuation on the socio-cultural and economic level even after the gain of political independence. Nevertheless, it also suggests transgression of early post-war anti-colonial nationalist strategies characteristic of the art of newly independent countries. Moreover, when considered as a stage of intellectual history, it also signals its detachment from a specific point in history which would exclude from critical consideration great parts of the world that we now consider suitable for attention of postcolonial studies.

In this respect, the second possible connotation of 'post', which Ella Shohat names in her "Notes on the 'Post-Colonial'", places postcolonialism historically and therefore allows for an idea of the end of colonialism. In this sense 'post(-) colonialism' belongs to a group of notions like 'post-war', 'post-independence'

[4] The relationship between postcolonialism and postmodernism is also analyzed in works of Kwame Anthony Appiah and Linda Hutcheon, or by Helen Scott who warns against postmodernism's *celebration of multiplicity [which is often taken over by Postcolonial Studies and which] can lead to reductive reading of texts as linguistic, discursive allegories' and depoliticizing of the field of study as it pulls away from concrete histories and specific artistic movements and works* thus taking away the important context of postcolonial struggles for independence whose form as well as implementation are linked to particular aspects and situations specific for individual groups and/or historical periods (Scott 2006).

or 'post-revolution' – *all of which underline a passage into a new period and a closure of a certain historical event or age, officially stamped with dates* (Shohat 1992:101). Daniel Mengara associates this 'chronologically historical' approach mostly with works of intellectuals like Anne McClintock and Frederick Jameson who view postcolonialism as a more recent phenomenon, historically grounded in the period after the independence struggles of the 1950s and 1960s.

The first, wider view of the scope of postcolonialism, which builds on an idea of a long-term continuous influence of colonialism/imperialism[5] is associated especially with Bill Ashcroft and his colleagues Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin who assign the beginnings of postcolonialism to the time of appearance of colonialism itself.[6] Another group of scholars whose perception of the postcolonial is more universal are colonial discourse theorists like Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, whose focus on power relations manifested within texts support the utilization of a wider context and a more complex kind of power relations that contribute to the creation of margin-center juxtaposition. With the changes in understanding of what postcolonialism means (this problem is discussed, for example, by Stephen Slemon in his essay "The Scramble for Post-colonialism.") and what the aims of its studies should be, scholars tend to focus on a broader view of the term which fits the ever more globalized world and it also brings Postcolonial Studies closer to an interdisciplinary space of questioning, because it once more opens to various approaches that stood at the inception of the discipline.[7] Individual understanding of the term then reflects the rather personal interests of particular scholars and which aspect they aim to analyse. More politically and economically engaged studies tend to be more spacio-temporally specified, while discourse-oriented theories, or approaches engaging ideas of subalternity and identity formation, tend to use a broader context in which these ideas are applicable. Tracing the beginning of postcolonialism to the post-war era of the fall of European empires would require exclusion of those countries that are still under direct colonial rule of other nations (or communities within one political unit of a state consisting of various ethnic, religious or other groups) or even those whose independence was gained long before 1945, while they may still share some features often associated with postcolonialsm. Though gaining socio-cultural recognition of their individuality as well as considerable economic

[5] The whole idea is focusing on continuation of global division of power, rather than on more clearly categorized, delimitation of colonial/imperial hegemony of the Western world supported with evidence of 'official' documentation of a direct political influence.

[6] On the other hand Aijaz Ahmad criticizes vagueness of this interpretation of 'colonialism' (and therefore postcolonialism) which can be *pushed back to the Incas and forward to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor* (Ahmad in Ashcroft 1998:187-188).

[7] Ideas and concepts that influenced development of Postcolonial Studies came among others from theories of Marxism, feminism, the subaltern, and comparative race and ethnic studies, ideas on human rights and globalization and many more.

and political independence, countries like Ireland, Scotland, the USA or Australia still show signs of close ties to the former mother-country and even when in some instances the dominance principle is reversed (for example in an economic sphere) the relationship between the cultures and/or nations remains problematic and often politically sensitive. Ashcroft et al.'s approach accepts all those variations and even more. It would, however, require academics to examine the beginnings of colonialism, which means, according to McClintock, going as far back as 1492 or, in fact, even further if we are to avoid the too limited Eurocentric position (McClintock 1992:87).

What remains problematic in connection to this 'temporally ambiguous' interpretation of the postcolonial is current understanding of a 'global' situation where 'colonizing' power relations of various kinds (critics are predominantly concerned with continuing economic and cultural imperialism) are far from being broken. Neo-colonialism as a term had already been coined in 1965 by the Ghanian independence leader and the first president of independent Ghana Kwame Nkrumah (Ashcroft 1998:162). Nowadays, it oscillates between ideas of postcolonialism and globalization theories to show continuation as well as changes of world-wide processes and links between communities. Because of its close connection to postcolonialism, it faces similar theoretical challenges and is also contested by various globalization theories. Once a struggle against political hegemony gave way to a more pressing need to overcome continuing aspects of other hegemonic powers on other levels of social sphere, a great number of artists as well as theoreticians realized much the broader applicability of ideas typical of Postcolonial Studies, but also the relative failure of an ongoing struggle against unequal structures of power within the global society. Globalization theories were another theoretical approach that tried to deal with ongoing questions of power-relations in all spheres of society. Despite criticism of the concept of globalization by people like Arif Dirlik, Masao Miyoshi, or Paul Hirst and Grahame Thompson (Hawley 2001:211-212), it is clear that globalization, post- and neo-colonialism share some roots and characteristics in a way that

> *[...] in some respects, globalization, in the period of rapid decolonization after the Second World War, demonstrates the transmutation of imperialism into the supra-national operations of economics, communications and culture. This does not mean that globalization is a simple, unidirectional movement from the powerful to the weak, from the central to the peripheral, because globalism is transcultural in the same way that imperialism itself has been. But it does demonstrate that globalization did not simply erupt spontaneously around the world, but has a history embedded in the history of imperialism, in the structure of the world system, and in the origins of a global economy within the ideology of imperial rhetoric* (Ashcroft 1998:112).

Ashcroft notes that 'neo-colonialism' itself underwent significant changes in its application and delimitation, because although at first the term was associated mainly with an influence of former imperial powers, later it shifted its focus to the *role of the new superpowers, especially the United States, whose colonial past, it has been argued, has been replaced by its own dominant neo-colonialist role in establishing a global capitalist economy* (Ashcroft 1998:163).

Awareness of ongoing processes of colonialism on various levels of society has led, in some cases, to certain forms of resignation on the side of theorists as well as artists with tendencies to pessimism, or even postmodern nihilism. Kim Robinson-Wallcott describes such a negative development in countries which acquired political independence as an *ideological trajectory from activism to apathy* in which *an ideological vacuum has been created* (Robinson-Walcott 2008:129). Lack of confidence in achievability of positive change is, I believe, one of the main reasons for debates of relevance, or rather irrelevance, of Postcolonial Studies today, as their original purpose was, among other problems, aspiration for such a change through attempts to challenge and hopefully erase socio-political as well as other inequalities through both art and theory.[8] In this respect, the more conservative approach to postcolonialism with its narrower temporal application (as well as the spatial aspect that is to be discussed in the following section), had been proven unsustainable under the conditions of the evolving global society. However, the broad understanding, with its tendency for universality of application, has been equally struggling with an impossibility to aspire to the ends postcolonialism set up.

A similar difficulty arises not only from 'temporal', but also 'spatial' ambiguity of the term 'post(-)colonial'. This uncertainty about geographical location of the postcolonial brings us back to the concept of the Third World which was preferred in earlier stages of the theory and which was felt to be more clearly geo-politically located. However, even this notion has lost its tangibility in recent years. Critical accounts about the spatial division of postcolonial worlds that are highly relevant for demonstrations of ambiguity of understanding this problem are, for example, analyses by Frederick Jameson or Aijaz Ahmad who stress various criteria that cooperate on the creation of power division of the postcolonial world and thus transgress more simplistic, geographically oriented characterization of preceding approaches where geographical division of the world seemed to correspond to the unequal distribution of power (socio-political as well as economic power). Yet, even employment of more complex criteria did not manage to resolve the ambiguity of the postcolonial concept as such. It merely showed the difficulties one

[8] The term 'socio-political' includes here also the area of culture, as it is inevitably an inseparable part of broader social context. I employ the term 'socio-political' (even though politics is, for me, part of the social order) to show its close connectedness, rather than separation, but also to show the early affiliation of anti-colonial struggles that were first concerned with gaining political freedom and only later refocused on other aspects of hegemony.

inevitably faces when trying to categorize spatially the postcolonial world which has traditionally been divided into the First, (Second[9]) and Third World. Within the practices of global capitalism, the geographical division that previously separated the developed countries of Europe and North America from those with the lower positions within that system became unsustainable. Ahmad directly criticizes Jameson for his untenable categories of the First and Second World that are defined according to economic criteria while the Third world is characterized by a common experience of colonialism and imperialism (Ahmad in Mengara 1996:44).

Ahmad himself sees the situation from the perspective of global capitalism and division of labour in which experience of colonialism and imperialism is reciprocal. The postcolonial would therefore be seen as a condition afflicting the whole system whose parts are not mutually exclusive, but interdependent. In this way, the division into the First, (Second), and Third World loses its applicability. Ahmad talks about a system which forms contradictory unity with differences as well as overlaps. Although these divisions of the world are often defined in terms of economic criteria based on the division of labour, we should not forget that the link these characteristics hold to power-relations is also reflected on a cultural level (Ahmad 1987:9). Already since Edward Said's insights into the postcolonial question, we are moving away from the focus of the 'western gaze' on the marginalized/subaltern, or counter-discourse of "the subaltern" challenging the dominant tradition,[10] towards a closer analysis of interrelations between various groups (that can be defined according to different characteristics) and between which exists the connection of inequality of some sort that is seen as resulting from practices of any form of colonialism or imperialism. This idea is also present in Santiago Colás's interpretation of division of a global community.

Colás goes even further than Ahmad in his division of a global community based on capitalism. He, in fact, criticizes Ahmad for denying the existence of the Third World which in fact leads him towards a similar categorization as Jameson, with the difference that Colás's division is constantly changing. The solution to division of a global society he offers is based on a presumption that contemporary global world of late capitalism is fundamentally uneven and while developing it *constantly produces the third world as its necessary complement, so the further it develops the more third worlds it produces until eventually the third world loses all geographic specificity and becomes instead a term designating something like a new class or indeed caste system within the first world itself* (Colás in Buchanan 2003:76).

[9] The division into three worlds was later reduced to the division into only two separate categories of the First and Third World. The Second World was associated with principles of socialism, but the number was later reduced to only two sections due to participation of countries with socialist tradition in the global capitalist market (Ashcroft 1998:231-232).

[10] The question of the capacity of scholars from underprivileged nations, ethnic groups etc. to truly represent the subaltern is discussed in great detail by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak in the essay "Can the Subaltern Speak?"

It seems that theoretical debate became trapped by indeterminacy of its own terminology. Though the concepts of the First and Third World are nowadays often strategically avoided, the 'postcolonial' which basically replaced 'Third World' is itself being substituted by different expressions. New voices appeared calling for reconsideration of the 'postcolonial' and its replacement by 'neo-colonial' which is able to acknowledge continuity of some of colonial/imperial practices, but also its difference in some aspects from the previous experience. In this case emphasis is *on the new modes and forms of the old colonialist practices, not on a 'beyond'* suggested by the expression 'post-colonialism' (Shohat 1992:106). Shohat also refers to significant connotations of the term 'post-colonial' which *linguistically reproduces, once again, the centrality of the colonial narrative. [It] implies a narrative of progression in which colonialism remains the central point of reference* (Shohat 1992:107). The advantages of 'colonialism' and 'neo-colonialism' lie therefore in the terms' ability to convey oppression as well as the possibility of resistance whereas 'postcolonial' *posits no clear domination, and calls for no clear opposition* (Shohat 1992:107).

Despite Shohat's suggestion that we substitute the concept of 'postcolonialism' for 'neo-colonialism', which is not so politically-neutral, she acknowledges an unsatisfactory nature of both terms. Mengara notes, that Shohat sees this particular neutrality of 'postcolonial' as one of the main reasons for its current success within academia, and that the task of portraying power relations should be left to *more politically and ideologically-loaded terms like 'neo-colonialism', 'post-independence' and the like* (Mengara 1996:39-40).

An interesting solution to the terminology and delimitation problems discussed above can be found in Shankar's essay "The Thumb of Ekalavya: Postcolonial Studies and the 'Third World' Scholar in a Neocolonial World". He introduces difference between 'postcolonial' and 'neo-colonial' by identifying the scholar as 'postcolonial' and the world as 'neo-colonial', while stating that he is evaluating both terms in different ways, thus suggesting *a certain ambivalent autonomy for [his] scholar in a world that continues to show the structural inequality produced by colonialism on a global scale* (Shankar 1994:482).

Globalization theories, then, show similar theoretical struggles and offer another possibility of perceiving current developments in society. Globalization theories are building on the roots of postcolonialism, neo-colonialism and their criticism, but also show some similar weaknesses and face the threat of excessive generalization and universalism, thus solving some of the issues criticized in postcolonial and neo-colonial approaches, while (re)producing some controversial points that return to the early problems postcolonialism and neo-colonialism were trying to fight against. It is then showing yet again the impossibility to truly encompass the complexity of the problems all these approaches are trying to embrace. The question is whether this paradoxical nature of all the concepts is really such the problem as it is presented to be. While all of the three strategies possess various

limitations, they also show their strengths and applicability depending on the aim of the particular approach. A certain degree of "strategic essentialism" is according to Gayatri Chakraworty Spivak inevitable, despite her awareness of the dangers, but also *usefulness of essentialist formulations in many struggles for liberation from the effects of colonial and neo-colonial oppression* (Spivak in Ashcroft 1998:79). To be able to talk about and embrace the complexity of postcolonial ideas, to make the discourse productive and useful, we should realize that theoretical concepts will necessarily prove to be imperfect and incomplete, as it is impossible to take into consideration all the existing criteria and all real as well as hypothetical cases to which it might be applied.

Drawing on Shankar's concept of the postcolonial author in the neo-colonial world (I believe, we could also include the global world) we get to yet another crucial feature of Postcolonial Studies that is putting the discipline into doubts about its relevance – the postcolonial author and his or her capacity to (re)present the post/neo colonial/global world. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak talks about representation (Vertretung) and re-presentation (Darstellung) of the subaltern (Spivak 1988: 30). As I have tried to show above, there is not much agreement about what part of the world, history, or even society the 'post(-)colonial' delimits. The same problem must therefore arise when we attempt to describe 'the postcolonial author and/or intellectual'.

Even if we were to ignore the obvious spatio-temporal vagueness of postcolonialism and consequently the author or intellectual representing it, we are still unable to ascribe to him or her the ability to faithfully speak for (represent) and/or describe/portray (re-present) the postcolonial subject – Spivak's real subaltern – because of the necessarily privileged position of the intellectual within a marginalized group he or she is trying to re(-)present. The position and function of the 'postcolonial' intellectual within the subaltern-privileged continuum remains quite undetermined.

This problem of re(-)presentation of the subaltern has been discussed in depth in works by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak – one of the first scholars who pointed out the inevitable split of the postcolonial intellectual who is neither truly subaltern any more, nor fully in the position of power/privilege. In Spivak's case it is then impossible for the intellectual to represent the community he or she is expected and often willing to represent (I believe a kind of re-presentation is always possible in contrast to representation ('speaking for') of the subaltern).

Shankar and Shohat, on the other hand, do not seem to mind the problem of re(-)presentation itself and focus on position of the 'Third World' intellectual in 'First World' academia and their mutual influence on each other. With Shohat's use of 'postcolonial' and 'neocolonial' as rather global concepts, the use of expressions 'First' and 'Third World' can be read as a convenient, and maybe even inevitable tool for specifying somehow the position of a particular kind of an author that is being discussed in her essay. Shohat emphasizes that the term 'Third

World' in contrast to 'postcolonial' is able to convey the meaning of a *common project of resistance to neo-colonialism […] around which to mobilize* (Shohat 1992:111). This project of common resistance is necessary for active participation in the process of decolonization which is being neutralized in de-politicized postcolonialism. Shankar stresses the role of the postcolonial intellectual in the struggle when openly stating, that *the immigrant scholar from the 'Third World'* has been a vital element in the emergence of postcolonial studies within *elite academy* (Shankar concentrates on the North American elite acedemy) (Shankar 1994:483). He analyses relationship between the academy and intellectual. He openly discusses reciprocity in the establishment of Postcolonial Studies and their further development. *If the presence of 'Third World' scholars within the elite academy has had a transformative effect on literary and cultural study, what kind of effect, has such a presence had upon the scholars themselves?* (Shankar 1994:479). Although Shankar warns against the tendency of elite institutions to invite oppositional discourse in order to control and shape their enunciation (Shankar 1994:485), I believe there has already been and still is capacity to transform the elite academies not only through acceptance of Shankar's immigrant scholar from the 'Third World' into 'First World' elite academy, but also through the 'First World' scholars themselves.

Moreover, with growing emphasis on the reciprocity of postcolonial/neo-colonial/global processes, the scholarly representative figure can no longer be limited to someone coming solely from the marginalized end of the postcolonial spectrum. Such an approach would work against ideas of transgression of dualism typical for earlier anti-colonial approaches. It would also deny globalizing tendencies in society and questions of neo-colonialism. While we can face criticism of the continuing supremacy of Western academia within newer developments in theories surrounding postcolonialism, restricting the representative voice to intellectuals from marginalized groups, is not only impossible, but also undesirable, if we want to grapple with the complexity of the whole field of questioning (be it that which we understand as postcolonial, neo-colonial or global).

To separate 'First' and 'Third World' scholars becomes less and less feasible with the recent tendency to understand 'postcolonial' as a reciprocal experience. Such intellectuals may have various experience and understandings of the issues in question, but they can still relevantly contribute to the field if they manage to be critical of their own socio-political position – that of their particular community and also that of the academic field itself. Spivak as well as Shankar point out, that even the 'postcolonial'/ 'Third World' scholar (here seen as separate category against the 'First World' scholar) finds himself in a position of privilege that each scholar inevitably possesses when accepted by an elite pedagogical institution, regardless of the kind of privilege. Paying attention exclusively to their subalternity or privilege would, therefore, blur the real heterogeneity of their situation where

many may experience privilege of class (and often gender), while being still culturally and politically disadvantaged (Shankar 1994:483).

In spite of their alertness to the position of an intellectual in society, neither Spivak nor Shankar seem to pay much attention to the question of who their 'postcolonial' (in Shankar's case 'Third World') intellectual is, which leads us back to the above mentioned problem of defining and placing 'the postcolonial' geographically or historically. I find myself in full agreement with Arif Dirlik's position that nowadays *postcoloniality is the condition of the intelligentsia of global capitalism* (Dirlik 1994:356) and that the *postcolonial, rather than a description of anything, is a discourse that seeks to constitute the world in the self-image of intellectuals who view themselves (or have come to view themselves) as postcolonial intellectuals* (Dirlik 1994:339).

As a result of competing strategies, new aims and indeterminacy of the central concepts, Postcolonial Studies have gradually changed its focus. The centrality of socio-political implications and active participation in the changes in the struggles for equality made space for more universalising theoretical approaches, focusing on textual practices of the postcolonial world and the demonstration of inequality and marginalization within such texts. Employing methodology of structuralism and poststructuralism, focus on the text lead to preference of deconstruction as a tool of analysis most suitable for critical analysis of postcolonial literature with the aim to discover and subvert stylistic and linguistic strategies that were seen as reflecting and further promoting ideas of inequality. The following section will focus on the prevailing concern with discursive practices within Postcolonial Studies and implications resulting from such theoretical orientation that contribute to greater vagueness and generalization of the field already supported by incorporation of ideas of neo-colonialism and globalization. Due to the often popularly favoured 'discoursive' basis of postcolonialism and a kind of 'apolitical' approach to art, literary criticism has been one of fields where 'postcolonial' theory could firmly establish itself. Previous theoretical approaches which were firmly grounded within the academy (such as deconstruction, semiology, and Foucault studies) proved to be willing to accept new materials for critical analysis. The problem is, that they were based on the Eurocentric tradition which drew texts away from particular historical and social situations that produced them. Especially in the case of postcolonial studies, which were trying to stand against the dominant discourse and support the establishment of an authentic expression and independent feeling of community in the newly independent or still struggling states, the abstraction of texts from their historical and social surroundings, which Edward Said criticizes in his *Reflections on Exile*, reduces and even eliminates *the messier precincts of life and historical experience* (Said in Scott 2006). This continuing *habitual artificial specialization*, as Scott calls it, of literary criticism separates literature from interdependent forces of political science, geography, economics and culture which are in fact inseparable (Scott 2006).

Separation of literary expression from its historical, political and economic context by continuing emphasis on textuality and further institutionalization of Postcolonial Studies may lead, according to Kanishka Chowdhury, to another danger. She sees the continuing institutionalization and establishment of universalizing/ Eurocentric theoretical paradigms as a way of effectively neutralizing historical specificity of postcolonial texts and deradicalization of what would potentially be radical texts (Chowdhury 1991:610). The misfortune of postcolonial literature may be seen in the Eurocentric tradition of literary criticism with its tendency for separating the aesthetic from the political, which is in direct contrast to the primary purpose of postcolonialism with its *politics of resistance, cultural regeneration, and emancipation* (Pandit 1993:6).

Yet, the position of postcolonial literature is even more complicated and contradictory. It has been mentioned above that the Eurocentric critical tradition tends to separate the aesthetic from the political. I would argue that this works rather on a more general level where the aesthetic stands for imaginative literature and its separation from a particular historical and political situation. Ironically, the aesthetic itself is being neglected in postcolonial research due to preoccupation of intellectuals with discovering the characteristics and workings of counter-discourse and its subversion of colonial or neo-colonial discourse. Pandit notes that because of an opposition and general distrust of the already established criteria (which are usually criticized for being Eurocentric and therefore derived from colonialism) *postcolonial theory has reached an impasse where discussion of the aesthetic merits of postcolonial literature is almost forbidden* (Pandit 1993:6). Hence, postcolonial literary criticism seems hesitant about the direction it should be heading for. To be recognized by academia, it needs to avoid direct political links and academically unacceptable junction to ideology. Nevertheless, it also struggles with the focus on aesthetic aspects of postcolonial art as it would seemingly diminish the task of postcolonialism to challenge or deconstruct the inequality of previous, but also continuing colonial practices.

I share Julie McGonegal's view that literaturemustbe understood as a complex framework – *the complex interplay between the psychological, the economic and the political, and the cultural* (McGonegal 2005:256). The question of relevance of 'postcolonial' literary criticism (and other fields where postcolonial theory can find use) rests in future developments of its understanding as a theoretical field of study, but also as a real condition out of which aesthetically valuable products may arise and these then may play their part in shaping of a society that continuously receives and generates them. With respect to literary studies there seems to be a shift towards a less universalizing concept which returns to the tradition of Aristotelian Rhetoric which does not examine only the 'object' of the text, but first and foremost the effects the particular text is able to produce *in particular readers in actual situations* (Garrard 2004:7). The idea of understanding text as an example of rhetorics calls for a wider context of analysis which cannot be replaced by any grand narratives

or universalizing truth claims that are still sought by some postcolonial theorists. Greg Garrard expresses this idea in relation to ecocriticism (a recently established field drawing on postcolonial studies), but I believe it is similarly relevant for any literary criticism. Hybrid essence of postcolonial literature (and inevitably the theory itself) calls for pluralism and hybridity of reading that can be satisfied by rhetorics which does not try to hide possible political, ideological, philosophical and also aesthetic implications.

Like Helen Tiffin and Graham Huggan, I believe that imaginative literature can turn into *a catalyst for social action and exploratory literary analysis into a full-fledged form of engaged cultural critique* (Huggan and Tiffin 2010:12). Postcolonial literature has often been interpreted as a challenge to dominant discourse and although it would be fatally wrong to equate postcolonial theory with a political or ideological project, it is equally impossible to separate one from the other. In his critique of Adorno's suspicion of a direct social function of art, Andrew Bowie agrees that, *linking art directly to politics can create simplifying illusions of the kind which great art inherently undermines via its revelation of the need to accept complexity and fallibility as part of the modern experience of truth*, yet it does not imply any justifiable need for *political quietism* in art (Bowie 1997:287). Bowie points out the ability of imaginative literature to arouse criticism and even provoke *philosophical reorientation*, to reveal the *limits of theoretical models*, suggest *new ways of questioning*, provoke *new kinds of reading texts, revealing new understandings of the background knowledge*, and above all to enable *a wider picture to be grasped that is being obscured by dominant specialized theories* (Bowie 2003:331).

I see a great benefit of postcolonial theory in its successful attempt to stir theoretical backwater, opening new channels of understanding and perception thus setting in motion various concepts formulated to solve the theoretical crisis in which the main metanarratives of the 19th and 20th century fall apart. We may no longer perceive 'postcolonial theory' with all its ambiguities as a relevant approach for future academic criticism in the 21st century, but the question is, how long we have expected it to last and also which postcolonial theory are we referring to. The above discussion has shown the usefulness of at least some directions postcolonial theory has taken and the great variety of approaches that came to represent the field. Arising out of very specific historical and political conditions, then changing its scope, purpose and methods along with the socio-political and cultural evolution of a global society, 'postcolonial' theory now stands in a position from which it can continue by adjusting itself to suit new needs or it may be substituted by completely new concepts reflecting new aims and purposes. By taking a turn towards the key aspects of the early postcolonial theory with more focus on socio-political change while at the same time acknowledging the complexity of the whole debate and the continuation of hegemonic practices within structures of the global world, it is possible to proceed with postcolonial

debate which is evolving into a more up-to-date approach whilst returning to its original purposes and concepts. Individual turns in and subbranches of Postcolonial Studies contributed significantly towards greater understanding of complexity that represents this field and while they revealed also the weaknesses of its arguments it also helped to emphasize the continuing importance and relevance of those debates that are still working on the transformation of theoretical frameworks which preserve various structures of unequality. Despite its theoretical as well as practical limitations, postcolonialism remains a concept that is most suitable for challenging rigid epistemologies preventing people to perceive positively and without prejudice differences between cultures, nations, ethnicities, etc. that are often misused for justification of hegemony of one group over another.

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Maryana NATSIUK

Ternopil Volodymyr Hnatiuk National Pedagogical University Ukraine
nymaryana@gmail.com

TEACHING FOREIGN CULTURE VALUES IN THE PROCESS OF READING FICTION

Abstract: Teaching foreign languages is a process inseparable from teaching foreign cultures. While teaching a foreign culture, we should keep in mind that it is stored in the forms of beliefs, attitudes, and values. Scholars of different disciplines pay particular attention to the foreign culture values, as they constitute the basis of each culture. Literature is thought to be suitable for teaching cultures, as it represents the view on the culture it was written in, especially on its values, prejudices and stereotypes. Understanding a fictional text depends on the of students' ability to discern the values in the foreign language texts especially those which are not directly expressed. That is why the first task in teaching a foreign culture's values is to classify them. The article presents several classifications of values based on different views on them. The awareness of the classifications enables students to judge the characters, their thoughts, and actions in the text from different cultural points of view, hence to compare cultures. The article focuses on teaching students the core values of the foreign culture by discerning them in literature. Examples of tasks which help understand the foreign culture values are provided in the article.

Key words: culture values, teaching foreign languages, cultural patterns, core British values.

Introduction

The idea of teaching culture inseparably from teaching foreign languages is widely discussed in the academic studies (Byram 1997; Byram, Nichols and Stevens 2001, Sercu 2006) and practical manuals (Tomalin and Stempleski 1993). The scholars emphasize developing intercultural competence as the main goal of foreign language teaching (Byram, Nichols and Stevens 2001), so teaching culture has to be integrated into the process of teaching foreign languages.

More specifically, in the article we are concentrating on the question of teaching foreign culture values in the process of reading fiction. To do this, we have to discuss the following issues:

— teaching culture in the process of reading fiction;
— values as an element of culture;
— importance of teaching values;
— classification of values;
— the core values of British culture;
— exercises in teaching values;

Teaching culture in the process of reading fiction

Culture is a complex phenomenon with multiple definitions which view it from various aspects. In order to teach foreign culture, one should keep in mind its structural character and, consequently, in order to teach culture to students, teachers should focus on its elements. The phenomenon of culture can be defined *as the total way of life of a people, composed of their learned and shared behaviour patterns, values, norms, and material objects* (Rogers and Steinfatt 1998:79).

Most scientists agree that literature is a suitable means of teaching culture as it represents the view on the culture it was written in, especially on its values, prejudice and stereotypes. That is what we read in Valdes' article (1986:137):

It is simply accepted as a given that literature is a viable component of second language programs at the appropriate level and that one of the major functions of literature is to serve as a medium to transmit the culture of the people who speak the language in which it is written.

Moreover, literature gives students an opportunity to exchange their cultural experience, use different cultural perspectives and compare their own culture to the one described in the text. Considering a fictional text as a means of teaching culture, Burwitz-Melzer (2001:29) states

[...]Not only do they (fictional texts) *invite their readers to view subjectively a nation or an ethnic group by portraying specific values, prejudices and stereotypes, but they also offer their audience the chance to exchange their culturally restricted points of view together with a hero or heroine of the narrative, or with the narrator telling the story.*

Values as an element of culture

In different disciplines (linguistics, culture studies, sociolinguistics) values are seen as *shared ideas about what is true, right, and beautiful which underline cultural patterns and guide society in response to the physical and social environment* (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2007/2010:188). Values are recognized to be the most important element of culture. As they are

[…] critical to the maintenance of culture as a whole because they represent the qualities that people believe are essential to continuing their way of life (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2007/2010:25).

Culture values constitute the system of values which preserves the essence of the culture and helps avoid contradictions. It also determines the notions of 'good' and 'bad', 'positive' and 'negative' for a certain society, so *values provide a basis for choice and evaluation (*Steward, Danielian and Foster 1998:158). The culture value system lies is grounded on people's behaviour, communication, meaning of lexical units.

Thus, as an element of culture, values perform the following functions:

1. they present the behaviour of the representatives of the culture;
2. they express a culturally specific attitude to reality;
3. they are embodied in the cultural meaning of words and phrases.

The importance of teaching culture values

The importance of teaching culture values has been studied in scholarly works. For example, Valdés (1986:138) states:

The understanding of literature depends upon discernment of the values inherent, but not necessarily specifically expressed, in the work. The values of any cultural group, even if the author's own values differ from those of the group to which he or she belongs, underlie plots and become the theme in virtually all works of literature.

We can define three groups of reasons for the importance of teaching values to foreign language students:

Group 1. The first group comprises the reasons for understanding linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena. Understanding culture values enables students to explain extra-linguistic and linguistic phenomena in the target culture. Extra-linguistic phenomena include norms of behaviour, traditions, beliefs; linguistic phenomena comprise cultural meaning of idioms, phrases, collocations, connotations. Knowing these things, students will be ready for unusual phenomena (from their perspective) and will be able to avoid culture shock while having contact with a foreign culture.

Group 2. Secondly, students should be aware of foreign culture values for understanding fiction. Foreign language students should have a deep knowledge of the target culture values in order to understand fiction, especially the motives of characters' behaviour, the author's point of view, the plot, and the main idea.

Group 3. The third group of reasons includes a clear understanding the native culture values. With the knowledge of the values of the target culture, the values of the native culture will become more explicable and obvious. Since culture values are the notions which are perceived by people from their social and cultural context, they are often not realized and are taken for granted. The focus on values gives students a chance to compare the target and native cultures.

Classification of values

Understanding a fictional text depends on students' ability to discern the values in the foreign language texts, especially those values which are not directly expressed. That is why the important task in teaching culture values is to classify them.

Values can be classified according to their degree of universality, which allows students to say if the ideas presented in the texts are typical of the whole nation, of a certain group, or of a particular individual. We may find the proof of this classification in Valdés' work (1986:138):

Obviously, values are not universal even within cultural groups, or there would be nothing to write about, but there are certain concepts in each cultural group that carry general consensus, despite dissenting minorities.

Thus, the culture values can be divided into:

— universal values which are shared by most people in the world;
— values specific to a certain culture;
— values specific to a certain culture group;
— values held by an individual which are distinguished when the values are different from culture and group values.

The other classifications are based on the dominant cultural patterns which can be used to analyse core values of a certain culture. There are three prominent value orientation theories which often serve as the basis of culture comparison and the detailed description of them can be found in the works by Rogers and Steinfatt (1998:86-95), Samovar, Porter and McDaniel (2010:197-206), Elizarova (2005:30-38). These are the following theories:

1. G. Hofstede's theory identifies five value dimensions: individualism/collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, power distance, masculinity/femininity, long term/short term orientation;
2. F. Kluckhohns and F. Strodtbeck's theory takes into account such aspects as human nature, person/nature orientation, time, activity, relational orientation;

3. E. Hall's theory distinguishes between high-context and low-context cultures.

The Russian scholar and methodologist Elizarova (2005:30-38) has combined the above mentioned culture patterns and devised a combined classification which takes into account such patterns as attitude towards nature, power, space, competition, personal independence, etc. As we base our investigation on this united classification, it is necessary to explain of each pattern expresses in the term of *attitude* on the basis of Elizarova work (2005:30-38)*:*

— attitude to personal independence allows us to identify individualistic and collectivistic cultures;
— attitude to power distance reveals account power distribution as equal or unequal and classifies cultures as low-power distance and high-power distance;
— attitude to competition reveals high-competitive and low- competitive cultures;
— attitude to communication allows us to divide cultures into high-context where the context of communication, interlocutors' positions or other circumstance are important and low-context where direct meaning prevails;
— attitude to time allows us to view time in the opposition of an eternal recourse or a measured, appreciated thing;
— attitude to nature reveals the ranks of the ideas that a man can control the nature to fatalism;
— attitude to space allows us to identify the personal space needed by representatives of different cultures;
— attitude to activity reveals the dominant orientation of the culture to present, past or future results;
— attitude to human nature can be ranked from the completely evil to divine.

On the basis of the mentioned dominant culture patterns, taxonomies of culture comparison have been devised. Having analysed them and various sources, we are able to identify the core British values.

Core values of British culture

According to Hofstede's theory and recent articles, the most prominent value of British culture is considered to be individualism. Great Britain is in the third place among nations which tend to individualism (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2007/2010:199). According to Samovar, Porter and McDaniel (2007/2010:199), individualism is defined in the following way.

First, the individual is the single most important unit in any social setting. Second, independence rather than interdependence is stressed. Third, individual achievement is rewarded. Lastly, the uniqueness of each individual is of paramount value.

Speaking about power distance, Great Britain is characterized as a low-power distance culture, that is the society that believes that *inequality amongst people should be minimized* ("What about the UK?"). *The Telegraph* (2005) mentions low-power distance as the first British value. It stresses that the British society *[...] is based on the idea that we all abide by the same rules, whatever our wealth or status. No one is above the law – not even the government.*

Regarding the attitude to time, British culture is considered to be past-oriented, which means that it values its history, its traditions, it *resists change as it continues to value its historical achievements* (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2010:212).

When we consider the attitude to communication, the British are regarded to be between low-context (after the French) and high-context nations (before the Italians) (Samovar, Porter and McDaniel 2010:216). Still, we can read in Hofstede's source that *critical to understanding the British is being able to 'read between the lines'. What is said is not always what is meant* ("What about the UK?").

Regarding the attitude to competition, British culture tends to be high-competitive; as mentioned in the Hofstede's research ("What about the UK?") Britain presents 66% of competitive nature which means

[...] that the society will be driven by competition, achievement and success, with success being defined by the winner / best in field – a value system that starts in school and continues throughout organisational behaviour.

Exercises in teaching culture values in the process of fiction reading

As explained above, the core values of British society can be found in fictional texts. We are going to discuss a short story "Taste" by Roald Dahl (Dahl 2001:22-38) where a bet that took place during a fashionable dinner and had an unexpected turn is described. The students are supposed to discern the dominant British values in the text, as they guide the characters' behaviour, their thoughts and attitude to reality embodied in words and phrases, though they are not expressed directly.

The following system of exercises is devised for teaching the values of British culture, but they can be adapted for teaching values of any other culture. We admit, as well, that the short story "Taste" comprises a lot of other cultural and linguistic aspects to be discussed, our exercises are focused on teaching values, though. It is also necessary to mention that the exercises do not focus on vocabulary and grammar, as they are designed for Advanced level students, the future English language specialists of the university fourth course.

In order to learn culture values in the process of reading students should be able to

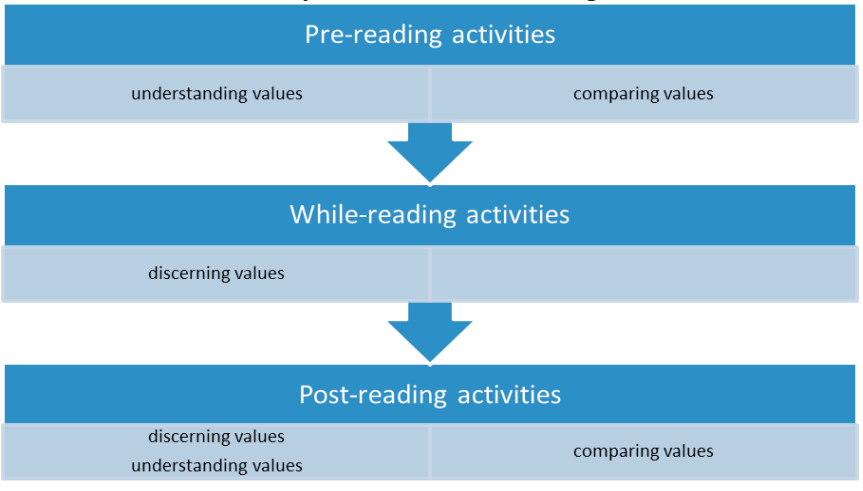
— discern the values in the text;

— understand th foreign culture values;
— compare the values of their native and British culture.

Teaching reading includes exercises in three stages: pre-reading, while-reading and post-reading. Consequently, pre-reading, while-reading and post-reading activities are distinguished.

The system of exercises on teaching culture values in the process of reading fiction is as follows: pre-reading activities include exercises on understanding and comparing values; while-reading activities contain exercises on discerning values; post-reading activities comprise exercises on discerning, understanding and comparing values. The system is presented in the scheme 1.

Scheme 1. The system of exercises on teaching culture values



Pre-reading activities. At the pre-reading stage students do exercises on understanding values. This implies discussion, identifying the universality of statements and exercises on comparing cultures.

The exercise on understanding and comparing culture values can be of the following type, e.g.:

Exercise 1: Discussion.

1. *How do you understand such oppositions which are used to describe culture values: individualism – collectivism, low-power distance – high-power distance, low-competitive – high-competitive, high-context – low-context cultures, present oriented – past oriented cultures?*
2. *Do you think that values people hold are universal? Are they different in different cultures? May representatives of the same culture have different values?*
3. *How can you characterize British culture on the basis of the oppositions?*

4. *How can you characterize your native culture on the basis of the oppositions?*
5. *Are there more similarities or differences between the two cultures?*
6. *What do you think are the core values of British culture?*
7. *How can you identify the core values of your native culture?*
8. *How can values influence people's behaviour? How exactly do individualism, low-power distance, competitive nature, high-context determine the behaviour of the representatives of cultures?*

An example of the exercise on understanding culture values can be the exercise on identifying the universality of statements, e.g.:

Exercise 2. Universality of culture values.

Read the statements carefully. They are reflection of values. Match them as universal (U), belonging to culture (C), belonging to culture group (G), individual (I).

— *Competition improves your skills.*
— *Eating animals is forbidden.*
— *When you lie, people won't trust you again.*
— *We must start dinner with good wine.*
— *You must always express your own opinion.*
— *Single sex marriage is allowed.*
— *Stealing other people's things is a crime.*
— *Having a career is very important.*

While-reading activities. While-reading activities provide exercises on discerning values by means of giving students precise tasks, i.e. to read and complete tables, e.g.:

Exercise 3. Reading tasks.

Read the short story carefully. Try to understand the plot, the motives of characters' behaviour and their thoughts.

While reading the story, underline the sentences which reflect individualism, low-power distance, competitive nature, high-context communication of the representatives of British culture.

Exercise 4. Completing the table.

Find evidence to support your guesses about the core British values. Fill in the table.

Table 1. Core Values of British Culture.

Core values of British culture (guessing)	*Core values of British culture (confirmation)*	*Proofs from the text*

Post-reading activities. Post-reading activities include exercises on discerning values such as a group work (the discussion of the students' tables), matching sentences from the text to the values, finding out the examples of the values in the text; exercises on understanding the values imply observation and completing the table, writing the characters' description; exercises on comparing values contain tasks on estimating actions, role-play. Samples of the exercises are the following, e.g.:

Exercise 5. Discussion of the table.

Work in groups and discuss with your group mates the results of your observation of British values found in the story. Present the results of your discussion to other groups.

Exercise 6. Matching sentences from the text to the values

What values do the following sentences refer to? Why do you think so? Read out your own underlined sentences.

1. *When she came to Pratt, she saw that he had not yet touched his food, so she hesitated, and Pratt noticed her.*
2. *I was conscious of him sitting there, very still, containing himself, looking at his guest.*
3. *[…] Mike had played a little betting game with him over the claret, challenging him to name its breed and its vintage.*
4. *I am perfectly willing to bet.*
5. *You'll be rich! You'll be independent for the rest of your life.*
6. *[…] the maid, the tiny, erect figure of the maid in her white-and-black uniform, was standing beside Richard Pratt.*
7. *But the maid didn't go away. She remained standing beside and slightly behind Richard Pratt, and there was something so unusual in her manner…, that I for one found myself watching her with a sudden apprehension.*
8. *You left them in Mr Schofield's study', she said. Her voice was unnatural, deliberately polite.*

Exercise 7. Manifestation of the values in the text.

Find in the story examples of universal values, special cultural values, values of a cultural group, individual values. Discuss them in the class. Prove your position.

Exercise 8.Observation and completing the table.

Think about characters' behaviour, thoughts and feelings from the cultural point of view. What can be the motives of the characters' actions? Fill the results of your observation in the table.

Table 2. Cultural Dimension of the Characters' Actions.

Actions	*Values that determined the actions*	*Reaction of other characters of the text*	*You own reaction*
Mike speaks about Moselle			
Mike wants to make a bet about claret			
Mike persuades Louise to agree on the bet			
Louise agrees			
Louise smokes			
The maid brings Pratt's spectacles			

Exercise 9. Characters' description.

Write a description of the characters of the story: Mike, Mrs Schofield, Louise, Richard Pratt, the maid. Mention in your descriptions the following things:

— pro*fession;*
— *appearance;*
— *features of character which you like;*
— *features of character which you don't like;*
— *values that person holds;*
— *the influence of values on the person's character;*
— *identif*ication of values according to their universality.

Exercise 10. Evaluating the actions.

Evaluate the characters' actions. Identify them as good, bad, acceptable, unacceptable for you.

Think if the evaluation you have given is culturally determined. Try to think from another culture's point of view. Will the estimation be the same? Put down the results in the table.

Table 3. Evaluation of Actions.

Actions	Evaluation from your native culture's point of view	Evaluation from British culture's point of view	Your conclusion

Exercise 11. Role-play

Make up a dialogue between the following characters. Mind cultural differences.

1. *The dialogue between Mike and Pratt after the bet. Mind the high contextuality and reserveness of British people.*

2. *The dialogue between Mike and Pratt after the bet if they were representatives of your native culture. Think about the differences between the cultures in terms of high/low context cultures.*
3. *The dialogue between Mike and the maid. Mind low-power distance of British culture.*
4. *The dialogue between Mike and the maid if they were the representatives of your native culture. Compare cultures in terms low/high power distance.*
5. *The dialogue between Mrs. Schofield and Louise after the bet. Mind individualism of British culture.*
6. *The dialogue between Mrs. Schofield and Louise after the bet if they were the representatives of you native culture. Pay attention to dimension of individualism/collectivism of two cultures.*

Conclusion

In conclusion we would like to say that teaching culture is a vital component of foreign language teaching which can be taught in the process of fiction reading. Values as an element of culture perform such functions as revealing people's behaviour, expressing culturally specific attitudes to reality, or carrying cultural meaning of words and phrases. It is very important to teach culture values to foreign language students to help them understand fiction, linguistic and extra-linguistic phenomena, as well as their native culture values. Culture values can be classified according to their universality and according to their dominant culture patterns. These classifications are based on exercises on teaching values, which implies discerning values in the text, understanding values, comparing values of native and target cultures. These tasks are carried out in three stages: pre-reading, while-reading and post-reading. We recommend using the devised system of exercises to teach values of other cultures and on the basis of other fictional texts.

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Barbara NIEDZIELA

University of Rzeszow
kelani@tlen.pl

THE FANTASTIC – ITS VARIETIES AND TOOLS IN THE FICTION OF H.P. LOVECRAFT AND STEPHEN KING

***Abstract*:** The article has been inspired by N. Carroll's assumption that the border between horror and fantasy is flexible and the two genres may share some elements that describe them. Still, there are different criteria for the classification of horror and fantasy, and one of the methods of distinguishing between the two may be derived from Todorov's distinction between "the uncanny" and "the marvellous". For instance, the appearance of monsters in Lovecraft's "Cthulhu Mythos" might be explained by the fact that they belong to a specific reality created by the Lovecraftian mythology. In horror, however, the appearance of monsters causes disorder in the only reality that is presented: the human reality. The discussion of horror fiction and its relation to Lovecraft's weird fiction and some aspects of fantasy will be based on the writing of Stephen King, who in his non-fiction book *Danse Macabre* acknowledges Lovecraft's influence on him. Theoretical considerations concerning the nature of the genres indicated above will be illustrated by the discussion of selected works of H.P. Lovecraft and S. King.

***Key Words*:** Stephen King, H.P. Lovecraft, weird fiction, horror, fantasy.

Since we may assume that horror and fantasy belong to the same field (the fantastic), it is obvious that they share some qualities and that there are areas in which they overlap. However, there are some elements that draw a clear border between the two. Therefore, stating exactly what constitutes the term known in literature as the fantastic is not an easy task as there may be conflicting opinions concerning what features must be excluded from the field and what should be unquestionably qualified as one of its inherent elements. H.P. Lovecraft clearly stated that *fantastic literature cannot be treated as a single unit, because it is a composite resting on widely divergent bases* (Lovecraft, as quoted in Joshi, 1990:178). Also, S.T. Joshi, a leading Lovecraft scholar, points to an *irremediable*

confusion of terms such as horror, terror, the supernatural, fantasy, the fantastic, ghost story, and others (Joshi, 1990:2). What is more, in his discussion of the fantastic literature, Marek Wydmuch accentuates the difficulty characterizing an attempt to give the term a proper, exhaustive definition. He admits that even though there exists a vast number of dictionary and encyclopedia entries associated with the term, deciding whether or not a given work should be defined as fantastic is not simple at all (Wydmuch, 1975:7). This indicates that the fantastic genre is multi-dimensional and comprises a variety of elements. Sometimes the purpose of the fantastic is to present some truth about the real world; at other times, it may exist on its own, without any connection with the reality of human affairs. Defining a given work as fantastic depends on readers' perception of reality, their personal experiences and their aesthetic sensibility: one person might thus become horrified by blatantly macabre images presented in a book or on the screen, whereas another person may perceive this as comical. For instance, the subgenre known as body horror may evoke disgust and terror with its reliance on physical decay and ugliness, while these qualities certainly prompt a smile of pity in other readers. Also, Todorov's theory of the fantastic indicates different approaches to the term, suggesting that it is characterized by hesitation and uncertainty. Choosing the supernatural or the rational explanation depends on individual reactions to the events: if one concentrates on the nature of the events and not on the attitude towards them, one is more likely to opt for the supernatural (fantastic-marvellous). Otherwise, it may be assumed that the laws of reality do not have to be altered – Todorov refers to this approach as fantastic-uncanny (Todorov, 2000:18).

According to the taxonomy proposed by Wydmuch, three main branches (subgenres) of the fantastic may be distinguished: fantasy, horror (or weird fiction, a term popularized by Lovecraft) and science fiction (Wydmuch, 1975:38). Among the criteria that classify a given work to one of these subgenres, there are three that seem to be the key ones, or the most universal. The first criterion concerns the way in which the occurrence of a fantastic phenomenon is explained (Wydmuch, 1975:38). Thus, the first difference between horror and fantasy may concern the purpose for the introduction of fantastic phenomena. While we can agree that authors of fantastic literature in general intend to induce certain feelings in their readers, these feelings are usually very different depending on the (sub)genre. When it comes to horror, it is *named solely after the AFFECT it is intended to produce* (Clute and Grant, 1997:349) – one of its main intentions is to scare the reader: *a horror story makes its readers feel horror* (Clute and Grant, 1997:490). In other words, *it refers to the intended effect of the work rather than thematic content* (Stableford, 2005:271). A sense of uneasiness may be triggered by a shift from the familiar to the unfamiliar – something that is beyond human comprehension. The realization that humans have no ability control events whatsoever is terrifying – and this idea is at the centre of horror. Anything fantastic, unnatural, is presented as an intrusion into an established human order and this instils in the characters

(and also in readers, as they immerse in the fictional world) feelings of uncertainty, danger, and ultimately dread. Peaceful existence becomes dramatically disturbed and any struggle to restore the order that was shaken has little chance of success. This method of presenting horror is quite common in Stephen King's works, as will be indicated in further discussion.

In order to trigger strong emotions in readers, authors of horror fictions create a specific atmosphere that conveys the ideas of mystery and terror. Both King's and Lovecraft's works are characterized by a remarkable atmosphere. In his essay "Supernatural Horror in Literature", Lovecraft emphasizes the importance of atmosphere in creating "the true weird tale": it must be "a certain atmosphere of breathless and unexplainable dread of outer, unknown forces" (Lovecraft, 2008:1043). This air of terror most often results from the realization of human weakness at the moment of contact with the unknown. Sometimes, however, a sense of anxiety is unspecified and it overwhelms a character before the actual horror begins. In one of Lovecraft's best and most popular stories, "The Call of Cthulhu", the narrator named Francis Wayland Thurston comes into possession of written materials previously owned by his late granduncle, Professor Angell. Among these materials, there are notes describing the dreams of several people who experienced a sense of *acute fear of the gigantic nameless thing visible towards the last [scene in their sleep]* (Lovecraft, 2008:360). These people do not know anything about this *thing*, but the very thought of it triggers in them deep distress. What is important is the fact that they experienced these nightmares at the same time that a man named Wilcox brought to Professor Angell a sculpture of a monster that he made during his delirious dream. Wilcox's mental and emotional balance is clearly disturbed; and it also affects the Professor who is eager to learn the meaning of strange hieroglyphic signs carved on the sculpture. In the course of his research, the Professor discovers facts that he apparently relates to Wilcox's dream. The dream itself is worth noting as an excellent example of how the atmosphere of uneasiness is created: *[Wilcox] had an unprecedented dream of great Cyclopean cities of titan blocks and sky-flung monoliths, all dripping with green ooze and sinister with latent horror. Hieroglyphics had covered the walls and pillars, and from some undetermined point below had come a voice that was not a voice; a chaotic sensation which only fancy could transmute into sound* (Lovecraft, 2008:358). The air of terror is conveyed through the use of words denoting the physical magnitude of a mysterious place, and through expressions that communicate the idea of vagueness (*unprecedented* – meaning, in this context, new, never seen before, and therefore unclear, inexplicable; *latent horror* – concealed; which conveys the notion of mystery, thus inspiring confusion and growing distress). It must be noted that adjectives play a significant role in evoking the atmosphere of terror in almost all of Lovecraft's fiction. In "The Call of Cthulhu" there are numerous instances where adjectives in particular contribute to depicting an extremely vivid image of horror: the statuette of a mysterious monster that we later get to know as the god

Cthulhu is described as *grotesque* and *repulsive* (Lovecraft, 2008:361), and it is clearly meant to inspire awe. The description of a cult discovered on the Greenland coast by another character in the story, Professor Webb, also suggests the air of horror, since its members are referred to as *degenerate* and *diabolist* (Lovecraft, 2008:363), thus openly addressing the nature of this cult, which is connected with the statuette of Cthulhu. Yet another character in the story, Inspector Legrasse, tells of a day when a similar statuette to the one that Professor Angell got from Wilcox was taken during a raid *on a supposed voodoo meeting […] in the wooden swamps south of New Orleans* (Lovecraft, 2008:361). The cult and its rites are described as *hideous, dark, and infinitely more diabolic than even the blackest of African voodoo circles* (Lovecraft, 2008:364). These adjectives vividly express the mystery behind the statuette of the creature/idol and emphasize its destructive qualities.

Also, in another of Lovecraft's stories, "The Dunwich Horror", the air of apprehension is suggested at the very beginning, where the description of the landscape is associated with *the feeling of strange uneasiness* (Lovecraft, 2008:633). The narrator does not explain exactly why the place inspires such an emotion, but this statement undoubtedly arouses curiosity about the nature of events that are to be told. The few people inhabiting the town of Dunwich are referred to as *repellently decadent* (Lovecraft, 2008:634), which corresponds with the air of degeneration surrounding the place: *most of the houses are deserted and falling to ruin* (Lovecraft, 2008:634). Even the smell of the place evokes the sense of ugliness: *there is some malign odour about the village street, as of the massed mould and decay of centuries* (Lovecraft, 2008:634). The accumulation of these elements: the people, the buildings and the landscape, are combined to create a horrible and degenerated self-contained world, along with its dark, disturbing atmosphere.

Similarly, Stephen King's fiction is designed in a way that is supposed to arouse feelings of dread and anxiety. This effect is usually achieved by the introduction of seemingly insignificant details that disturb the peaceful atmosphere of a familiar image. To be more specific, let us refer to a fragment of King's novel *Pet Sematary* (first published in 1983), when the disturbing dream of the main character, a doctor named Louis Creed, evokes a sense of uneasiness and unspecified terror, thus foreshadowing the horror that is about to come. In his dream, Creed is visited by a man named Victor Pascow, who suffered a terrible injury and whose life Creed failed to save. The man leads the doctor to the cemetery that is located at the back of the Creeds' house and warns him against crossing the territory. The dream is surrounded by a distinctly dreadful aura, which is obviously meant to indicate and prepare the readers for further action. In this dream, Louis Creed experiences conflicting emotions: on the one hand, he tries to convince himself that this is just a nightmare, probably caused by the traumatic experience as a doctor (his failure to save Pascow's life). The narrator states that at the moment of this realization, *Louis felt no fear* but only *relief* (King, 1990:86). Soon, however, Louis' feelings start to

shift as he ceases to believe in this explanation of his dreamlike experience. The relief is transformed into fright, as the thought that *the dead do not return* strikes him (King, 1990:86). The fear he experiences becomes in a way materialised; it is compared by the narrator to some entity: *fear came, entering softly, lifting through the hollow places of his body and filling them up with dirty smoke* (King, 1990:87). Still, though, Louis strives to fight the terror again by hoping that he will soon wake up. The man's hesitation between the uncanny and the marvellous (i.e.: is it just a realistic dream or is it some other reality that is different from the only one that we know?) is imparted to the readers as well, as their emotions are influenced by suggestive images created by King's language. Like Lovecraft, King uses adjectives that convey the air of mystery and horror. In the single short chapter that describes Creed's dream, words like cold, bloody, bony, pallid, dreadful, maddening, hopeless, ghastly clearly indicate the morbid atmosphere and evoke associations with death and human powerlessness in the face of it. What is also important is that the place to which Creed is led in his dream by Pascow is referred to as *the deadfall* (King, 1990:89) - i.e. trap, which brings associations with danger, some sort of disability, death. The disturbance caused by the dream affects Louis and also has an impact on the readers' perception of events, as they are now anticipating the horror proper.

Like horror, the subgenre known as fantasy relies on preternatural elements for the purpose of stimulating the readers' imagination and thus, holding their attention. However, fantasy does not intend to scare the readers (although it might), but rather to enchant them with the portrayal of a world to which natural laws do not have to be applied. The third major subgenre of the fantastic (science fiction) is also worth mentioning, since some of its elements may be found in H.P. Lovecraft's works. Like in horror, one of the purposes for the employment of fantastic phenomena in science fiction may be to induce a feeling of dread. In science fiction, however, they must be accompanied by a precise, rational explanation, whereas horror does not require such a commentary. Contrary to a common belief according to which there is no room for the laws of nature in science fiction, Wydmuch (1975:44) emphasizes that our reality is the basis for the construction of events in science fiction. However, the fact that they are set in a distant future provokes the reader's disbelief as to the possibility of their existence, and science fiction's task is to explain the nature of these events. Therefore, fantastic elements in science fiction (i.e. the ones that are not realistic at the time and place in which we read a story) are explained by means of realistic, natural processes (Wydmuch, 1975:44). An important fact that needs to be mentioned is that in fantasy the reader is aware that the events are impossible and accepts this, whereas in science fiction the events are presented as possible (not at present, but at some point in the future). It might be said that the purpose for the introduction of supernatural elements in fantasy fiction lies in taking full advantage of the possibilities offered by them, and the best possibility is that the supernatural does not adhere to the limitations of our reality.

In the light of this view concerning the potential of fantasy literature, it enables a reader's mind to see the images described with words. The fantastic is a perfect tool for fantasy fictions to paint colourful, vivid pictures that attract interest and build tension.

Another dissimilarity between horror (and weird fiction) and fantasy concerns the focus of the story**.** Generally speaking, fantasy prefers happy endings – *tragic fantasy exists, but is uncommon* (Clute and Grant, 1997:351). In contrast, *horror stories tend to focus on the experience of THINNING, when the body and the world are progressively violated, lessened, brought to despair* (Clute and Grant, 1997:351). Fantasy does not really rely on such ideas as despair or doom. Obviously, this is a generalization, since fantasy itself contains subdivisions. A dark fantasy story, for instance, is sometimes misunderstood as a synonym for a horror story, perhaps due to the fact that they both provoke similar emotions. Clute and Grant, however, draw a line between the two by providing a definition of dark fantasy: it is *a tale which incorporates a sense of horror, but which is clearly fantasy rather than supernatural fiction* (1997:261). At this point, it is necessary to refer to a definition of supernatural fiction. A satisfactory one is provided by Joshi who assumes that it *can exist only where the ordinary world of our daily lives is presupposed as the norm; natural law can [...] be violated only when it is assumed to function in the real world* (Joshi, 1990:7). In contrast, the world presented in fantasy functions in its own right and none of its elements should be treated in terms of intrusion or disturbance of natural laws, since no such laws have to be applied in fantasy. In horror or weird fiction, the essential idea concerns something that could not happen according to our limited perception of our world's laws. In fantasy, everything seems to be possible.

Although fantasy differs from horror in that anything is possible in a fantasy story, even the world of fantasy has its limitations. If fantasy writers resort to the use of magic in the plot, they agree that "magic, when present, can do almost anything, but obeys certain rules according to its nature" (Clute and Grant 616). Magic can serve both good and evil purposes and may set the direction for the events. *Historical Dictionary of Fantasy Literature* suggests the role of magic in fantasy by referring to Lin Carter's observation that "the definitive element of a fantasy story [...] is that it assumes and displays the workability of magic" (Stableford, 2005:263). With regard to this view, magic may be seen as an important element that helps in creating a fantasy world; magic may give this world its shape and set its laws.

However, it must be remembered that apart from magic, another aspect is of primary importance in fantasy fiction, namely, the conflict between good and evil; and much of fantasy fiction concentrates on this. A fantasy story illustrates this conflict and magic is an ancillary element that helps in its depiction. The portrayals of the characters and their endeavours also conform to the idea of the war between good and evil. As a result of this conflict, or during it, the protagonists often realize

their weaknesses and strengths; they discover the true meaning of everything that surrounds them and redefine their beliefs. Therefore, the conflict between good and evil may be a lesson in morality.

Both in Lovecraft's and King's fiction, the fantastic element is generally associated with concepts of doom, hopelessness, and evil. The appearance of fantastic phenomena disturbs the natural order that is used as a background for the action proper. One of Lovecraft's major themes might be referred to as humans vs. cosmos. His stories deal with *our position in the cosmos* (Joshi, 1990:177), which is not depicted in an optimistic way, to put it mildly. But it must be noted that Lovecraft's cosmicism is not entirely pessimistic either. Rather, the human position in the cosmos in Lovecraft's fiction is associated with disregard, disdain, and coldness; and the writer himself referred to his philosophy as *cosmic indifferentism*, according to which *the whole history of human life is a momentary incident in ceaseless churning of electrons that make up an eternal and infinite universe* (Lovecraft, as quoted in Joshi, 1990:175). Due to cosmic indifferentism, the human race is constantly under the threat of extinction: *the future of civilization, and the ever-present threat of its collapse, is a leitmotiv in Lovecraft's fiction from one end to the other* (Joshi, 1990:226). People are in no position to protect themselves from forces they are unable to comprehend, let alone overcome. Lovecraft's characters are so absorbed in the life they know, and probably so proud of the achievements of humanity, that they do not even think about the possibility that their perspective might be limited. They do not want to assume that there may be a time or place in which the established laws have no importance whatsoever. Lovecraft himself explains what his stories are about: *common human laws and interests and emotions have no validity or significance in the vast cosmos-at-large* (Joshi, 1990:178). In the clash with the cosmos, human laws and all that we regard as our strengths (science, intuition, deduction, etc.) actually mean nothing. In Lovecraft's "Call of Cthulhu", there are several instances of human impotence when faced with cosmic indifferentism. Actually, the very first section of the story starts with a very suggestive statement: *We live on a placid island of ignorance in the midst of black seas of infinity, and it was not meant that we should voyage far* (Lovecraft, 2008:355). The opening suggests the idea with which the story is preoccupied, i.e. human limited knowledge and the insignificance of our experiences and ambitions. Only the human world can be understood in human terms; we simply do not have the tools to understand what is beyond the only reality we know. Our world is just a spot in the cosmos, and this cosmic perspective does not leave much optimism concerning the future of human civilization. This notion remains throughout the story, as the narrator states that *our world and human race form transient incidents* (Lovecraft, 2008:355).

The transitory nature of human existence (meaning the entire human race, not individuals) inspires utmost terror, since apparently there is no escape from this fate. In "The Dunwich Horror", one of the characters, Dr. Armitage, the librarian

at Miskatonic University, is the one who grows aware of the terrible future of the human race as he peruses a manuscript that belonged to Wilbur Whateley, a son of a woman and Yog-Sothoth, one of the deities of Lovecraft's Cthulhu mythos. Dr. Armitage discovers *hideous [...] truths and menaces to man's existence" (657) – he learns about the "plan for the extirpation of the entire human race and all animal and vegetable life from the earth by some terrible elder race of beings from another dimension*" (Lovecraft, 2008:657). The realization of the existence of some destructive otherworldly force and of human powerlessness inspires his profound dread, and he can only *mutter over and over again: But what, in God's name, can we do?* (Lovecraft, 2008:657). Obviously, there is no answer that could offer any hope.

It might be assumed that Stephen King's fiction is also preoccupied with the idea of human weakness, but it does not really have this cosmic dimension, as we could call it. On the whole, King does not want to scare the readers with images of some powerful cosmic entities that threaten humanity; instead, it is humanity itself that is the biggest threat to individuals, and each individual can be his or her own greatest enemy. King sets his horrors in the midst of very realistic circumstances. Unlike in Lovecraft, King's references to ordinary human life are very common and build a solid background for the story. To create them, the author makes use of the details that constitute the shape of our lives (mundane chores, marriage, work-related issues, religion), but apart from this apparent simplicity of human existence, there are also things that we would prefer not to discuss, and these two aspects of human life: simplicity and complexity, are confronted in King's fiction. His focus is also on the things that we used to perceive in terms of the taboo: fanaticism, obsession, parapsychology, and most notably, death. By confronting these taboos, King extracts some of the greatest human fears, which are not associated with the appearance of some bloody monsters, but rather with our own thoughts and psyche. For instance, in King's first published novel *Carrie*, the idea of fear/intimidation is suggested at the very beginning. However, this feeling is not related to any sort of mystery or supernatural event. Instead, it applies to an ordinary teenage girl who is humiliated by her schoolmates. The girl has been raised by a single mother (notably a woman obsessed with religion and morality), according to a strict moral code which excludes any mention of human sexuality. Carrie is thus unfamiliar with the natural processes related to puberty and perceives the changes in her body as dangerous. Carrie's ignorance exposes her to ridicule, and we learn that in the eyes of her schoolmates, she has always been a "scapegoat" due to her appearance and behaviour. Because of her mother's obsession with sin, Carrie's life has been marked by prohibitions and sacrifices. She is unable to explore life as such since she has been taught that only penance gives meaning to human existence and all aspects of sexuality should be renounced and despised. All these experiences cause her to be rejected by her peers, thus making her lonely: *at the age of sixteen, the elusive stamp of hurt was already marked clearly in her eyes* (King, 1974:10).

Thus, King does not avoid the topics that are intrinsically human: he uses ordinary people and ordinary surroundings in his presentation of horror, the source of which is present in the human mind, and not really in some alien reality.

It may be assumed that in Lovecraft's and King's fiction the focus of the story is on conveying the sense of horror, but the ways in which both authors achieve this differ. Both of them adopt a different way of achieving the effect. Lovecraft's images of horror are more vague, or even chaotic, which in fact contributes to the intensification of the sense of horror. Some of Lovecraft's stories are told in the style of a report – in his accounts, the narrator moves back in time and evokes only 'excerpts' of the whole story. Bombarding the reader with such flashbacks is part of Lovecraft's *massive attack* on our imagination (Houllebecq, 2008:57), which is thus greatly stimulated and responds to the horror introduced in the story. For instance, "The Call of Cthulhu" is divided into three parts, and all of them are reported by the narrator. They introduce different characters; also, the setting is not the same. However, they are connected: in each of the stories, a statuette of Cthulhu appears.

The reports told by Lovecraft's narrators sometimes seem to be disorganised, which clearly is the result of overpowering dread. The sparse, chaotic details contribute to the effect of Lovecraft's fiction in that they convey a sense of unbalance – on the one hand, there are details (for instance, Lovecraft is very precise in introducing the setting); on the other hand, there is something from beyond our world, and this creates disproportion and disturbance. In other words, *there is no vertigo without a certain disproportion of scale, without a certain juxtaposition of the minute and the unlimited, of the punctual and the infinite* (Houllebecq, 2008:79).

The sense of horror increases gradually, but it is present from the start in Lovecraft's stories. In "The Dunwich Horror", for instance, horror is suggested at the very beginning of the story, as the narrator emphasizes the disturbing atmosphere surrounding the town of Dunwich. Also, in "The Colour Out of Space", the narrator starts the story with a description of the town of Arkham. Its landscape conveys the atmosphere of isolation: *the hills rise wild, and there are valleys with deep woods that no axe has ever cut* (Lovecraft, 2008:594). Something strange about the place prevents people from settling here, as they are stricken with some unspecified sense of danger surrounding Arkham. To a newcomer, there is no tangible evidence that the place is dangerous; nevertheless, they seem to shun it: *it is not because of anything that can be seen or heard or handled, but because of something that is imagined* (Lovecraft, 2008:594). Thus, the place is imbued with some mysterious atmosphere that affects people's imagination. The real source of terror is unknown at this point; and the lack of any explanation deepens the sense of anxiety. The narrator recalls *odd reluctance about approaching the place* (Lovecraft, 2008:595), thus again creating a very vague (obscure, enigmatic, inexplicit) picture of horror.

Therefore, it might be said that in Lovecraft's fiction, the end of the story is evoked at its beginning (Wydmuch, 1975:136). In this way, the readers' anticipation of the climax is accompanied by a permanent sense of apprehension. There are essentially no insertions that could relax the tension and restore the order lost in the chaos of events – thus, the horror proper is put against the background of horror itself (Wydmuch, 1975:131). Houllebecq refers to Lovecraft's method of portraying horror as *the technique of constriction* (2008:63) It means that no elements of ordinary human existence have importance in the author's depiction of the events. Thus, Lovecraft is not concerned about the classic concept of fantastic literature, according to which the reader is acquainted with images of serenity, prosaic or trivial reality which is then disturbed by the appearance of contrasting events suggesting some horror. Lovecraft wishes to escape this triviality and avoids any references to the ordinariness that characterizes human existence: *he doesn't have the slightest desire to dedicate thirty pages, or even three, to a description of the family life of an average American* (Houllebecq, 2008:51). Since human reality lacks mystery and excitement, any attempt to extract emotion from it would be futile; therefore, Lovecraft explores what may be broadly understood as the non-human as a source of thought-provoking, exotic, but also treacherous impulses.

Stephen King's method of introducing horror is a little different. Much of his fiction starts with an apparently solid picture of the familiar, which is later shattered from the inside with the introduction of the unfamiliar. The portrayal of family life, for instance, is very credible in King because it is composed of not only happiness and serenity, but also of the problems that many families actually go through (e.g. adultery, a sense of inadequacy in performing family and social roles, raising children, etc.). *The Pet Sematary*, for instance, starts with the description of the Creed family moving into their new house, along with their many hopes and concerns for the future, thus establishing an image of the familiar. When the main character, Louis Creed, is visited in his dream by his late patient Victor Pascow, the image of "normality" begins to fall to pieces. From this moment on, the main character's attitude towards his experiences oscillates between rationalism and an inclination to believe in unnatural phenomena.

Gradually, the atmosphere of dread deepens, as the depiction of events and characterization build more and more mystery that is beyond human order. The familiar seems to disappear from the focus of the story; and the unfamiliar element appears to pervade the story. Eventually, the main hero starts to realize that he is unable to deal with the reality that surrounds him, which results in chaos taking control of his mind. Louis Creed desperately tries to remain logical in his assessment of the events, even when he witnesses the return of his daughter's dead cat (Creed buried the animal in the Indian graveyard). His attempts to stay rational fail when he experiences a horrible tragedy: the death of his son. Again, in his mind Louis wages a dramatic battle between rationality (i.e. learning to accept loss) and insanity (i.e. the belief in the supernatural power of the Indian burial

ground). Ultimately, he turns to the supernatural (and consequently, to insanity) by choosing to bury his son in the Indian graveyard, hoping that he will rise from the dead. King's horror consists of incorporating the unfamiliar (the supernatural) into ordinary human reality, which implies that dread is an inherent feature of human existence. In other words, King "examines naturalistic themes by means of horror" (Strengell, 2005:13); he emphasizes distinctly human attitudes, tendencies and emotions by employing elements that are outside of human reality. In *Pet Sematary*, the supernatural element (Indian magic, the possibility of restoring life), serves to accentuate human suffering after a terrible loss and to indicate to what extremes people may go if they are unable to deal with their loss.

King's method of creating the sense of horror is based on the examination of human fears. Certain elements that are perceived as supernatural (because they are impossible in our reality) are added to the story. However, the sense of anxiety conveyed in his stories is perceptible, since King 'authenticates' horror by setting it in the midst of human life. In *Pet Sematary*, horror grows out of the sense of loss and longing; in *Carrie*, from rejection and a desperate need for belonging and acceptance.

As in the whole of fantastic literature in general, the themes in fantasy fiction also rely on the idea of mystery. In fantasy, however, the images of the unfamiliar do not result from the clash between human and alien reality, but rather they are incorporated within the self-coherent world of a fantasy story (the otherworld). While *horror fiction derives its generic status from the contrast between disturbing intrusions and normality, […] fantasy is primarily conceived in terms of secondary worlds, leakage there*" (Stableford, 2005:271). The way of presenting the otherworld obviously depends on the author's intention – in order to arouse interest and enchantment in readers, the author must set the rules that are to be followed in a fantasy world and determine what goes beyond these rules, thus establishing the notion of the unfamiliar. Readers must first accept the laws of a fantasy world and understand that they do not have to agree with the rules obeyed in our reality. In creating the otherworld, the author may obviously use certain elements pertaining to human reality, which may interlace with some new foundations (based on magic). Some of this world's features exist as we know them, but elements of magic transform it into a fantasy one; and in such a way, an *invented world, with laws of other kinds*, is created as *the key to modern fantasy* (Clute and Grant, 1997:338).

Conclusions

A general conclusion that might be drawn from the discussion of literary works in this paper is that fantastic literature is extremely diverse and comes in many forms. It employs supernatural elements to a greater or lesser degree, and the purpose for their introduction might vary according to the genre. The horror and fantasy

genres may convey different emotions and resort to various methods of achieving the desired effect; they may focus on distinct themes and depict more or less credible characters, whose role might be either central to the story or only marginal. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that fantasy and horror have something in common. Due to the incorporation of fantastic elements, the images created in both genres are characterized by an extraordinary expressiveness. What is more, we may say that a single genre within the field of the fantastic can actually incorporate features pertinent to other genres. For instance, Stephen King's fiction, which is typically assigned to the horror genre, actually *consists of generic hybrids. In combining elements of the Gothic tale with other genres – such as realism, literary naturalism, myths, fairy tales, romanticism, and other elements of the fantastic – King enriches his fiction at the same time as he challenges the traditional limits associated with those genres* (Strengell, 2005:22). King thus mixes realism with the fantastic: *he has chosen the horror formula and enriches it with other literary genres* (Strengell, 2005:3). This allows us to make the following general conclusion about the fantastic: it is characterized by the *permeation of genres" – which means that "employing one genre does not rule out making use of another* (Strengell, 2005:22). This mutual penetration within one genre probably results in the confusion of terms mentioned at the beginning of this paper: the borders of genres are blurred within the fantastic. Defining clear-cut boundaries of a genre is difficult; beyond doubt, some element of the fantastic enter the domain of horror, but horror itself is not *pure fantastic*, and *even the most dignified high fantasy is not entirely purged of elements of horror* (Stableford, 2005:271). As noticed by Carrol, *the pure fantastic, as characterized by Todorov, is a separate genre from horror* (Carrol, 1990:156). Using Todorov's terms, we may also point to the diversity of horror itself: it may either fall into the fantastic-marvellous category or be classified as the fantastic-uncanny. If the supernatural explanation of the fantastic phenomena prevails and the laws of nature as we know them do not apply, then we are dealing with the fantastic-marvellous. In fact, fantasy fiction in general can be referred to as the fantastic-marvellous, since the existence of the otherworld (secondary world, with its own laws allowing for the presence of the supernatural) serves as such an explanation. When it comes to King's horrors, some of them may be regarded as the fantastic-marvellous – for instance, in *Pet Sematary* a supernatural phenomenon (i.e. rising from the dead) is the result of Indian magic. Some horrors, on the other hand, are based more on the psychological aspect and then we are dealing with fantastic-uncanny. For instance, the strange visions experienced by Jack Torrance in *The Shining* might be explained in terms of madness or mental deterioration. While one may agree that *the field of horror is a fractured, many-faceted thing* (Gelder, 2000:4), the same attributes seem to apply to the fantastic. Actually, each of the genres of the fantastic is an amalgam of other genres. Joshi refers to Lovecraft's views on weird fiction which *must include the following broad divisions: fantasy, supernatural horror, nonsupernatural horror, and quasi science fiction. All these categories should be regarded as loose and nonexclusive, and*

there are some other subtypes that are probably amalgams or offshoots of these just mentioned (Joshi, 1990:6).

As the *two main branches of fantastic fiction* (D'Ammassa, 2006:v), both fantasy and horror offer an escape from the real world, whether it stems from pure aversion to reality, or the intention to emphasize some of its aspects. Stephen King, for instance, seems to escape to the fantastic in order to indicate certain flaws inherent in human nature, or to call attention to the existence of evil and the taboos that the contemporary world wishes to keep secret. Lovecraft's retreat into the fantastic seems to be occasioned by his disgust with reality and thus a lack of interest in its affairs. In fantasy, the existence of the supernatural may also serve as an escape from the real world, but without the negative feeling towards it. As pointed out by King, it is true that fantastic fiction in general, with all its subgenres, is an objection to reality as it is; and this objection needs vivid imagination in order to be heard – the more power of imagination a given work has, the more likely it is to convey its message and *the more emphatic and persuasive that NO becomes* (King in Houllebecq, 2008:15). Thus, the genres within the fantastic and its varieties may be perceived as a sort of retreat from the reality. Paradoxically, it may appear that individual works only seemingly evade the real world, while in fact they have human reality as their focus.

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Z E S Z Y T Y N A U K O W E UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO
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Pradip Kumar PATRA

Bodoland University, Assam, India
pradippatra11@gmail.com

TRADITION TO MODERNITY: TRANSLATING SELECTED POEMS OF CONTEMPORARY ODIA POETS

Abstract: Translation, in the Indian context, has a great role to play for cultural understanding where diversity is the buzz-word. Although language is the best tool, festivals, customs and rituals also play a positive role in the development of human understanding. It is through the translational activities that a literature can come to greater focus and global lime-light. This paper is an honest attempt by the writer to translate some of the poems of Ashok Kumar Rout, Chittaranjan Mishra and Bijay Mohan Ray from Odia to English in a comparative perspective. Odia is one of the more important Indian languages which, on 20th February, 2014, became the sixth language of the country to be awarded the "Classical Language" status, after the Union Cabinet in New Delhi conceded to a long standing demand for putting it in the same league as Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Kannad and Malayalam.

Key words*:* emotion, yearning, soil, tradition, modernity, love and loss.

Translation is considered to be an important tool used by artists in contemporary literary studies to bring a less known writer of immense potentiality from the 'margin' to the 'center'. Translation Studies, as such, is a discipline of rising prominence that prepares the ground for the working of the translator. Contemporary Odia poetry projects the vital issues relating to Odia life vividly. Translation studies springs up healthily from the bed-rock of comparative literature with socio-political and cultural analysis. For one reason or another Odia poetry remains neglected without being translated into important target languages of the world like English. This paper constructs the Odisha of traditional values and yearning for the loss of feeling and emotion as depicted by the poets Ashok Kumar Rout, Chittaranjan Mishra and Bijay Mohan Roy, in our relations, in day to day life, against the backdrop of other contemporary Odia poets writing in Odia and

Indian poets writing in English. Similarity of outlook and attitude, their experience of suffering at the bottom of Odia life and their value oriented mind are my criteria for the selection of the poets for this paper.

Odia life has undergone a sea-change at each and every level. There has been enough material development as well as an intellectual explosion. In the vortex of such development we may have forgotten to maintain our identity in terms of the preservation of traditional values. Creative writings which are inspiring and powerful have hardly been translated into English and other global languages. Hence, the process of imagining, thinking and interconnecting with other cultural mores remains fragile and indistinct. It is the Bay of Bengal that flanks the eastern side of the leaf-shaped state, Odisha, which majestically forms the larger part of Odia life in terms of livelihood, cultural expression and religious beliefs. The state has a good cultural and economic exchange with the states of West Bengal, Jharkhand, Chhatisgarh and Andhrapradesh which surround it. However, it is true that the people of the state receive more than what they conserve. Hence, the process of conservation and absorption is incongruous. Absorption takes place even at the cost of conservation. Odisha, as such, has been suffering from a cultural amnesia because of the lack of cultural exploration, political leadership and socio-economic renovation and pioneering. Political activism in the state is poor, otherwise it would have ushered in economic and cultural rejuvenation.

It is against the background of erosion of the traditional values of Odisha that Ashok Kumar Rout's poem 'soil' (*mati)* projects his quest for love and intimacy instead of conflict and hypocrisy. The poem is an alternative construct of the missing ethos of Odia life. Rout belongs to middle-class society of Odisia whose experience of life spans over socio-cultural values, ideologies and transition.

I've just got ready to go
in search of a fistful of soil.

Soil;
the soil whom I can say to be my own,
the soil on which I can put my feet
without any hesitation,
the soil on which I can build
a house for you,
the soil in which I can sow
the seed of love,
and can grow love-crop;

I'm going in search of that soil
on which a rogue would be transforming

to sanyasi,[1] *the moment he keeps feet on it,*
the soil on which there would be no discrimination, hypocrisy and conflict.

I know for sure
someday I'll search out
that soil;
does that fist of soil[2]
exist somewhere here now! (Rout 2007:68)

The context of the poem needs to be explained; otherwise it just becomes a lifeless translation. The context of Indian culture in general, and Odia in particular, needs no explanation to the native readers. But it requires explanation to the readers outside the continent. What it means to go in search of the soil to us is not the same to the European readers. For us it is pregnant with meaning and emotion. For the Europeans it might not be that thought-provoking, unless pointed out. Language as a cultural product does not exist in isolation; it rather goes alongside the cultural expression. It is the soil which is the source of our inspiration, existence, ideas and imagination. Our existence is comprised both of emotion and reason. It is not just in our conscious, but also has permeated our entire unconscious. So, the soil is in our memory, conviction and identity. Such is the depth of its roots in our culture. The last stanza appears to be hysterical, in the sense, the way modernization is going on in full swing, the possibility of getting back the earlier saga of nature and landscape and the pristine life-style associated with it are far from being materialized. For the poet, it is not just hysteria but rather an imaginary possibility. It has, as such, a cathartic impact upon the readers. Unless the European readers are acquainted with the emotional life of the Indians, the translated lines are barely capable of conveying the appropriate meaning. The poet's going out in search of a fistful of soil as it is evident in the first stanza may stand for eco-friendly ambience and environmental protection in the European context. In Indian context, it stands for all socio-cultural developments like customs, rituals, religious practices and festivals, etc. The second stanza shows the lively relation of the human being with the soil. The last two stanzas remember the loss of natural life, which for the poet, at present, is a fantasy because of the large scale modernization.

Chittaranjan Mishra's poem, "Come Back" (*Feri Asa*) contrasts well with this poem. Mishra speaks about the foreign-maniac Indians who, for the sake of enriching themselves by earning more abroad, neglect relationship, emotional

[1] A *sanyasi* is an ascetic who would have attained liberation in the Indian context in a spiritual line. Since Odisha is a land of temples where people are religious, *sanyasis* are revered and looked upon as the representatives of God.

[2] *Fist of soil* is frequently referred to, whether on religious or patriotic occasion. Land is looked upon as mother. Hence, she comes first on any sacred occasion to stand for a noble pledge or determination.

bonding and traditional values. His tone of exhortation is note-worthy. Long-time economic backwardness is the cause of material craving. When this becomes the end by itself, naturally nobler aspects of life stand bypassed:

This is too much,
come back now,
The school in which you studied is a
shopping-mall at present.
Changed is the language of your nephews and nieces.
Western suzerainty has spread over
our water, air and hills;
Just come back
if you want to see
India, the source of heritage
and history, before you're
asked to breathe with someone else's permission (Prusty 2012:70).

The poet does not consider the transformation of the school, where he studied, to a shopping mall, as development. The school, where one has studied, is not just a physical existence. It is rather, for one, a memory, a site of spiritual and cultural development. It is a monument of great importance, because it has not only contributed to the development of an individual, it is rather a beacon of educational upliftment, at least for a community. Undermining such an institution and building a mall in its place indicates cultural insensibility. The lines not only indicate the loss of a school, meaningful education and values, but also the loss of the heritage of a nation. Terry Eagleton highlights the confused nature of modernism: *'Modernism' as a term at once expresses and mystifies a sense of one's particular historical conjuncture as being somehow peculiarly pregnant with crisis and change* (Eagleton 2003:385).

Keki N. Daruwalla, one of the leading Indian poets writing in English, expresses a similar erosion of traditional life against which people minded like him struggle. It is well-expressed in the poem, "Dialogue with a Third Voice":

My conscience is a road -
a childhood has been trampled here
concretized and stamped over
with the feet of passing years.
We erode each other, the road and I
neither giving way,
I scrape the road's back as I walk,
my hill is horned
calloused and worn away (Parthsarathy 1796:12).

Gieve Patel, a noted Indian poet writing in English, investigates traditional life from a different angle in the poem, "On Killing a Tree" which, through the image of a tree, says that tradition cannot be destroyed all at once as it is deep-rooted:

It takes much time to kill a tree,
Not a simple jab of a knife
Will do it. It has grown
Slowly consuming the earth,
Rising out of it, feeding
Upon its crust, absorbing
Years of sunlight, air, water,
And out of its leprous hide
Sprouting leaves (Parthsarathy 1796:86).

R. Parthasarathy, one of the leading Indian poets writing in English, goes a few steps ahead and reconciles with the changes stated above in the poem, "from Homecoming":

Hereafter, I should be content,
I think, to go through life
with the small change of uncertainties (Parthsarathy 1796:84).

Parthasarathy has seen the complexities of life of a person who, instead of protest, compromises with the uncertainties of life as he or she realizes that it is futile to struggle alone where a large-scale participation is required.

It is the loss of our own identity that prompts the poet like Bijoy Mohan Roy to take shelter in an imaginary world where he can be himself. It is reflected well in the poem, "If Nobody would be Seeing" (*Na Dekhante Kehi*):

Just imagine if the sun
would be rising, the gentle breeze
would be blowing, the moon would be
radiating beam in the absence of
every-body's knowledge.

Just imagine,
in the absence of knowledge
when everybody is asleep
here in midnight, the night would not
be knowing all about darkness,
but would be smearing more of it.

You only know,
I also know,
the world of quietude
and the sweet melancholy
of union which is more lonely
than the loneliness itself (Prusty 2012:79).

There are other contemporary poets who also express similar loss and barrenness through various images. Sushil Kumar Panigrahi reflects the same in the third stanza of his poem, "There is no Rain in my Town" (*Mo Saharare Barsa Nahin*):

Rain of fire from the sky
has not stopped,
Hot cauldron is
yet to be cool .
Even now, there is fire
on the pitch road,
inside the house,
in the eye-ball and
in the shadow of the tree.
Aspiration also is on fire everyday
under the cloudless sky (Bethera 2003:143).

Heat during the summer, in India in general and Odisha in particular, is so torturing that one cannot take it either casually or in good spirit as in previous years. It has embedded itself deep into the psychology of the Odias. In the past, many have died of sun-stroke. In distant past, summer was a pleasure which used to be celebrated by the poets. Thus, summer in its present form stands as an image of frustration. It comes in the forms of sun-stroke, loss of crops and the resultant hazard like cyclones. Jayanta Mahapatra also hints at the loss of delight of the summer of the previous years. In the poem "Summer" he speaks about the loss of the aestheticism of the past:

Not yet

Under the mango tree
the cold ash
of a deserted fire.

Who needs the future?

A ten-year-old girl
combs her mother's hair,
where crows of rivalries
are quietly nesting.

The home will never
be hers.
In a corner of her mind
a living green mango
drops softly to earth (Mahapatra 2009:17*).*

Mahapatra covertly speaks about the stoicism of the people of Odisha. They never complain, whatever may be the volume of suffering. Mahapatra's comment in this context is relevant:

But strangely, the people spring back to their normal existence soon after the calamities; and life goes on the same way as before. One is tempted to ask: is this courage merely a momentary valour that makes them forget their continual hardship, or is it an unfeelingness, a torpor that comes from an acceptance of the law of karma – bringing forth a quiet endurance in them, deep and hard and unflinching as the rock which scars this ancient land? (Mahapatra 2007:36).

In the last stanza of the poem "Bird: A Poet" (*pakshi: kabitia*) Pravat Kumar Mishra surrealistically articulates his sense of loss, freedom and pain through a bird. He hints that silence is very rare and is available only for the birds, not for the humans. Hence, he speaks:

The bird just takes in
the draughts of silence,
thinks for the half-built nest
for which straw and sticks to be collected,
food for stomach,
then, the burning of heart
till the egg bursts (Behera 2003:146).

The lines above serve as an allegory for contemporary Odia life. For the poet, 'silence' is the source of peace, creativity, energy and potentiality. We've lost it in the name of modernization. Then again, modernization sounds very much vague to us. It has not brought us the volume of development it is supposed to have achieved. If it is not so, may be we have not been able to harness modernization for the making of collective Odia life. We've rather lost our goal, clarity of vision

and morality. The bird, on the other hand has a clear vision, high sense of love and dedication.

Ramesh Pati expresses his sense of fear and insecurity in the last stanza of his poem, "That Foreign Bird" (*Sei Bideshi Pakshi*):

This time, the unconcerned bird will perch
on the electric pole, sometimes it will hide
amidst the clouds, tearing the chest of the sky.
A time will come, the moon-lit night of life
will grow pale, in each every pole will flow electricity,
life will end, the moment the bird would perch on it (Behera 2003:150).

The poet speaks about humanity through the bird. The stanza speaks of the uncertainties into which humanity runs. Man is supposed to be as natural as a bird. Man has worn the complexities just like a robe. It is never natural to him. Anything unnatural in life invites catastrophe.

Rout's poem, "I just Survive" (*banchijauchhi)* has a metonymic reference to the poem 'soil' (*mati)*. Rout has a great sense of understanding for the people who are very close to the earth struggling for existence each and every moment:

Can you say the colour
of hot tear?

Do you know for what amount of
sorrow one can exchange a fistful of food?
Have you ever measured the circumference of hunger?
Have you ever wanted to read history
in the eyes of the starved ?
Do you know how much tactics
one adopts just for a fistful of food?

You've not read the geography of hunger,
so you go for love song.

It's not easy to live in society
which almost runs in nothingness.

There is no roof over head,
yet they live; their dreams are
hidden in the enclosure of water,
yet they struggle.

I survive because
I understand them (Rout 2007:70).

Rout, however, is a poet of nature who, up to a certain extent, like Wordsworth, loves the humanity living under the benign care of nature. His poems are punctuated by the feeling of loss of nature and humanism in which the soul of Odisha used to nestle peacefully. Rout's honest confession in prose form (translated by the writer from Odia to English) entitled, "Life-story" (*Jeebana Galpa)* at the end of his collection of poems makes his poetic vision very clear:

The time through which I've passed, the words I've faced, the problems I've encountered have later been subjected to my pen and paper. There is much to be spoken and written in poetry. Can one speak everything? Can everything be a poem? [...]. Now I suffer from life. Now also I suffer from the pain of poetry. Now also my luck is mimicked. Today my life is chaotic. Just for poetry, life and survive, I've been demolished, drenched, burnt, lonely and have shed so much of tear (Rout 2007:110-112*).*

Rout's poems show not only his own state of mind, but also the cartography of the complex dialectics of the Odias which is to be understood before going for translation. Besides, the poems of other poets like Sushil Kumar Panigrahi, Pravat Kumar Mishra, Ramesh Pati, Chittaranjan Mishra and Bijay Mohan Roy also imply that the act of translation requires more of negotiation for approximate reflection of the thought based upon a specific culture. It is in this context that Jayanta Mahapatra's comment is meaningful:

The numerous rituals and myths that are in common day-to-day use in Orissa are extremely hard to get across in English, and hold no relevance to the Western reader. In addition, swear-words and sayings in Oriya , many of them age-old , make the translation act harder still; one will have to leave them aside and perhaps locate approximate substitute (Mahapatra 2007:105).

Needless to say, before going for the translation of the contemporary Odia poets, present cultural features, terms and developments are to be explained against the background of heterogeneous trends and tendencies. Then only translational activities will stand. Here, what Ronald Barthes says is relevant in the context of his ideas relating to text:

[...] discourse on the Text should itself be only text, research, textual activity,since the Text is that social space which leaves no language safe, outside , and no subject of the speech- act in a situation of judge, master, analyst, confessor,

decoder: the theory of the Text can coincide only with a practice of writing (Barthes 2006:241).

It is the entire process of writing that ought to be reflected in translation.

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Donald TRINDER

University of Rzeszow
trindery@op.pl

THE INEVITABLE ERROR OF THE BRITISH GUARANTEE TO POLAND OF MARCH 1939: A REVISION[1]

Abstract: On 31st March, 1939, Neville Chamberlain announced to Parliament that a guarantee of territorial integrity had been extended to Poland. This single act more than any other can be seen as the main trigger for the outbreak of the Second World War. The ensuing article will discuss the main figures involved in ensuring that the guarantee came into being and the reasons behind the decision to extend the guarantee on behalf of the British Government. Also, the evolution of the historiography of the period will also be discussed in detail. It is intended to demonstrate that the guarantee, along with its logical implications and consequences, was the only option available for both parties, and by extension the government of France, given the circumstances in March 1939 following the partition of Czechoslovakia.

Key Words*:* Anglo-Polish relations, Military Guarantee, Appeasement, Józef Beck, Neville Chamberlain

Introduction

On the 30th March, 1939 the first concrete step was taken on the road to global conflagration as British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, hand drafted a note which was to be presented to the Polish Ambassador in London, Edward Raczyński. The content of this note was an unconditional guarantee of the territorial integrity of the Second Republic of Poland against German aggression, and an open-ended promise to come to the aid of the Poles with the all the powers at the disposal of His

[1] I would like to take the opportunity to thank Professor Kleparski for his guidance, advice and support during the writing of this work. The feedback has been invaluable and any errors, either factual or stylistic, remain of my own making.

Majesty's Government. From that moment on, the guarantee has proven one of the most divisive questions when one examines the history of Anglo-Polish relations. The British traditionally saw this as a move to try to restrain Hitler, and possibly to allow London to exert some influence on Poland when it came to negotiations over Gdansk. The Polish view has traditionally propounded the notion that Britain extended a guarantee that they had no intention of fulfilling, which led to the formulation of the *Great Betrayal* thesis.[2]

It is the aim set to this paper to attempt to demonstrate that these two intractable and contradictory views can be interwoven to produce a synthetic view of the Guarantee which overhauls any interpretation which tends towards the fact that this was erroneous for either side. Indeed, after examining the evolution of the British historiographical tradition, a discussion of the English and Polish views of the time will be presented, before the conclusion is propounded that this Guarantee was, in fact, the best (arguably only) solution to the dissolution of Czecho-Slovakia in March 1939.

The British Historiographical Tradition

With the high levels of state control of the press which were implemented at the outbreak of World War II, it seems somewhat surprising that one of the most influential and, at the same time, provocative pieces of historical work on the subject of the appeasement of Hitler was actually published in July 1940, barely a month after the evacuation of Dunkirk and two weeks after the Franco-German Armistice resulted in the creation of the Vichy Republic and the effective isolation of Britain in the War. The anonymously published pamphlet entitled *Guilty Men* was a hostile critique of the continual appeasement of the Nazi regime throughout the 1930s and the complete lack of readiness of the British military to cope with the impending danger. Originally published under the pen name Cato, the three journalists[3] (who were incidentally employees of the powerful media magnate and Conservative Party supporter Lord Beaverbrook) clearly placed the blame for the disaster of 1940, and the War in general, squarely at the feet of successive governments, and they did not shirk from naming and shaming specific individuals, including all three Prime Ministers from the 1930s (Ramsay MacDonald, Stanley Baldwin and Neville Chamberlain). Despite the fact that the pamphlet was not handled by any of the main book retailers of the time, over 200, 000 copies were sold by the middle of August. This hurriedly produced manuscript (the total time

[2] For more on the British perspective, see Taylor (1976) and Carr (1990) among others; while a representative view of the Polish perspective is offered in Roszkowski (2002).

[3] Michael Foot, Peter Howard and Frank Owen, who represented a broad political spectrum at the time (Labour, Conservative and Liberal).

of writing was four days and pre-publication editing and preparation for press totalled four weeks), which was strewn with errors and factual inaccuracies, was to shape the way that British historians viewed the causes of the War up until the 1960s. Cato's view was reinforced and upheld by the monumental publication of the British Wartime Prime Minister, who in 1948 published the first part of his six volume history of the conflict. *The Gathering Storm* reinforced three key elements of British historiographical thinking at the time: the treaty of Versailles was the key underlying factor in the creation of internal German tension, and allowed the breeding ground for the spread of Nazism; the Appeasers were naïve and incompetent in allowing Hitler to rearm the German nation and expand at will without tangible consequences; and finally that Hitler, in pursuing the policies which he had laid out in *Mein Kampf*, was responsible with his small retinue of loyal supporters for steering Europe inexorably along the path to War. The most common criticism of *The Gathering Storm* today is that it represents more of a memoir rather than serious piece of historical writing. Extreme critics even view it as nothing further than pretentious self-aggrandisement on behalf of Churchill. Regardless of the modern interpretations, this does remain as a prototypical example of the accepted view of History from 1940s and 50s. A more scholarly approach is ascribed to Alan Bullock, whose groundbreaking Hitler: A Study in Tyranny (1952) was the first full scale biography of Hitler to be published anywhere in the world. In this, Bullock indicated that Hitler was not an evil genius who had plotted the downfall of the world, but was rather an opportunist who was bullied into increasingly radical and reprehensible forms of action by his intriguing henchmen.

Thus, the traditionalist approach to the Causes of World War Two placed the blame for the outbreak of hostilities firmly and squarely at the feet of the British political establishment. Of course, there was equal blame apportioned to the imperialist nature of the Nazis and Adolph Hitler in specific, but a surprising amount of attention was devoted to why the British had failed to act, and take preventive measures prior to the invasion of Poland in September 1939. This entire view was challenged by the eminent Oxford historian A.J.P. Taylor, who in 1961 published his highly controversial *The Origins of the Second World War*. As the pioneer of the revisionist approach to the inter-War period, Taylor sought to strike a balanced and objective view of the events of the 1930s. While he remained consistent in the view that Versailles was the ultimate cause of all later evils,[4] Taylor differed from the accepted view of history in two key areas. His first 'revision' was connected with the controversial policy of Appeasement: Taylor saw this as a logical approach to relations with Germany and, given the depleted nature of the British military, he suggested that there was no other feasible course

[4] This thesis is commonly referred to as the 'Thirty Years War', which was first suggested by German political Scientist Sigmund Neumann in 1946, before achieving wide public recognition when Churchill made reference to the idea in the introduction to The Gathering Storm.

of action. Secondly, and somewhat more provocatively, Taylor insisted that Hitler was not a rabid war-monger, but rather represented a coherent continuation of the German imperial policy first propounded by Otto von Bismarck and Kaiser Wilhelm II. Taylor did, however, remain consistent with the views of Bullock in portraying Hitler as a haphazard opportunist who simply took advantage of situations as they arose, rather than operating according to a grand plan.[5] The work of Taylor provoked fierce criticism, with hostile reviews being published in the Times Literary Supplement within days of the books original publication, but Taylor was not without his supporters, most notably E.H. Carr, who published a number of articles proclaiming the value of the general thesis of Taylor and also the impeccable logic of the work as a whole.[6]

Since then, the debate has focussed on two main areas, the first of which being the level to which the British Government had been somehow complicit in the events which led up to the outbreak of the Second World War. The second area of debate encompassed a truly international flavour, with historians of many nations seeking to add their voice to the conflict. The basic question revolves around something which was first noticed as a point of divergence between two distinguished British scholars, the aforementioned Bullock and Hugh Trevor-Roper. The question was extremely simple: was Hitler a man in charge of his own destiny, and consequently operating according to a fixed plan or agenda, or was he an opportunist who was able to take advantage of a succession of international mishaps? The debate is now termed as the Intentionalist/Functionalist debate, with Trevor-Roper standing for the former, while Bullock and Taylor provide pioneering examples of the latter approach.[7] In the late 1960s the debate was enriched by the heavyweight contribution of German historian Martin Broszat who argued in an eloquent and persuasive manner that Hitler's lack of clarity of purpose is best illustrated by the developing crisis of 1939, and that his failure to present a coherent policy towards Poland clearly indicates a lack of overall policy. The reason being was that if Hitler really had desired as his ultimate goal Lebensraum in the east, a clear way to deal with Poland was a *condicio sine qua non* of any further expansion. Another German to present the functionalist view was Hans Mommsen, who in a series of articles and publications established a coherent overview of the Nazi state which became known as the so-called 'Weak Dictator' thesis. In this, Mommsen argued that Hitler was a powerful demagogue who incited fury and hatred in his audience, but always distanced himself from the decision making process because of an inherent indecisiveness and that he was often wracked by dithering and uncertainty.

The Intentionalist school was initially represented by Churchill and Trevor-Roper, who both used a similar line of argumentation in that Hitler had effectively

[5] Often referred to the *Stufenplan* Thesis. For more on this subject see Andreas Hillgruber (1965, 1969).

[6] For a full account of the controversy provoked by Taylor's work, see Burk (2000).

[7] The issue is fully expounded upon in Kershaw (1993).

laid out a 'roadmap' for conquest and imperialist expansion in *Mein Kampf*, and that everything he did was attuned to this end. Of course, as German historians entered the debate, the Intentionalist school received a major intellectual boost from the likes of the aforementioned Hillgruber and Klaus Hidebrand (1979) who propounded the view that Hitler was working to a three stage *Stufenplan*, by which he wished to achieve *Lebensraum* in the east, followed by racial supremacy and then a challenge to American global supremacy. The idea was that even if Hitler did not dictate each individual event which unfolded, his overriding aims helped to shape any German response, and that within the apparatus of the Nazi Party itself Hitler was the provider of inspiration as well as the lead animator. Hillgruber, writing in 1974, went further to become one of the first historians to make reference to the unpublished manuscript of 1928 entitled *Zweites Buch*,[8] dictated by Hitler following his failure in the 1928 General Election. The evidence for an Intentionalist view has grown over the years, with such things as the *Z Plan*[9] being cited as clear evidence of a long term view to achieve global domination. There was an additional element to this debate, with many historians questioning the extent of Hitler's ambition, but as this is of little relevance to the current discussion, it shall be passed over.[10]

As with all major disputes, the modern school of thought tends towards a selective synthesis of the conflicting points of view, which is best summed up by the main work of British historian Ian Kershaw (1993), who is able to offer a unique perspective because of his Anglo-German academic development in the 1970s. In his work on the Nazi Dictatorship, Kershaw seeks to define a clear middle path between opposing views in order to create a balanced and universally acceptable insight into the workings of the Nazi regime. In terms of foreign policy, Kershaw indicates that Hitler did have some preconceived plans as to what he wished to achieve, such as a mutual alliance with the British aligned against the Soviet Union. When such overtures were rebuffed, Hitler followed an *ad hoc* policy which saw him jump from crisis to crisis until the eventual outbreak of war in 1939, with an alignment which was diametrically opposed to his original intentions. Thus, from a modern perspective, it should be stated that Hitler's *weltanschauung* was the prime motivator in the direction of German foreign policy throughout the period 1933 to 1945, but the very nature of international relations meant that there had also to be a certain element of spontaneity and elasticity in foreign policy as events, both

[8] This 'Second Book' was dictated by Hitler in order to try to clarify his overall aims to the German people, whom he feared greatly misunderstood the nature of his grand plans. It was never to see the light of day because Hitler's publishers felt that the publication of a second book would hinder the already lacklustre sales of *Mein Kampf*.

[9] The Z Plan was a German programme of rapid and advanced naval expansion, by which Hitler hoped to be able to construct a sufficiently powerful naval force to defeat the British Royal Navy, thus giving him command of the sea and allowing for global territorial expansion.

[10] The debate is mainly referred to as the 'Continentalist vs. Globalist' debate.

internal and external, were unpredictable. There has also been a number of attempts in the British historiographical tradition to look beyond personalities, one of the most notable being the 'Flight Into War' theory propounded by Timothy Mason. In this, Mason argued that the Nazi state was actually subject to control by the workers, who could easily hold employers to ransom in their demand for better wages. Equally, there was a growing differential between supply and demand as the production targets set in the Four Year Plan squeezed already scant natural resources almost to the point of exhaustion. The resulting economic stress forced the Nazi regime to seek a way out of the rapidly developing economic crisis in the only way possible – war. This view was refuted by Richard Overy, among others, who saw the economic difficulties of Nazi Germany in 1939 as being of no more serious nature than previous difficulties and that the invasion of Poland was in no way related to economic pressure, which Hitler was in all probability unaware of because of the control of information in and out of the Presidential office, indeed Overy cited the lack of documentary evidence regarding economic discussions as being the biggest single flaw in the argumentation of Mason. In addition, a number of documents emerged from within the German Civil Service, which clearly indicated that the strain being placed on natural resources was more of an incentive to find innovative long term solutions than to launch an armed robbery of a neighbouring nation state. When we turn our attention to Britain and the economic arguments, R.A.C. Parker used a slightly less quantitative approach when stressing the business background of Neville Chamberlain as being the overriding motivation of the Prime Minister to seek the avoidance of war 'at all costs'. There have been a number of other attempts at quantitative analyses of the causes of the war, but they all tend to fall behind the basic notion of big politics, and with it big personalities.

A bi-focal view of the British guarantee

Moving on to the meat of the issue, we shall now turn our attention the Spring of 1939 in order to draw a synthetic picture of the Guarantee of Poland which was extended by the British Government on 30th March. Here the British and Polish viewpoints on the matter will be juxtaposed in order to attempt to create a synthetic understanding. Given the limitations of space, a full treatment of the subject is impossible, so only the key questions will be addressed.

To begin from the Polish point of view, the period between the rise of the Nazi Party and the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia can be seen within the framework of a coherent strategy. Were we to be discussing the Cold War, we might refer to a policy of Non-Alignment,[11] for Polish Foreign Minister Józef Beck studiously

[11] This was the term coined to define the diplomatic approach of nations such as India or Egypt to the Cold War superpowers, whereby they sought to avoid becoming entangled in either camp.

sought to maintain a strict neutrality and equal friendship between Nazi Germany on the one side and Soviet Russia on the other. The non-aggression pact with Germany that had been signed in 1934 was still in effect, and new trade agreements had been concluded with the Kremlin as late as February 1939. The problem for Beck was that Poland had been subject to intolerable pressure from the German Foreign Ministry since the previous November, and the subject of that pressure was the Polish Corridor and the sovereignty of the city of Gdansk. Clearly, it would have been akin to political suicide to bow down to the Nazi territorial demands, but it was equally unacceptable to the Polish electorate to countenance any type of pact with Stalin.[12] The sense of isolation was accentuated by dint of the fact that the Munich Agreement of September 1939 sent a clear signal to the nations of central Europe that Britain and France were ambivalent towards maintaining any form of *status quo*.

Thus, for Beck there were three options on the table prior to the end of March 1939. The first of these involved giving in to the excessive pressure from Germany and joining the Anti-Comintern Pact; which would consequently mean Poland become directly aligned against the Soviet Union. This would have a number of very nasty catches as, primarily, it would entail the cession of territory to the Nazis, and bring closer the prospect of Poland becoming embroiled in a direct conflict with the Soviet Union. This solution would have been unacceptable to both the Polish political elite and the electorate at large. Turning east, the second option was to align directly with the Soviet Union, and Joseph Stalin. This would have been equally unacceptable because it would have placed Poland in direct opposition to Germany. It would also have been close to impossible to achieve as Stalin had an avowed hatred of Poland, and would have taken great delight in being able to reabsorb former territory which had been lost during the Polish War of Independence (a defeat which still rankled with the Communist Party Secretary). The third way which was open to Beck was to maintain Poland's perilous state of neutrality. This path would have been more viable had Poland been militarily much stronger, or if Poland had the backing of a strong third power, such as Great Britain. Munich shattered the possibility of the latter, and the former could only be achieved with huge financial investment which was only possible through loans.[13] When faced with this form of Hobson's Choice, the outcome was obvious. Poland continued along the path which had been set out way back in 1933: to walk the tightrope between Fascism and Communism and pray for deliverance.[14]

The British arrived at the beginning of 1939 under the delusion that they had saved the peace of Europe and could finally get down to the task of generating a golden age of prosperity. This was the dream of the British Prime Minister,

[12] Indeed, here one might speculate with certainty that Stalin was not at all interested in close cooperation with Poland.

[13] Securable with the backing of a great power such as Britain.

[14] This question is fully developed by Davies (1981).

Neville Chamberlain, for whom the idea of war was anathema. Chamberlain was a businessman at heart, and the ruinous cost of the First World War, both in human and economic terms, was something to be avoided at all costs. One of the keys to British prosperity was held to be a strong and stable Germany, and Hitler was viewed by the majority as being the man to restore former glories to the Reich. Thus, when Hitler spoke of rectifying the wrongs of Versailles and restoring pride in Germany, he was actually reflecting the views of Britain's political leadership. One additional factor, which needs to be taken into consideration when assessing the British policy of Appeasement,[15] is the fact that the British military had been cut back systematically following the end of hostilities in 1918. In 1919, the year following the First World War, when Britain was still involved in conflicts in Russia, Ireland, Afghanistan and Turkey there were over 1.6 million military personnel maintained at a crippling cost of 40% of GDP. This was rapidly reduced further so that by 1923, there were just 334,000 men under arms in defence of the British Empire at a cost of 2.9% of GDP. This was run down even further over the next 12 years to an inter-war low of just over 2.5% of GDP in 1935. At this point we can chart a reverse of the trend, which saw the slow rearmament of and reinvestment in the military so that at the end of 1938there were 384,800 men under arms and the defence budget had increased to 3.74% of GDP. What we can infer from this data is that the British Military was in absolutely no shape to start a war, even on a defensive scale in 1938. The RAF was underfunded and the much vaunted Radar Chain for Coastal Command was incomplete. The Royal Navy was in the middle of an extensive refit and overhaul, while the Army was undermanned and underequipped for modern mobile warfare. This is the main reason why Chamberlain was forced into a defensive position in 1938.

In the Spring of 1939 there had been no improvement in either the material or financial situation, but the mood of the public had shifted significantly. When Czechoslovakia vanished, the resolve of the British public hardened, forcing the Government into action. As direct intervention to save the doomed state was senseless, the British turned their attention to Hitler's next prize: Poland. In practical terms, however, there was very little that the British were able to do. Sending ships from the Royal Navy would have been a senseless waste of resources; there were insufficient planes available to give to the Poles without endangering Britain's frail defensive network; and there was no materiel available to bolster the Polish land forces. The only realistic help that the British government were able to offer with relatively immediate effect were secured defence loans, which required the authority of Parliament to extend as there was no state of war.

This brings us to question why the guarantee was offered if the British had no way of enforcing it in a military sense. Some have suggested that the French

[15] This was the policy, whereby Britain, and France as her ally, sought to avoid war with the Fascist powers by acceding to their demands.

would be able to offer assistance to Poland in the event of war by immediately opening up a second front. This thesis, however, is overly generous towards French military capabilities in 1939: indeed, the French army was even more antiquated and under equipped than that of the British. The French had invested heavily in the Maginot Line, which indicated the clearly defensive posture of their military. It was much smaller than the German Military, and the French were well aware of the fact that they would have to rely heavily on British field support in order to be able to conduct offensive operations. So if no help were to be forthcoming in the event of a Nazi invasion, there must be another solution to this conundrum. In fact, the answer can be found in notes from the Anglo-French military discussions of June 1939, in which both parties made it quite clear that they would be incapable of assisting Poland. In fact, Poland's fate would be decided only when Germany were defeated by the combined allied powers. This is because of the extended time it would take to transfer from a peace to a war footing, allowing for the full mobilisation of the two nations.

From a western perspective, the guarantee makes logical sense. It acted as a proverbial 'line in the sand' by which either the Germans would have been deterred from their hostile course of action, or the allies would have their justifiable *casus belli*, and the time to implement their war plans. This is all well and good, but it fails to explain how this guarantee was in any way beneficial to the Polish government or people. Superficially, it would appear that the guarantee offered nothing at all for Poland, a fact about which the government of Ignacy Mościcki must have been well aware. For the Polish government, it was nothing short of a justification of their path to that moment. Finally, their prayers had been answered and the support of the western nations was finally forthcoming. In simple terms, the guarantee offered Beck a way out of the painful question of alignment with one of the former partitioning powers. This is reflected in his almost triumphal speech to the Polish Sejm on 5th April, 1939, which is here quoted after Roszkowski (2002: 89): *[...] My w Polsce nie znamy pojęcia pokoju za wszelką cenę. Jest jedna tylko rzecz w życiu ludzi, narodów i państw, któta jest bezcenna. Tą rzeczą jest honor […].*[16]

This tiny quote helps us to clarify the real Polish attitude. Despite the empty Anglo-French promises of aid and intervention in the event of war, the real value of the guarantee was that it ended the Polish sense of diplomatic isolation, and emboldened Józef Beck to embark on a tough negotiating line when it came to German aggression. In his heart of hearts Beck must have known that Poland was doomed; the geographical situation almost ensured that before a shot was fired. The fact is, however, that Poland was not, as it had been in the second half of the eighteenth century, isolated and the hope must have been that the war against

[16] *[…] We in Poland know nothing of the notion of peace at any price. There is only one thing in the life of people, nations and countries which is priceless. That thing is honour[…].* [translation my own].

Germany would be won in the long term, rather than a quick victory. This forward-thinking is best reflected in a conversation which took place between the Italian Foreign Minister, Count Ciano, and the Polish Ambassador in Rome, General Wieniawa-Długoszowski, which were reported in the diaries of Ciano, here quoted from Davis (1981: 432):

[...] I urged him [Wieniawa] to show the greatest moderation. Whatever will happen, Poland will pay the cost of the conflict. No Franco-British assistance will be forthcoming, at least, not in the first phase of the war; and Poland would be quickly turned into a heap of ruins. Wieniawa admits that I am right on many points, but believes in some eventual success that might give Poland greater strength. Alas, I fear that many, too many, Poles share his illusions [...].

Concluding remarks

It was the intention set to this paper to attempt to display as decisively as possible that the much maligned guarantee of Polish independence was the best possible outcome for both the British and the Polish. The limitations of space here prevent a full discussion of either the events or the historiography, but the tentative conclusion that can be drawn here is that the British needed to offer Poland a guarantee to attempt to fend off the imminent prospect of war. The best way to achieve that in the eyes of Chamberlain was to present Hitler with a greater threat than that posed by Poland in isolation. The Polish government, on the other hand, accepted the guarantee in order to allow the policy of isolation to continue, and also to avoid having to cave in to German territorial demands. Thus, we can see quite clearly that for starkly contrasting reasons, cooperation was the optimal way forward. Despite the misgivings of many people both then and now, the guarantee was the only solution to the pending crisis, and the right solution.

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REVIEWS

Z E S Z Y T Y N A U K O W E UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO
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Patrycja AUSTIN

University of Rzeszow
p.austin@uw.edu.pl

CALIBAN'S VOICE: THE TRANSFORMATION OF ENGLISH IN POST-COLONIAL LITERATURES BY BILL ASHCROFT. ABINGDON: ROUTLEDGE, 2009. 197 pp. ISBN 978-0-415-47044-5

If one takes a look at the list of novels topping The Man Booker Prize in the past few decades he or she will be struck by the number of works by authors whose roots are in the former British colonies. This is not a homogenous body of works, but a variety of styles, genres, and attitudes coming from different continents; what they all have in common, however, is the reinvention of the ex-colonial language.

In his book Bill Ashcroft examines this transformation of English in postcolonial literatures. The use of English in literary works by authors from the former colonies has never been perceived as neutral, though. The controversy began in 1835 when Lord Macaulay presented to the British parliament the infamous strategy for the colonization of India, a model which was later transplanted to other British colonies. According to Macaulay, English was to become the instrument via which power would percolate down through a group of English educated Indian elites to the mass of people. English literature took central importance in that process as it helped propagate English values and mindset. English became, thus, a tool of colonization and its use is replete with the history of colonial domination and oppression. Ashcroft attempts to deconstruct prejudices surrounding its use and to disrupt the stereotypically binary relationship between the colonizer and the colonized as depicted, among others, in Shakespeare's *The Tempest.* He quotes from *The Tempest* the passage in which Caliban, imprisoned on his island, accuses Prospero and Miranda:

You taught me language, and my profit on't
Is, I know how to curse. The red plague rid you
For learning me your language (Ashcroft 2009:2).

The figure of Caliban here represents the disempowered colonial subject who is held captive by the power of Prospero's books. The very title of Ashcroft's work, *Caliban's Voice*, shows however that the process of colonization was not a straightforward one, that Caliban can use the language without being necessarily trapped in it, and that just like *The Tempest* was rewritten by twentieth century Caribbean writers who envisioned for Caliban the future Shakespeare had been unable to foresee, so the other works of English literature in colonial education can be given new interpretations.

Ashcroft begins his volume with a series of questions on the importance of language to one's sense of identity and questions the organic relation between language and culture. He finds the relation between cultural identity and language to be analogous to the relation between the signifier and the signified. The living language is fluid, meaning is elusive; there is no direct connection between the way language is used and colonial power. The acquired language, therefore, need not necessarily be limiting. He shows that power does not operate in a simple top-down way. Instead, speakers can transform language and use it to their own benefit, language becomes a tool used by people in social situations, it is a social practice. He explains that *the world sculpted by the tool is not the tool itself* (2009:46). That means that language can be expanded and recreated, as happens in the registers of English spoken in the world today. By making this distinction between language and identity, Ashcroft helps to resolve most likely the most emotional debate in postcolonial literature, about the validity of writing in the language of the former colonizer.

The distinction between language and identity is not the only controversial issue he touches upon in the book. He also tries to answer such questions as the knowledge of English and membership in the elite groups or the connection between race and language. Even today, English is not the language of the entire society in India. Its fluent speakers constitute only about 20% of the society and belong predominantly to middle and upper classes. The situation is changing year by year, and there are more and more speakers fluent in English among the lower classes, still for a vast part of the Indian society it remains unavailable. In effect, the English speaking elites are often accused of perpetuating the colonial class values. Ashcroft gives a few positive examples of writers whom he calls, after Gramsci, *organic intellectuals*, who stand in the foreground of social reform. Access to literacy does not necessarily mean identification with colonial power. It can be a powerful form of cultural capital; studying and quoting from Shakespeare and other English literary texts becomes a capital transmuted into post-colonial struggles and *Caliban's Voice* is one among many examples of these struggles.

In his chapter on language and race he traces the concept of race in Western thought to the connection made between race and culture at the beginning of the 19th century. He undermines the static view of language which serves as *a mould* or *a corset* of *a people's being* and encourages the view of language as the elastic and transformative mode of *becoming* (2009:65). Only when individual speakers have the agency to use the language can language provide possibilities for cultural change. Another chapter is devoted to orality and writing. Ashcroft ascribes the difference in the perception of reality to the different approaches to language fostered by the two cultural modes. The last chapter in the volume is an important reading on the necessity as well as difficulties of translating vernacular texts into English.

In this study Ashcroft covers all geographical areas of the British colonial domination and focuses especially on the literary terrain: poetry, prose, theatre, and literary criticism. Thus the reader will find theoretical writings by, among others, Chinua Achebe, Wole Soyinka and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, shortlisted for this year's Nobel Prize, as well as literary writings from both established authors and less known ones. Moreover, the volume has a solid theoretical background; the author quotes from, and engages in a dialogue with such names as Michel Foucault, Franz Fanon, Edward Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak and many others.

This book makes a rewarding reading for scholars and students of postcolonial literatures as well as for those who are interested in the workings of language in general. It is an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon of contemporary literature in English, and especially of one of its aspect, the reinvention of the ex-colonial language which and Indian scholar, Neelam Srivastava, believes to be *the single most innovative aspect* of these novels (Srivastava 2005:45). Indeed, Ashcroft writes: *The success with which post-colonial societies have transformed the English language, through literature and other cultural production, is one of the most striking outcomes of the three centuries of British colonial adventurism* (2009:13).

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Ewa KONIECZNA

University of Rzeszow
eakon@poczta.onet.pl

GALICIA STUDIES IN LINGUISTICS, LITERATURE AND CULTURE: THE STUDENTS' VOICES, G.A. KLEPARSKI, M. MARTYNUSKA, E. ROKOSZ-PIEJKO (EDS.), RZESZÓW: WYDAWNICTWO UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO, 2013. 194 PP. ISBN 978-83-7338-849-9

The volume reviewed here contains the selection of papers, which were presented at the first student conference, now an annual event, which was organised for the first time by the Institute of English Studies of the University of Rzeszów on May 9, 2012. During the conference 17 papers were presented, all of which have been published in the present volume, and authored either by the members of Koło Naukowe Anglistów, or PhD students. The articles are grouped in three separate thematic sections: *Diachronic Semantics, Linguistics* and *Literature and Culture,* and reviewed by prof. UW dr hab. Elżbieta Górska.

The first section, titled *Diachronic Semantics* comprises six papers, four of which are of a review kind, while the remaining two constitute specialised field studies. As regards the former group, the section begins with the paper contributed by Barbara Golis, who focuses on the ongoing RSDS research into *foodsemy*, that is food metaphor. The author remarks that since foodsemy is a ubiquitous mechanism, omnipresent both in language and thought, it has been of considerable interest to many linguists, including the Resovian researchers of language and its history. The paper offered by Agnieszka Grząśko is devoted to the contribution that the *Rzeszów School of Diachronic Semantics* has made to the field of historical linguistics. In a similar vein, Karolina Kowal outlines the work of the academics linked to *RSDS*, who have developed the study of the animal metaphor, referred to as *zoosemy.* The last review paper in this section has been contributed by Damian Liwo and it presents an in-depth discussion of the metaphor as a device pervasive in the human language and conceptual system. The category of research papers is represented by the article written by Norbert Knutel, who investigates the historical

developments in the domain LAZINESS, and the contribution of Ewelina Rogóż, who presents an analysis of semantic developments and phraseological productivity in the field HUMAN BODY in the history of English.

The next section, i.e. *Linguistics* covers a wide range of subjects, from contrastive analysis through philosophy of language and language contact, ending with the issues concerning translation studies. The first paper, authored by Marcin Kornaga is a contrastive analysis of Polish and English proverbs, presenting a negative stereotype of women. Ewa Łamasz examines the influence of lexical influence of English on modern Polish on the basis of the language awareness questionnaire completed by the students of English at various levels of advancement. The articles of Michał Organ and Mateusz Szal concern translation studies. The former author focuses on the phenomenon of equivalence in translating tourist information texts, while the latter one discusses the stylistic and sociolinguistic features of technical translation. Paweł Parobek examines extralinguistic reasons for using neologisms, while Wojciech Pyć focuses his attention on the predominant feature of the religious language, which is its reliance on metaphors. The article which clearly stands out from others is *The assimilation of English vocabulary into Japanese* by Michał Szczęsny, which is an insightful and meticulous study of the adaptation of borrowings from English in Japanese, based on an impressive amount of data.

The articles in the last section, titled *Literature and Culture* are devoted to the discussion of topics covering a wide array of literary and cultural phenomena: three of them constitute an analysis of literary texts and the last paper in the section presents a selected cultural trend. Anna Gajecka provides characteristics of Hogwarts School of Witchcraft, which is the main setting of the *Harry Potter* series, underlining its fairy-tale and fantasy elements as well as pointing out its similarity to the setting of a traditional school story. The next article in the section by Iga Gospodarczyk focuses on the description of slavery in the novel *Roots* written by Alex Haley. Małgorzata Warchał discusses the influence that Buddhism exerted on the development of Jack Kerouac as a writer, basing her analysis on the novel *The Dharma Bums*. Finally, Katarzyna Właśniewska investigates the flapper decade of the 1920s, a period that bestowed women with more freedoms and all the citizens with an awareness of new possibilities and prospects.

All in all, the articles sketched above cover a wide range of subjects, being carefully edited, well-organised and illustrated with numerous and pertinent examples. It is to be hoped that subsequent student conferences will be as fruitful and rewarding as the first one, which has resulted in the publication of the volume under review.