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TYPESETTING AND LAYOUT

Petra Kovačević

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— Foreword

Dear Reader,

It is with great pleasure that we present the second and final volume of the conference papers presented at the 2018 Anglophonia Conference: Voices and Perspectives, held in Zagreb, from 3 to 5 May. Papers cover myriad topics in linguistics, literature, culture, TEFL and translation studies, relevant for understanding current trends in English studies. As the previous volume, this one also brings together young researches from many European universities.

We would like to express our gratitude to all the authors, reviewers and the English Student Club for their support.

We hope that you will enjoy reading this volume.

The Editorial Board

01

Palacký University Olomouc

Petra

Charvátová

**Does *Number* Agree? Structure
of *Number of* N_{PL} Phrases with
Respect to Agreement**

Does *Number* Agree? Structure of *Number of N_{PL}* Phrases with Respect to Agreement

English nominal phrases *a number of N_{PL}* and *the number of N_{PL}* show unusual subject-verb agreement patterns when in subject position. If the *number* (N1) is indefinite, there is an agreement in the plural (i.e. with the number features of N2 which is the complement of *of*). On the other hand, with the definite N1, the verb is in singular; in such cases, the N1 refers to a specific number of N2. There seems to be a correlation between (in)definiteness of N1 and the agreement in number. The categorial identity of the constituents which plays a role in triggering the two distinct agreement patterns is investigated in the paper.

As there are apparently two nouns and thus two potential lexical heads contained in the phrases, the agreement seems to be triggered by the singular phi-features of N1 (*number*), as opposed to the plural phi-features of the *of*-complement. This paper tests the lexical vs. functional identity of the *number* N1, comparing some existing analyses, e.g. the indefinite *number* as a functional head or a semi-lexical head in a pseudo-partitive construction. I argue that the two agreement patterns relate to the categorial identity of the *number* N1 which in the case of the indefinite phrase is transparent for agreement, unlike the lexical number in the definite *number of* phrase.

KEYWORDS

noun phrase, functional and lexical category, agreement

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1. INTRODUCTION: WHEN DOES NUMBER AGREE?

English grammars, such as Huddleston and Pullum (2002), formulate a descriptive observation that quantificational nouns¹ (QNN; *a lot, the rest*) take complements in singular or plural and, respectively, the verb agrees with the number of the complement as in (1–2).

1. *a lot of **things** are; a lot of **water** is*
2. *the rest of the **things** are; the rest of the **water** is*

Number in these constructions behaves unlike other QNNs. Due to its semantics, it only selects plural complements in the *of*-phrase. As with other QNNs, the subject-verb (SV) agreement in combination with the phi-features² of the *of*-complement is in the plural, see (3).

3. *a number of **things** were lost/*was lost*

However, *number* can appear with both definite and indefinite determiners, which seems to have an effect on the SV agreement, and this is unique among the QNNs. Examples (4–9) represent typical British National Corpus (BNC) data with respect to SV agreement. In (4–6), *the number of* N2 in subject position agrees with the verb in singular.

4. *No one knows for sure why the number of cases **has** increased so much in the past decade [...].*
5. *The number of businesses within a 400- or 1600-meter buffer around a participant's residence **was** [...].*
6. *The number of people **is** usually smaller than ten, and most frequently smaller than six.³*

¹ Many labels are used for the QNN, i.e. the not fully lexical N1 in the partitive and pseudo-partitive constructions such as *a number of (the) people*. Van Riemsdijk (1998) calls them quantifier nouns, Löbel (2001) quantity-designating nouns. N1s in partitives and pseudo-partitives are further differentiated, the type considered in this paper being one in the typology. Since the other ones are not directly related to the issue of this paper, they are not given here.

² Phi-features are the number, person, gender features involved in the agreement of nouns and pronouns with the predicate, e.g. the subject-verb agreement. In English, only number and person features participate in agreement. The agree operation of phi-feature checking and valuation was proposed by Chomsky (2000); cf. Bobaljik (2006).

³ People was the most frequent N2 appearing both in the definite and indefinite number of phrases.

In examples (7–9), *a number of* N₂ subjects agree in plural.

7. *A number of clever software and hardware approaches **have** been devised [...].*
8. *A number of marine animals **were** spared [...].*
9. *Each year there **are** a number of people who die because a liver transplant was not available to them.*

Data that can be extracted from (4–9) suggest that the source of the singular phi-features for the verb to agree with originates from N₁ in the definite variety, see (4–6), and N₂ provides the plural features for agreement in the indefinite *number* phrases, see (7–9). In fact, in the literature (both grammars and theoretical studies) only the indefinite *number* is mentioned as QNN. Therefore, it can be assumed that, with the definite phrases, *number* acts as a lexical noun. The interpretation of *the number* denoting the specific cardinality of N₂ supports this assumption. However, these predominant patterns of agreement are not the only ones attested. Marginally, *a number* agrees in the singular and *the number* in plural.

This paper is organised as follows. In Section 2, the data deviating from this predominant pattern are presented. Section 3 provides an overview of studies on nominal phrases with syntactic structures relevant with respect to *number of* N₂ phrases, i.e. partitive, pseudo-partitive and lexical nouns with an *of*-complement. Section 4 singles out the definite variety of the phrase in question and considers the lexical headedness, which is relevant for agreement, and Section 5 provides a conclusion.

2. MORE MARGINAL PATTERNS OF AGREEMENT WITH NUMBER

In contrast with the predominant patterns of agreement, when the definite *number of* N_{PL} in subject position agrees with the verb in singular and the indefinite *number* in plural, data such as (10–14), although much less frequent in corpora, are grammatical (i.e. acceptable). Löbel's example (10) illustrates the wavering of the agreement between the expected plural and the singular.

10. *A large number of books **was/were** published last year.*
(Löbel 2001, 248)

(11) shows an indefinite *number* phrase, which agrees with the verb in singular, (12) exemplifies the definite variety in which the N₂ is also definite

as manifested by the in the of-phrase and (13) exemplifies a subject in which the N2 is postmodified.⁴

11. *[...] and once a sufficient number of statements **was** available, the category was labeled.*
(COCA 2006: ACAD: RoeperReview)
12. *And through this period, the number of the martyrs **have** reached to more than 2,000 [...].*
(COCA 2014: SPOK: CNN)
13. *The number of community colleges that use English tests after students **are** admitted are reported in Table 2.*
(COCA 1996: ACAD: Community College Review)

All of these constructions (4–13) consist of two nouns, and so, when in subject position, potentially two sources of phi-features for the verb to agree with exist (the N1 [number] is singular and N2 plural). It is generally agreed that only lexical heads provide features for agreement, therefore the following sections focus on the lexical vs. functional identity of N1 and its effect on agreement. For data such as (12) and (13), I will suggest that the agreement with the plural phi-features of the derivationally lower of the two lexical nouns is the effect of linear closeness, which is post-syntactic.

3. PARTITIVES AND PSEUDO-PARTITIVES AND THEIR RELEVANCE FOR SUBJECT-VERB AGREEMENT

The structural differences in the linear strings Det N1 of N2 have been studied at least since Selkirk (1977)⁵, who laid foundations for distinguishing partitives (PT), pseudo-partitives (PSP) and lexical nouns with an of-complement (NC) phrase.

In NC constructions, such as (14), only the higher of the two nouns, i.e. N1, is the source of phi-features for agreement as it is the highest and therefore closest matching goal for the probe on the verb (Chomsky

⁴ Apart from the corpus data, the marginal patterns of agreement with *number* in the context of indefinite determiner agreeing in the singular and *the number* agreeing in plural were informally confirmed with a few English native speakers.

⁵ Selkirk (1977) is interested in the internal structure of the nominal phrases. She is primarily concerned with the difference between PT and PSP and does not discuss the definite variety of *number* phrases with respect to agreement. Implicitly, only the indefinite *number* is considered a quantifier and thus is in the scope of interest of the author.

2000). Unlike verbs, nouns do not require obligatory arguments; therefore, any nominal of-phrase complementation is optional.

14. $[_{DP1} a \text{ [N1 copy]} \text{ of } [_{DP2} \text{ the } [_{N2} \text{ notes}]]] \text{ is}$

PTs, on the other hand, denote a portion of a larger set: for example, in (15) *the students* are the larger set, and *a group* is the portion of it. According to Stickney (2004; 2007) DP2 makes a barrier for movement⁶ and modification, therefore in (16) only *box* can be *mouldy*, not *chocolates*. Crucially, Selkirk (1977) points out that nouns such as *group* are ambiguous between functionality and lexicality. When functional, these nouns form a measure phrase⁷ so that the interpretation is the indication of the amount of N2 (*students*); on the other hand, when N1 is lexical, it "functions as a head noun and is further characterized or qualified by the phrase (*of*) *the [students]*" (Selkirk 1977, 303).

15. $[_{DP1} a \text{ [group } _{N1}] \text{ of } [_{DP2} \text{ the } [_{N2} \text{ students}]]] \text{ }^8$

16. *a mouldy box of those chocolates*
(Stickney 2004)

⁶ Both movement and barriers for movement were key concepts of generative linguistics since Ross (1967). Movement, or displacement, refers to a realization of an element in a different position than the one in which it was generated. A classic example is *wh*-movement; in *wh*-interrogatives, the constituent is question is fronted, therefore not realized in the default position, as in (i) and (ii).

- (i) *What does she really love?*
(ii) *She really loves snorkelling.*

When movement is blocked, it is due to a domain, typically called an island, from which such movement is intended. Islands were first comprehensively researched by Ross (1967) and (i) is his example of ungrammatical movement from a complex DP. *t* stands for "trace" and signifies the default position for the moved constituent.

- (iii) **Who did you hear $[_{NP} \text{ the rumor } [_{CP} \text{ that Mary kissed } t]]$.*

The domains which constitute a barrier for movement are a topic of ongoing research. See, for example, Chomsky (1986) and Cinque (1990). Stickney (2004, 2007) experimentally tests and concludes that DP is such barrier.

⁷ *Measure phrase* and *noun* as a cover term for nouns with functional characteristics is in later studies further divided into several subtypes according to the interpretation of the N1, e.g. items such as *number*, in a *number* is labeled quantity noun by Van Riemsdijk (1998) for Dutch and German.

⁸ Selkirk (1977) treats of in NCs as a preposition, whereas in PTs and PSPs it is not present in syntax; it is a grammatical formative inserted postsyntactically. Alexiadou, Haegeman and Stavrou (2007) acknowledge the problematic status of *of* in English and Romance languages in comparison with e.g. Greek or Dutch for the mono-projectional analysis working with a semi-functional type of projection. This issue is not addressed in the current paper.

It is generally agreed that the contrast between PTs and PSPs lies in the missing DP layer between N1 and N2 (see Selkirk 1977; Van Riemsdijk 1998). The whole construction thus has the interpretation of one referent, e.g. in (17) *students* are the referent which is quantified.

17. [DP *a* [N₁ *group*] of [N₂ *students*]]

Löbel argues that the “quantity-designating nouns [i.e. N1s] lack substance as a meaning component” and they only express different dimensions of quantity, unlike “[N₂, *students*] which contain both form and substance as part of their meaning” (2001, 247).

Furthermore, similarly as in PSPs, the function of N1s is also ambiguous, as they fluctuate between the functional and the lexical level. When N1 is a lexical noun, it provides the phi-features for the agrees with the verb, when it is functional it is invisible for agreement.

When considering Dutch and German, Van Riemsdijk (1998), following Vos (1999), categorises N1s into several subtypes according to their syntactic behaviour into functional, lexical and semi-lexical. Quantifier nouns (QN, e.g. Dutch: *aantal* [English: *number*]) show the largest number of functional characteristics with respect to the other subtypes and are thus considered truly functional closed-class items, e.g. (18).

18. *een* *aantal* *voorbeelden*
a *number* *examples*
 (Van Riemsdijk 1998, 12)

The functional characteristics, some of which are language-specific and which QNs in Dutch all fulfil, are listed below.

1. N2 can take its own determiner
2. Two N2s can be coordinated under N1
3. N1 can head an indirect partitive
4. N1 can be used as an answer to quantity questions
5. N2 can be extracted under topicalization
6. N2 can be elliptic, licensed by quantitative *er* given a specific choice of N1

(Van Riemsdijk 1998)

Moreover, neither in Dutch nor German are QNs treated as direct partitive constructions which manifest a single projection behaviour; thus, for example, only one of the two Ns can be selected by the governing verb in both languages (Van Riemsdijk 1998). According to this criteria, functional QNs do not agree, they are invisible for agreement and so the verb agrees with the phi-features percolated from N2.

According to Selkirk (1977), who studied the structure of PSPs, including the characteristics of N1, in English, the *number of* phrases (19a) and (19b) both contain a functional measure phrase (*a number*), PSP in (19a) and PT (19b). Whereas (19b) contains two full DPs and the lower N2 is definite, (19a) has only one complete DP projection, containing two NPs, the lower being non-definite. Semantically in (19b), *a number* denotes a portion of the larger set of *objections*.

19. a. *A number of objections were raised.*
 b. *A number of the objections were not addressed.*

Crucially, according to Selkirk (1977), N1s can be semantically ambiguous, e.g. they can be interpreted as functional measure phrases or they can function as lexical heads. *Number* is not analysed as differing from other N1s in MPs, Selkirk focuses on the distinct underlying syntaxes of measure-phrases containing structure of PTs and PSPs. Many syntactic tests are adduced to corroborate the argument that PTs and PSPs have a dissimilar syntactic structure. The conclusion relevant for the present goals is that the lexical head of the phrase controls the agreement with the verb but the highest N1 is not always a lexical head.

With respect to agreement, the wavering between singular and plural in the case of PTs and PSPs is not that surprising, considering the ambiguity of the N1 (instantiating a functional measure noun or a lexical noun). Nevertheless, (12–13) attest the definite *number* phrase, therefore not a functional (PT or PSP) head, but a lexical *number* NC in the subject position and yet in plural agreement with the verb. If the N1 in NC is unambiguously lexical, there should be no possibility of such agreement, but it is attested.⁹ Section 4 therefore addresses the question of headedness with the definite *number* phrases which deviate from predictions in the literature, and proposes a solution.

⁹ For Czech, Veselovská (2001) argues for a typology of N1s in relation to nominal constructions containing a quantifying element ranging from QA (Universal Quantifiers), QN (Group Nouns), QGEN (Existential Quantifiers) to NQ (Lexical nouns) based on syntactic, semantic and pragmatic evidence. Such typology is, however, not applicable to languages such as English, which are morphologically poor.

4. THE HEADEDNESS AND AGREEMENT WITH THE NUMBER OF N₂ PHRASES

In order to determine the lexical headedness of N₁ in the definite *number of* phrases, tests used by Selkirk (1977) will be applied to the new data. These are based on the dissimilar behaviour of lexical and functional heads, or more specifically, lexical heads can be pronominalized and can be pragmatic antecedents to pronouns; they can be postmodified by an independent relative clause and be selected by a verb; the lower *of* NP can be elided and they can be premodified by a wide range of adjectives. On the other hand, purely functional heads lack the referential meaning of lexical items and they are not selected by a verb.

Each test contrasts (4) and (12), the two sentences containing the definite *number* in the subject and showing the predominant (4) vs. marginal (12) patterns of agreement. There are three outcomes to this testing: N₁ behaves either uniformly a) lexically, b) functionally, or c) it shows mixed characteristics or ambiguity between being purely lexical or functional. The pronominalization test (I.), shows that the subject from the main clause is co-referential with the pronoun in the question tag. In (20) it has the singular number feature as *number* does, but the plural *they* is ungrammatical. With respect to (21), the grammaticality judgment is less clear due to the scarcity of such data.

I. Pronominalization

20. *The number of cases has increased so much in the past decade, **hasn't it/*haven't they?***
21. *The number of the martyrs have reached to more than 2,000, **??hasn't it/??haven't they?***

Similarly, in (II.), a lexical noun, but not a functional item, can be postmodified by an independent relative clause. Examples (22) and (23) indicate that in both cases, *the number* fulfils this criterion.

II. Postmodification by a relative clause

22. *The number of cases, **which was considered**, has increased so much in the past decade.*
23. *The number of the martyrs, **which was considered**, have reached to more than 2,000.*

With respect to semantic selection or subcategorization, (III.), lexical nouns are selected by a verb, unlike purely functional items. Examples (24) and

(25) illustrate that both the verb *increase* and *reach* select for *number*.

III. Verbal semantic selection

24. *The number of cases has **increased** so much in the past decade.*

25. *The number of the martyrs have **reached** to more than 2,000.*

The contrast between functional and lexical items with respect to ellipsis in (IV.) is that with lexical nouns *of*-complementation is optional but with functional heads lacking referential meaning, it is not allowed. (26) with elided *of*-complement shows the lexicality of *number*. In (27), however, the elision of the complement does not produce a grammatical result with the verb in plural. This is one of the reasons why linearity closeness-triggered agreement is proposed as an account of data such as (12–13); *number* in (12–13) is referential and thus has lexical properties, the *of*-complement may be elided but the agreement with the verb needs to change from plural to singular.

IV. Ellipsis

26. *The number \emptyset has increased so much in the past decade.*

27. *The number \emptyset **have/has** reached to more than 2,000.*

As for the test (V.), with both (4) and (12) *number* may be premodified by a range of adjectives, as attested in (27) and (28).

V. Premodification by a wide range of adjectives

28. *The **huge/small/sufficient/scandalous/unexpected** number of cases...*

29. *The **unprecedented/increasing/rough/growing/proposed** number of the martyrs...*

Apart from (21) and (27), the results of the other tests are clear¹⁰. They show that, even with the definite *number of* phrases, the agreement with the verb is attested both in singular and plural, the lexical head and the source

¹⁰ An anonymous reviewer points out that two out of five tests is a large portion. Given that the two tests in question do not present counter-arguments for the lexicality of N1, rather the pronominal test is inconclusive and an alternative explanation is suggested for the outcome of the ellipsis test, the result of the three other test indicating the status of *number* as lexical are considered sufficient.

of the phi-features for the verb is N1. Example (27) shows that although the *of* N2 part of the complete phrase can be elided, and so N2 is not the lexical head of the phrase, the agreement with the verb is affected. In the case of *the number of* N2 agreeing in plural, such contradiction suggests that it is the result of post-narrow syntax linear closeness effect, i.e. the fact that N2 carrying plural features immediately precedes or is closer to the verb in the linear string. Needless to say, this is a very tentative claim which requires extensive further research.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper considered the patterns of Subject-Verb Agreement with *number of* N_{PL} constructions, with focus on the headedness in the phrases. These relational nominal phrases can have three structures: the partitive, the pseudo-partitive or the noun with an *of*-complement. Whereas with the indefinite varieties the N1 head can waver between having either lexical or functional status and thus agree in the former case and be invisible for agreement in the latter, in the definite *number of* phrases, it was shown that the categorial identity of N1 is uniformly lexical, even though agreement in plural is attested, which is in discord with phi-features of N1. This paper suggested that the source of plural phi-features for the verb to agree with the lower N2 is a post-syntactic linear closeness effect, and triggering such agreement was proposed as a future avenue of research.

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02

University of Bucharest

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**Anglicisms and Vocabulary
Dynamics in the Romanian
Online Communication**

Anglicisms and Vocabulary Dynamics in the Romanian Online Communication

The development of technological devices and the expansion of electronic communication and social media channels in the last few years has had a significant impact on how people communicate, especially in online written communication, particularly among young people, regardless of their nationality. Moreover, we can currently refer to our society as to a *global society* in which English prevails as a *tool* for communication and interaction between speakers of different languages particularly in the cyber space.

Since English is the language of global communication, English loanwords constitute a linguistic and socio-cultural phenomenon. The creation and the development of this phenomenon is mainly owed to advances in electronic communication and technology, since the usage of English is widely spread from the IT to the economic and sociocultural fields.

The influence of English on the Romanian language has been the object of numerous studies. In order to fill in a gap in the analysis of Anglicisms in Romanian, the objective of this paper is to analyse the influence of English in the online communication between young people in Romania. Particular focus is given to a number of aspects of the vocabulary dynamics of Romanian: the position, the form and the functions of Anglicisms, from a lexical and semantic perspective. Examples from the following sources will be illustrated and discussed: fashion articles from youth online publications, recordings of video blogs and podcasts as well as YouTube videos.

KEYWORDS

anglicisms, globalisation, teenspeak, online communication

Today we can refer to our society as to a *global society* in which English prevails as a *tool* for communication and interaction between speakers of different languages particularly in the cyber space. The creation, the maintenance and the development of this phenomenon is mainly owed to advances in electronic communication and technology since the usage of English has widely spread from the IT to the economic and sociocultural fields.

Based on the various forms of online interaction provided by communication technology we can speak of a society of *digital residents* (people who were born before the widespread adoption of digital technology) and *digital natives* (people who were born during the digital age), that is to say: those who witnessed the evolution of telecommunication and those who were born when the mobile phone had already been created. Therefore, we can assert that digital technology has been continuously creating a new space where language innovations for interhuman communication appear every second. The evolution of this phenomenon can be regarded as a relevant and interesting object of study in the fields of linguistics, psychosociology and communication. As Dossou and Klein (2012, 8) put it, "any type of message is perceived and interpreted and barriers in the communication process occur on the basis of the cultural and personal differences of the two interlocutors in perceiving and interpreting the message and in the aspect of the message."

Moreover, media "represents an important cultural and educational factor [...] and can contribute to the *linguistic education* of its audience, as well as to the enrichment, diversification and internationalization of the vocabulary of a language" (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001, 85). However, traditional media seem to have been replaced by the Internet, which has become the main source of information and entertainment, especially for the youth. According to the research study carried out in 2014 by the Urban and Regional Sociology Center for the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung România (FES), named *Youth in Romania: Worries, Aspirations, Attitudes and Lifestyle* on young respondents, aged 15 to 29, young people "spend less time watching TV and more time surfing the Internet" (Sandu et al. 2014, 8). The same research study shows that the youngsters who come from middle to upper social classes are prone to browse online more frequently and are the most active Internet users. Also, "thanks to good knowledge of foreign languages (particularly English) they consider the loanwords to be organic and integral parts of their mutual communication, [...] pregnant and *stronger* in meaning" (Svobodova 2013, 164).

The development of technological devices and the expansion of

electronic communication and social media channels in the last few years has had a significant impact on how people communicate, especially on online written communication, particularly among young people, regardless of their nationality. We can assert that electronic communication created a "language space to which the newest loanwords of all kinds penetrate en masse, and the young tend to actively use them as they regard them to be modern and attractive" (Svobodova 2013, 164).

The objective of this paper is to analyse, from a lexical and semantic perspective, a particular aspect of the vocabulary dynamics of Romanian: the position and the role of English in the online communication between young people in Romania.

Section 2 contains some general theoretical aspects regarding the classification of the anglicisms and their usage, role and distribution in Romanian. Section 3 presents some general aspects related to online communication and the use of anglicisms in electronic discourse. Section 4 is structured in 5 subsections, which contain the analysis of our data. We illustrate and discuss examples from the following sources: fashion articles from youth online publications, recordings of video blogs and podcasts and YouTube videos. In Section 5 we present the conclusions.

2. ANGLICISMS IN ROMANIAN

Since English is the language of global communication, English loanwords constitute a linguistic and socio-cultural phenomenon.

Research shows that "the newly borrowed lexical items are usually regarded to be stylistically marked [...] depending on the type of texts and communicative situations they appear in" (Svobodova 2013, 163). Moreover, as Fischer and Pulaczewska put it, "English colloquialisms tend to occur in advertising, in journalism and in youth language, carrying a certain prestige in these discourse types" (Fischer and Pulaczewska 2008, 2).

According to Görlach, there are "three main degrees of acceptance: a) the word is fully accepted - either the word is not (or no longer) recognized as English, or is found in many styles and registers, but is still marked as English in its spelling, pronunciation or morphology; b) the word is in restricted use; c) the word is not part of the language - it is either a calque or a loan creation, or mainly known to bilinguals, or used only with reference to British or American contexts" (Fischer and Pulaczewska 2008, 3).

The influence of English on the Romanian language has been the object of numerous studies.

According to M. Avram, "anglicisms in Romanian should be studied and analysed as any other word categories or as recent borrowings" (Avram 1997, 24). In *Diversitate Stilistică în Româna Actuală (Stylistic Diversity in the Current Romanian Language)*, Rodica Zafiu (2001, 79) shows that "anglicisms abound in tabloids and publications about celebrities and lifestyle and also that various foreign linguistic models coexist with national models." According to Stoichițoiu-Ichim, "the socio-cultural norm establishes the motivation and the function of a loanword in relation to the features of a particular style and register" (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001, 85).

In *Aspecte ale Influenței Engleze în Româna Actuală (Aspects of English Influence on Romanian)*, Adriana Stoichițoiu-Ichim analyses the role of English in the modernisation and internationalisation of the Romanian vocabulary, especially after 1990, from a morpho(syntactic), semantic and stylistic perspective. The author explains the evolution of the English loanwords used in media, in standard language, in colloquial language and in youth slang (teenspeak) (Stoichițoiu-Ichim, 2006).

Stoichițoiu-Ichim uses the term *romgleză* analogous to *franglais* (an alternative in English could be *Romglish* analogous to *Spanglish*) when referring to the frequent use of English words in Romanian as a result of the globalisation process which offers a stimulating space for the assimilation of anglicisms. In the *Romglish* spoken by adolescents and young generations (*teenspeak*), the author identifies common elements of colloquial and informal language such as *ok, party, feeling, full* (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006, 23).

English loanwords in Romanian are clasified as *fully accepted, foreignisms, necessary loans and luxury loans* (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006).

Research shows that "anglicisms that are used by journalists nowadays can be classified into one of the two loanwords categories established by Sextil Pușcariu (*necessary loans and luxury loans*)", (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001, 85).

Necessary loans are defined as "words or phraseological units that do not have a Romanian equivalent or which are more precise, brevilouent, expressive or international" (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006, 33). Taking into account "the complexity level of the journalistic discourse that combines referential (informative), connotative (persuasive) and expressive functions, necessary anglicisms can be justified as being *denotative or connotative*" (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006, 33).

According to the same author, "*luxury anglicisms* are useless and unjustifiable loans, translated as linguistic snobbism, which double

Romanian words or phraseological units without carrying extra connotative or expressive meaning" (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001, 94–95). Their frequency in youth publications (headings, fashion and entertainment terminology) could be "alarming" (Stoichițoiu-Ichim, 2006, 23), leading us to the conclusion that the language spoken by the Romanian youngsters could be "named *romgleza*, which can be interpreted as Romanian teenspeak since we distinguish elements characteristic of colloquial language and style" (Stoichițoiu-Ichim, 2006, 23).

There are studies that justify the English loanwords by the desire of the speaker to impress and to show his/her foreign language abilities in order to attract the other's attention (Smântână 2008), as "a sign of emancipation" (Fischer and Pulaczewska 2008, xiv), as a mark of a group identity, for instance "German hip-hop community" (Fischer and Pulaczewska 2008, xiv) or as "symbols of certain solidarity and expression of generation distinction" (Svobodova 2013, 165).

These remarks can also be applied in the case of Romanian youngsters who borrow English words as a need to ease communication, to distinguish themselves from the others and to create their own personal identity (specific to *teenspeak/youth slang*) or to be understood by particular groups of people.

Furthermore, anglicisms "have been explored with respect to certain language registers and technical languages, [...] for instance the language of computer technology" (Fischer and Pulaczewska 2008, 2). Since the advances and the expansion of communication technology and of social media channels enable rapid information exchanges and instant interaction, both the creators of online gaming and social networking channels, as well as their users, adopted a specific type of language in order to communicate via these channels. This type of language can be regarded as non-conventional as it consists of virtual messages expressed as fast and as easily as possible, in a simple manner through symbols or codes ignoring syntactic and orthographic rules. Therefore, we are referring to a coded language that may be inaccessible, unintelligible or incomprehensible to some age segments and that was created by the users, who are mainly young people, particularly for these purposes. For example, the online game *Warcraft II* inspired the QQ shortening for quick quit by combining the Alt+Q+Q keys so that the gamers could quickly exit the game. Now QQ has expanded its meaning to *quickly giving up* and to the symbol/emoticon *eyes in tears*, which are also used by the Romanian youth (Mihu 2012).

The need for entertainment and for socialising led to the diversification of the way youngsters communicate online. If initially

there was only the Internet Relay Chat (mIRC), where abbreviations and acronyms were used for the first time (for example *ASL PLS* – *age, sex, location please*), nowadays there is a wide range of online games, blogs, and social media channels for people of different ages and interests. This led to the specialisation of the users' language into *dialects*, depending on the type of technology used; for example, those who use social media networks use a certain type of coding, unlike gamers and those who are professional *texters* (very quick at typing text messages on their mobile phones) (Mișu 2012). As a result, we notice English loans that “have a distribution restricted to particular topics or subject areas” (Fischer and Pulaczewska 2008, 2) and that “English technical terms can often be attributed to the written medium, but do not belong to the common word stock of a language” (Fischer and Pulaczewska 2008, 2).

As already stated, due to technological advances and globalisation, English became a *lingua franca* and consequently it is widely used in online communication. The register is informal as it abounds in colloquial words and expressions that are normally more frequent in speaking than in writing and are peculiar to a particular group and/or context (Oxford dictionary n.d.). This type of language, characteristic of spoken communication, is defined as *online slang* and is very common in online written communication. It features a simple style, an informal register and ignores syntactic and orthographic rules. Here we identify anacolutha, for example *cine mă caută, nu sunt acasă* (*who looks for me, I'm not at home*) (Lazăr 2012), ellipses, for example *vin în 5 = vin în 5 minute* (*coming in 5 = I'll be there in 5 minutes*); *până astă primăvară mi-a scris săptămânal, dar acum, nimic = nu scrie, nu primesc nimic* (*till last spring he/she wrote me weekly, but now, nothing = he/she isn't writing me anymore, I don't receive any letters*) (Forăscu and Popescu 2002), abbreviations, for example *nb = noapte bună* (*good night*), and interjections which substitute words and expressions, for example *hahaha* replaces *you make me laugh* or *that's funny*. Moreover, we notice a lack of punctuation and capitalisation, the use of emoticons and of acronyms borrowed from English, for example *FYI = for your information* or acronyms of Romanian words which copy the English model, for example *CF = ce faci* (*how are you*), *CPL = cu plăcere* (*you're welcome*), *vb = vorbim* (*talk soon*), *k să = ca să* (*in order to*), *rpđ = repede* (*quickly*), *ftl = fetele* (*the girls*), etc. (Zafiu 2010, 74).

Another linguistic effect of globalisation is the use of English acronyms in the media. The pragmatic approach explains the success of this process as a result of linguistic but also socio- and psycholinguistic reasons (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006). Thus “the acronyms used by the media as *nouns* are abbreviations of words from different fields, from scientific terminologies to slang” (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006, 125), for example *MTV, SMS, MMS, PIN* etc.

Furthermore, the use of *luxury anglicisms* is more and more frequent and occurs in various combinations, not only as isolated words. In order to avoid repetition, the speaker may alternate Romanian and English terms, thus creating synonymical pairs. Research shows that anglicisms may be *needed*, *functional* or *redundant* and that "the functionality of each loanword consists also in the potentiality of semantic variations and synonymic scales it allows" (Svobodova 2013, 163).

Slang is no longer associated to the image of unfortunate social groups that cannot adapt themselves to the requirements and norms of the society they live in. It represents the idea of a nonconventional attitude of those who use it, due to the fact that *online slang* was created together with the development of communication technology as its characteristic language. Online slang is widely used and it deliberately does not follow the standard language norms and rules in terms of syntax, grammar, orthography, spelling or punctuation.

As far as technological means of communication are concerned, in the past, messages (including intercultural ones) were sent through less developed technological means, such as telegrams, postcards, letters, etc. but were slower than the ones used nowadays, which enable the information to be sent instantly, for example the e-mail, the mobile phone, the text message, social media channels or various apps (Facebook Messenger, WhatsApp, Skype, Instagram, Twitter etc.). All these modern communication channels determined the creation and the use of a universal language that includes specialised English terms such as *reply*, *like*, *share*, *attach*, *file*, *icon*, *emoticon*, *send*, *add*, *reject*, *ignore*, *block*, etc.

Romanian youth frequently uses terms and abbreviations from both English and Romanian in order to communicate faster and to save time and effort when typing, and also as "a sign of interest in maintaining close links to the American source model" (Fischer and Pulaczewska 2008, xiv) or simply because they are considered "modern and attractive" (Svobodova 2013, 164).

3. ANGLICISMS IN ONLINE COMMUNICATION

Cultural relationships always depended on a variety of factors: economic, political, social, etc., which evolved and diversified with the globalisation process, leading to a more extensive interaction between cultures.

The youth has always been the social segment that played an active role in language development and due to technological advances,

we can refer to a new form of interaction at an international level and to a new type of discourse - *electronic discourse or e-discourse*. This is a "form of semi-speech which combines spoken and written features and has its own characteristics and graphology" (AbuSa'aleek 2015, 136). We identify shortenings, clippings, contractions, unconventional spellings and word-letter replacements. E-discourse is taking "new dimensions and attracts the interest of a growing number of scholars in investigating the language used by young people in the electronic communication" (AbuSa'aleek 2015, 136).

There is a wide variety of studies on the conversation analysis that aim at identifying the means and the factors involved in codifying the information, of receiving it and the characteristics of the information exchange. This is due to the need for identifying the relationships between people, the type of society they live in and the nature of the means of communication they use.

Communication is an interactive practice and a multilateral process that implies a comprehensive sociolinguistic and pragmalinguistic competence of using linguistic tools (vocabulary, syntax, morphology, phonetics, specialised terminology) accordingly, in a given social and situational context, in relation to the interlocutor, the setting and the communicative purpose (Dossou and Klein 2012).

AbuSa'aleek (2015) notes that researchers used a wide variety of terms to refer to the language used by youngsters in the electronic communication: *electronic discourse* (Davis and Brewer, 1997; Panckhurst, 2006), *electronic language* (Collot & Belmore, 1996), Computer Mediated Communication (Herring, 1996), *interactive written discourse* (Werry, 1996), *Netlish*, *Weblish*, *Internet language*, *cyberspeak*, *netling* (Thurlow, 2001), *cyberlanguage* (MacFadyen, Roche, & Doff, 2004), *netspeak* (Thurlow, 2001; Crystal, 2006), and *virtual language* (Pop 2008).

Relevant studies in the field distinguish between different forms of communication performed via electronic gadgets and/or the Internet such as *asynchronous v. synchronous*, *written versus spoken*, *monologic versus dialogic*, *text versus utterance*, *public versus private*, *mobile versus stationary* and *monomodal versus multimodal* (Jucker and Dürscheid 2012, 4). Consequently, the term *keyboard-to-screen communication (KSC)* is suggested when referring to the communication practices in which the interaction is based on various *communicative acts* and *communicative act sequences* (Jucker and Dürscheid 2012, 4) performed on a device that has a physical keyboard (or a virtual one on a touch-screen) and a screen. Regardless of the medium chosen for the conversational act (Blackberries, iPhones, iPads, PCs, etc.), the

message is typically typed on a keyboard and read on a screen (Jucker and Dürscheid 2012).

Nowadays we notice that the young segment of the population prefer online interaction (written communication) on social media channels like Facebook, Whatsapp or Messenger to direct communication (face-to-face) using features of spoken interaction in written communication such as fixed phrases or symbols in order to express certain feelings or intentions. These symbols can be images that represent facial expressions, for example smiling, frowning, or punctuation marks used to indicate feelings, thus written communication develops new characteristics.

Since English is the main communication tool in IT, Romanian youth tend to use more and more English terms such as *cool, show, download, online, website, PC, chat*, etc. Also, in order to express their feelings or intentions when communicating online, they choose abbreviations like *pls = please, K = ok, U = you, Me2 = me too* and acronyms, for example *LOL = laugh out loud, OMG = oh, my God, BRB = be right back, DND = do not disturb, FYI = for your information*.

Technological advances also created and developed new methods of performing numerous activities from various fields, which require a specific type of language that would involve the use of certain English terms. These are usually used by Romanians, for example, terms designing various professions: *broker, dealer, babysitter, tour-operator, bodyguard*; terms used in IT: *airbag, hard, soft, laptop, link*; terms used by the media: *banner, clip, site, hotline*; terms used in teaching and education: *master, grant, training, item*; terms used in sports: *snow-board, skateboard, pole-position*; terms used in cookery: *snacks, steak, hamburger, cheeseburger*; terms used in music: *band, evergreen, performance, playback, top, hit*; terms referring to commerce: *drive-in, fast food, mall, duty free, supermarket, showroom*; terms referring to air transportation: *check-in, boarding pass* etc. (Ciacu 2008). Other English words that are common in everyday life conversations are: *job, team building, cash, card, business, manager, CEO, project-based, marketing, workshop, feedback, shopping, discount, breaking news, spot, display, hardware, brainstorming, challenge, body, party, grill, fan club, make-up*, etc.

Moreover, implementing certain specialised practices in various fields required the creation of a universal specific language, based on loanwords. If in the recent past, the universal source of loanwords was French – since it was an international language – especially in the field of art, literature and culture, today, the development of communication technology requires a wide use of English terms, mostly in the economic and financial fields, in IT, in media etc. The creation of new forms of

communication – digital communication – (SMS, e-mail, chat), together with the development in technology (mobile phone, tablet, laptop) and with the facilities and services offered by specialised companies in various domains in order to perform certain professional activities (such as text editing on the computer, browsing online and using the internet as the main source of information in project development) or for entertainment and leisure activities (fitness, mall, fast food, international tourism), had an influence on both the youth personal and group identity and intercultural relationships. Furthermore, digital communication influenced and changed the way young people speak and behave, the activities they perform and their lifestyle, creating a new cultural identity, which differs from those of previous generations: previous leisure activities such as going to the theatre, going for walks, performing outdoor activities or playing board games are becoming less popular and are replaced by activities specific to the American culture (*going to the shopping mall, eating in fast food restaurants, playing computer games, chatting online* etc.). Not only the way these activities are performed has been adopted, but also their names, which implies the use of English terms such as *shopping, drive-in, gadget, LOL* etc.

On the other hand, intercultural relationships are influenced by the interest of the youth in fashion, music, sports, travel and other hobbies, which leads to the use of specific English terms and to copying cultural models. In addition, the expansion of international bank branches generated the creation of universal payment methods (e.g. the credit card), which influenced the adoption of a western lifestyle in terms of consumption. Also, the creation of large self-service shops that sell food and household goods (*supermarkets, hypermarkets*) as well as the names of certain products determine the use of English terms (e.g. *milkshake, chips, blushi, jeans* etc.), thus creating a new type of consumer. Furthermore, the concept of multinational corporations implies a work environment that requires a certain conduct, language, outfit, working hours, as well as the ability to speak English, which enables both professional and personal interactions among employees of different nationalities and results in the development of intercultural relations.

4. DATA ANALYSIS

We will analyse English loanwords that are frequently used in Romanian fashion articles from youth online publications (4.1.), as well as on recordings of video blogs (4.2.), podcasts (4.3.), YouTube videos (4.4.) and *online slang* (4.5.).

4.1. ONLINE FASHION PUBLICATIONS

Fashion has always been a point of reference for youngsters of every generation regarding fashion styles in trend as well as lifestyle in general if we refer to idols, models or followers of certain social groups. According to market research studies conducted by Teenage Research Unlimited, youngsters are interested in magazines that write about fashion, technology, entertainment, music and celebrities. Consequently, we will analyse *necessary loans* and *luxury loans/stylistic borrowings* in online Romanian press (fashion magazines) that are frequently used in Romanian or those that are new loans that double Romanian words. We will look at their formal aspect (assimilated or *non-assimilated loans*), at their new semantic meaning and at their distribution in the text (isolated or frequent).

Our data were gathered from the following online fashion publications: *Fashion365.ro*, *România TV.net*, *Xmodax.com*, *Izli.ro*, *Tendințe Modă.ro* and *Starsblog.ro*, based on which we will analyse the following anglicisms: *fashion*, *fashionistele*, *fashion girl*, *show*, *fashion show*, *style*, *styling*, *look*, *casual*, *smart*, *outfit*, *designer*, *fresh*, *make-up*, *trend*, *trendy*, *trendsetter*, *mix*, *messy*, *catwalk*, *top*, *skinny*, *must*, *must-have*, *grunge*, *oversize*, *statement*, *slim*, *urban*, *army*, *leggings*, *item*, *vibe*, *in*, *office*, *dress code* and *sporty*.

4.1.1. FREQUENTLY USED ANGLICISMS

We will analyse English loanwords that are habitually used in Romanian and, although not necessary, replace existing Romanian words without bringing additional information. They are not new dictionary entries and are not adjusted to the norms of the Romanian language, but are assimilated both in standard and specialised press language.

The noun *fashion* is defined as "a popular or the latest style of clothing, hair, decoration, or behaviour at a particular time or place" (Oxford dictionary n.d.). Fashion has always been popular with both men and women of all ages, especially with the youth, due to their need for being distinctive or associated to a particular group/status. Romanian beauty and fashion magazines use plenty of English beauty and fashion-related words when giving information about the latest trends in make-up, clothing, hairstyle etc. The most common and frequently used *luxury loanword* related to this topic is *fashion* itself, which replaces the Romanian equivalent (*modă*) although it does not adapt to the norms of the Romanian language. Another example is the word *style*, which replaces the Romanian word *stil*.

We identify *luxury connotative anglicisms* – English loanwords that have Romanian equivalents and are registered in dictionaries of neologisms. Some examples are: *look* (înfățișare), *show* (spectacol), *make-up* (machiaj), *trend* (tendință), *designer* (creator de modă) which are registered in the dictionary of neologisms - *Marele Dicționar de Neologisme* (Marcu 2000).

Other examples are the words *catwalk* (podium), *casual* (informal), *smart* (modern), *must* (used to recommend a certain outfit or style), *slim* (for size), *office* (formal), *outfit* (ținută). These are not dictionary entries but are frequently used both in standard and specialised press language for their denotative function and their advantage over their Romanian equivalents: precision and international usage (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001).

The same situation occurs in French in the case of the English word look, for example à votre look (French Touch Seduction.com 2014), as well as in Spanish, for example *un look sofisticado* (Loreal-Paris.es 2013). Also, the English term *outfit* is used in Spanish, for example: *el complemento perfecto de un outfit* (Glamour.mx 2014). Therefore, we observe the international usage of certain anglicisms and a similarity in their adaptation to different languages.

4.1.2. RECENT ANGLICISMS

We notice the usage of some new English loanwords that could be regarded as specialised terminology since their meaning refers to particular concepts in beauty and fashion. Therefore, journalists do not consider it essential to explain them but use them as such. The reason could be “comfort or rush which – especially in the case of journalists – do not allow them to reflect over Romanian lexical equivalents in order to choose the most adequate term” (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2001, 95).

For example, the word *styling* replaces both the English loanword *style* and its Romanian equivalent *stil* as follows: *jocuri de styling* (fashion365.ro 2016) to suggest a combination of styles in one's outfit, *iată câteva sfaturi de styling cu privire la modul de a purta un trench indiferent de sezon* (here are some pieces of advice to wear a trench coat in different ways/styles in any season), (fashion365.ro 2017). We also notice the use of the anglicism *trenchi*, which is phonetically, graphically and morphologically adapted to the standards of the Romanian language and to its semantic system and is also registered in dictionaries of neologisms as *trenchi s.n. pardesiu impermeabil cu croială de raglan; trencicot; <engl. trench/coat* (*trenchi* - neutral noun, a raglan sleeve waterproof coat; *trencicot; <engl. trench/coat*), (Marcu 2000). Although this term has a Romanian equivalent (*impermeabil*), it is a *necessary anglicism* due to the fact that it designates

an item of clothing made of waterproof fabrics. Also, even if it is not a recent loan, we identify both its alternation with a Romanian equivalent and the incorrect differentiation between the Romanian *o geacă impermeabilă* (a waterproof jacket) and *trenci*; for example: *o geacă impermeabilă sau un trenci sunt de sezon* (a waterproof jacket or a trench coat are this season's look). This may show that it is still used as a loanword.

We also remark the exaggerated use of derivatives like *fashionistele* in the example *această piesă vestimentară a reușit să cucerească fashionistele din întreaga lume* (this item of clothing has conquered fashionists around the world), (Starsblog.ro 2015). The noun *fashionistele* is formed from the English *fashionist* used as a feminine noun *fashionistă* (-ă for singular), followed by the definite article for feminine plural form in Romanian (*le*). This term does not have an equivalent in Romanian but could be replaced by *persoanele interesate de modă* (people interested in fashion) since it does not sound natural to Romanian native speakers and may be difficult for those who lack knowledge in this field.

Moreover, recent anglicisms are prominent in beauty and fashion publications, for instance: *statement, messy, dress code, item, vibe, fresh, trendsetter, urban, skinny, slim, army, leggings, in*. They are used with stylistic roles and to universalise fashion terminology, for example *sprâncene statement [...] din nou în trend [...] menținerea lor într-o formă cât mai naturală, ușor messy* (statement eyebrows [...] again in trend [...] keeping them in a slightly messy natural form) (RomâniaTv.net 2016); *stilul office impune un anumit dress code* (the office style requires a particular dress code); *un alt item vestimentar în tendințe* (another item of clothing in trend); *să aducă un vibe fresh întregii ținute* (to create the outfit a fresh vibe); *vei deveni un trendsetter* (you will become a trendsetter); *ținute urban chic* (urban chic outfits) (Starsblog.ro 2015); *foarte în vor fi și fustele de zi cu volane* (layered skirts will be in fashion) (Fashion365.ro 2016).

We identify the polysemic words *trend, office, item* and *urban* which are used in various fields (business, marketing, education, constructions, etc.), not only in fashion.

Moreover, in the example *foarte în vor fi și fustele de zi cu volane* (layered skirts will be in fashion) (Fashion365.ro 2016), we remark the clipping or truncation of the English phraseological unit *to be in fashion* (*a fi la modă*). This is used in Romanian by eliminating the noun *fashion*, but keeping the Romanian verb *to be* (*a fi*) followed by the English preposition *in*.

Other examples of stilistically marked anglicisms are: *outfit, trendy, grunge, must-have, fashion girl, oversize, sporty*.

Out of the previously mentioned examples, the anglicisms *trendy*, *grunge*, *item* and *fresh* are entries in the dictionary of neologisms - *Marele Dicționar de Neologisme* (Marcu 2000). Further analysis of *item* and *fresh* is presented in the following subsections.

4.1.3. ASSIMILATED ANGLICISMS

We notice loanwords that are formally adapted to the standards of the Romanian language. For example, the word *fashionistele* is used as a feminine noun and receives the feminine definite article for the plural form. Also, it is phonetically adapted - the suffix is stressed, according to Romanian language norms.

Other examples of morphologically adapted loanwords are *designer*, *trendsetter*, *show*, *look* and *trend*. All except *trendsetter* are registered as neologisms. The words *designer* and *trendsetter* are used as masculine nouns and receive the masculine definite article (*ul*) (*designerul*) or indefinite article *un* (*un trendsetter*), whereas the others are used as neuter nouns and receive the neuter definite article (*ul*), for example *show-ul*, *look-ul*, *designerul*, *trendul*.

Most inanimate English nouns are used as neuter nouns in Romanian and they form their plural by adding the Romanian *-uri* ending for plural form of neuter nouns (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006). For instance: *un look*, *look-ul*, *catwalk-ul*, *trenduri*, *trendurile*, *un outfit*, *un vibe*, *un dress code*, *topurile*, *un must*, *un item*.

Another example of a *luxury loan* is the collocation *fashion show*, which receives the Romanian neuter definite article and is used in plural form as *fashion show-urile* (RomâniaTv.net 2016). It replaces its Romanian equivalent *prezentare/gală de modă*.

According to studies in the field, "frequent inconsistencies occur in the use of the hyphen when spelling the English nouns that receive Romanian definite articles or plural endings [...] which highlights the *foreign* characteristic of a recent loanword" (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006, 48–49).

We identify the morphological assimilation in terms of noun neuter gender of the English words *must*, *outfit* and *look* in the examples: *un must*, *un outfit* and *look-ul*.

4.1.4. NON-ASSIMILATED ANGLICISMS

A number of anglicisms are not formally adapted to the standards of the Romanian language, but “keep their English phonetic and graphic features which do not allow the Romanian morphological, nor phonetical adaptation” (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006, 37). This is specific to *luxury anglicisms*, which are “predominant in youth publications addressed to a cosmopolitan audience that are non-native speakers of English” (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006, 37).

For example, the English loanwords *fashion, casual, smart, messy, skinny, statement, urban, army, slim, style, styling, grunge, oversize, sporty* are not morphologically adapted to the standards of the Romanian language or to its semantic system. Except *grunge*, they are not registered in Romanian dictionaries of neologisms.

4.1.5. ANGLICISMS WITH NEW SEMANTIC MEANING

According to Stoichițoiu-Ichim, “lexico-semantic assimilation of anglicisms implies evolution in the meaning (extension, reduction or specialisation, extra connotations or changes in the existing ones)”, (Stoichițoiu-Ichim 2006, 56).

We will analyse a number of frequently used or assimilated English loanwords that developed new meanings in the Romanian language. The rationale behind this process could be the need of journalists to use new terms that have an international character and are introduced in tandem with new fashion trends.

In the examples *hainele fashion (the *fashion clothes)* and *stilul fashion (the *fashion style)* (Fashion365.30, 2015), we identify that the noun *fashion* replaces the English adjective *fashionable*. It has the syntactic function of an adjective and it is placed after the noun, according to Romanian language norms. This process also occurs in French, for example, *vêtements fashion et confortables* (Utile.fr 2011) as well as in Spanish (the noun *fashion* has the syntactic function of an adjective in the superlative form), for example *las faldas más fashion* (Venca.es 2016), which reflects the international character of the loanwords.

In the example *totul ține de creativitate și de modul în care reușiți să mixați hainele ce se regăsesc în tendințele designerilor, astfel încât să rezulte un outfit demn de admirat sau chiar invidiat (it's all about creativity and the way in which you manage to mix clothes that are in trend according to designers, so that your result is an outfit worth admiring and envying)*, (Fashion365.ro 2015), we notice the loan of the English phraseological unit *a mixa haine (to mix clothes)*. The English verb *to mix*, which originates in

the French *mixte* (New Oxford Dictionary 2001), is an entry in Romanian dictionaries for a *amesteca* (*blend, mingle or stir*) (Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii Române n.d.) and also as a technical term: *mixaj film, muzică* (*film/music/audio mix*) (Dicționarul Explicativ al Limbii Române n.d.). In English, the verb *mix* also means to combine clothes (*to mix clothes*) (Hornby 2004). This meaning has been recently borrowed in Romanian to replace the Romanian verbs *a combina/a asorta haine* (*to combine/to assort clothes*).

The same process occurs in French, where the French verb *assortir* is replaced by the verb *mixer* as in the example *mixer les vêtements* (Utile.fr 2011). Therefore, in the field of fashion, we notice the international character of the usage of various structures that contain anglicisms to define new fashion trends. The phraseological unit *to mix clothes* does not refer to the classic pattern of assortment – colour/fabric/style etc. – but to a combination of items of clothing in order to create a new outfit (for example the combination of sporty and classic items of clothing). Other examples that define certain outfits or clothing styles are: *rochii stil baby doll* (*baby doll dresses*) (Fashion365.ro 2015); *stilul office* (*office style*) (Fashion365.ro 2015); *rochiile midi stil vintage* (*vintage style midi dresses*) (Fashion365.ro 2015); *curentul street style* (*street style trend*) (Starsblog.ro 2015).

Another example of an anglicism that has developed a new meaning in Romanian is the English word *top*. This term is an assimilated loanword and is registered in Romanian dictionaries of neologisms as follows: *top¹ s.n. clasament al preferințelor pentru unele spectacole, actori, bucăți muzicale* (<engl. *top*); *top² s.n. 1. semnal scurt care previne un auditoriu să noteze o indicație într-un moment precis. 2. (tv) impuls de curent de scurtă durată, pentru sincronizare* (<engl., fr. *top*), [*top¹ neuter noun, highest rank of preferences in shows, actors, pieces of music* (<engl. *top*); *top² neuter noun 1. short signal that announces an audience to take notes of a certain indication in a particular moment. 2. (tv) short electrical impulse for synchronization* (<engl., fr. *top*)] (Marcu, 2000). The term *top* has also borrowed the English meaning of *a piece of light clothing worn on the part of the body above the waist* (Oxford dictionary n.d.), which is not registered in Romanian dictionaries of neologisms, for example *topuri și tricouri care se poartă în vara asta* (*tops and t-shirts that are trendy this summer*) (tendințemodă.ro 2015).

A similar example is the word *item* – assimilated and registered in the Romanian dictionaries of neologisms as follows: *item¹ adv. de altfel, în plus* (< lat. *item*); *item² s.n. 1. temă, element constitutiv al unui test, chestionar etc. cu o notă specifică în cadrul unei probleme, referindu-se la un fragment strict determinat și unic al acesteia; 2. termen de apreciere în problemele analitice; 3. termen al unei descrieri analitice destinat a fi luat în considerare într-un proces mecanizat; 4. (psih.) situație particulară*

care produce din partea subiectului două sau mai multe comportamente posibile (<engl., fr. item), *litem*¹ adverb, also, as well (< lat. item); *item*² neuter noun 1. a question, a topic in a test, questionnaire etc. with a specified note regarding a particular problem, which refers to a particular unit or aspect of an issue; 2. assessment term used in analytical problems; 3. term used in an analytical description as an important key factor of a mechanized process; 4. (psychology) a particular situation in which the subject produces two or more possible types of behaviour (<engl., fr. item) (Marcu 2000).

This word is now also used with the meaning *a piece of clothing* analogous to the English *item of clothing*, in the Romanian phraseological unit *un item vestimentar* (Starsblog.ro 2015).

Another example is the word *fresh*, which is registered in Romanian dictionaries of neologisms as *freș* - adj. *care exprimă prospețime, sănătate, tinerețe; viori* (< fr. *fraiche*), [*freș* - adj. *something that expresses freshness, health, youth* (< fr. *fraiche*)] (Marcu 2000). We notice its Romanian graphical adaptation. One of its new semantic meanings is that of a juice made from squeezed fruit as in the example, *fresh de portocale* (*fresh orange juice*), (Secretele.com 2014), after the English *fresh juice*, where the word *fresh* is etymologically and semantically related to French. We notice that it is not graphically modified, but morphologically adapted to Romanian language, under the Romanian neuter gender form, for example *un fresh* or *fresh-ul* (the hyphen marks its foreign character), with its plural form ending in *-uri*, for example *mulți preferă [...] să își facă fresh-uri din diverse fructe* (*many people prefer to make their own fresh drinks from a variety of fruits*) (Secretele.com 2014). Another new semantic meaning of this term occurs in fashion, for example *stil fresh* (*fresh style*) (Starsblog.ro 2015); *un vibe fresh* (*a fresh vibe*) (Starsblog.ro 2015). The word *fresh* is not graphically modified and is used as an adjective that doubles its French equivalent.

4.1.6. DISTRIBUTION OF ANGLICISMS IN TEXTS

We notice the fact that anglicisms are predominant not only as autonomous words, as in the example *imprimeurile florale rămân și ele, ca întotdeauna, un must în anul 2016* (*floral patterns are, as always, a must in 2016*) (Fashion365.ro 2015); *cum trebuie purtată o cămașă slim-fit* (*how to wear a slim-fit shirt*) (llyli.ro 2015), but also in different combinations. For instance, *blugii skinny sunt încă o modalitate trendy* (*skinny jeans are another trendy option*) (Fashion365.ro 2016b); *caracter must-have pentru orice fashion girl* (*must-have character for every fashion girl*) (Starsblog.ro 2015); *la modă vor fi stilul grunge, oversize, stofele transparente* (*grunge, oversize, transparent fabrics will also be a fashionable style*) (Xmodax.com 2016).

These anglicisms can designate certain international fashion styles or can be justified by the need of certain social categories to be linguistically distinctive from others.

For example, *totul ține de creativitate și de modul în care reușiți să mixați hainele ce se regăsesc în tendințele designerilor, astfel încât să rezulte un outfit demn de admirat sau chiar invidiat (it's all about creativity and the way in which you manage to mix clothes that are in trend according to designers, so that your result is an outfit worth admiring and envying)* (Fashion365.ro 2015); *alegere smart (a smart choice)* (Fashion365.ro 2015); *look fresh (fresh look)* (RomâniaTv.net 2016); *trendurile în make-up (trends in make-up)* (RomâniaTv.net 2016); *look-ul no make-up este din nou în trend (the no-make-up look is again in trend)* (RomâniaTv.net 2016); *crează-ți un look cât mai rebel, messy și neglijent (create yourself a rebellious, messy and careless look)* (RomâniaTv.net 2016); *noile trenduri, prezente pe catwalk-ul de la Fendi (the new trends presented on the catwalk by Fendi)* (RomâniaTv.net 2016); *make-up artist (make-up artist)* (RomâniaTv.net 2016).

Similar to Romanian, word combinations of anglicisms also occur in French, for example: *une pièce forte qui peut apporter énormément de style et d'élégance à votre look* (French Touch Seduction.com, 2014), as well as in Spanish, for example: *el complemento perfecto de un outfit casual* (Glamour.mx 2014).

*In order to avoid repetition, journalists alternate English loanwords with terms from their native language and use them as synonyms. For example: the Romanian **stil** (inspirată din stilul army = inspired from the army style) vs. the English style (jocuri de styling = combinations of style); the Romanian *piesă vestimentară* (această piesă vestimentară a reușit să cucerească fashionistele din întreaga lume = this item of clothing has conquered fashionists around the world) vs. the English *item* (un item versatil = a versatile item); the Romanian *ținută* (ținute sporty chic = sporty chic outfits) vs. The English *outfit* (completează outfitul cu accesorii statement = complement your outfit with statement accessories).*

4.2. VLOGGING

Avlog or a video blog is a record of one's thoughts, opinions, interests or experiences published on the internet with a view to communicating and interacting with the audience on a personal level by sharing information on various topics. It is also a new form of entertainment, as well as a source of information for the youth, since there is also interaction through written comments between the vloggers and the viewers who are called *followers*. Therefore, we can distinguish a *computer-mediated dialogical*

interaction in which both the vloggers and the followers frequently use anglicisms in spoken and written communication.

Considering the fact that by discourse we generally mean "a wide range of forms of language use: written and spoken, dialogical and monological" (Bidu-Vrânceanu et al. 2001), and that video blogging is an evolving and ongoing reality, we can assert that linguistic and pragmatic analysis of the discourse in vlogging should not be overlooked. It can be regarded as a relevant and interesting object of study in order to develop an understanding of language in use and in a given context.

The video blogging industry in Romania is still evolving and Romanian vloggers get inspired by American models who influence their content and their performance style but also their linguistic choice. We notice a frequent use of anglicisms due to the need for using a language specific to online communication. These are *necessary loans* or *technical borrowings* – English terms that do not have a Romanian equivalent. On the other hand, vloggers who use *luxury loans* or *stylistic borrowings* – an alternative for an already lexicalised concept – show the need for being distinctive and remarked in the vlogosphere and deliberately use these kinds of linguistic units. Nevertheless, some English loanwords became part of the Romanian lexicon, for example: *job, dealer, laptop, cash, cheeseburger, hit, etc.*

The research study is based on twelve recordings of Romanian vloggers on a YouTube channel (the list is provided after the list of references). According to Gandul.info (2015), an online journal, these are among the most popular and have generated the highest subscriber rate and the highest number of views. Grounded theory in qualitative research shows that a minimum of twelve cases is required to meet one's proposed objectives and to avoid saturation (Guest et al. 2006).

The terms *blog, vlog* and their derivatives *blogger, vlogger, bloggărițe, vloggărițe* are *necessary anglicisms*, as they do not have Romanian equivalents. These loans are orthographically, phonetically and morphologically adapted to Romanian language conventions. We notice the use of *blog* and *vlog* as neuter nouns (*un blog, blogurile, un vlog, vlogurile*), whereas *blogger* and *vlogger* are used as masculine nouns and *bloggărițe* and *vloggărițe* as feminine nouns. The same happens in the case of *gamer* where we distinguish the forms *un gamer* for masculine and *o gameriță* for feminine.

We identify frequently used *luxury English loans* that replace Romanian words and are used as neuter gender forms as follows: *gaming; e un must (it's a must); e în trend (it's in trend); Q&A-ul ăsta vreau să fie mai*

scurt (I want this Q&A to be shorter); Oamenii mă întreabă - când faci friends meeting? - Încă nu am nimic concret. Am tot vorbit de friends house, friends meetings (People ask me when there will be a friends meeting. I haven't decided yet. We've already talked about friends house, friends meetings); Nu lăsa eșecurile să te tragă înapoi. Nu e bine să vezi un fail ca o mare nenorocire. Un fail e doar o experiență (Don't let yourself be put off by a failure. A failure is just an experience).

In the example *ți se pare că n-am hateri?* (*do you think I don't have haters*) we identify the English loan *hateri*, which replaces the Romanian phrase *oameni care te urăsc* (*people who hate you*). This linguistic choice can be justified by the fact that it requires less effort when typing or it may have a stronger impact in meaning and may distinguish the speaker. Moreover, in the example *de ce se hateresc femeile?* (*why do women hate each other?*), we notice the use of the English verb *hate* that replaces its Romanian equivalent *a urî* but it is adapted to the Romanian conjugated verb form for the third person plural in relation to the subject of the sentence.

Also, we notice the loan of words and structures suggesting exaggeration, such as *super cool; that's awesome; the best as well as of greeting and farewell phrases, for example Hello; Hey; Hey, what's up?; Whazzuuup, dude!* etc.

Regarding paralinguistic and nonverbal communication, we notice similarities between Romanian vloggers and foreign vloggers, American mainly, in terms of attitude, gestures and body language, for example *virtual quotation marks* or *finger quote marks* (often used to express satire, sarcasm, irony or euphemism), the *hand gesture for OK* (by connecting the thumb and index finger into a circle and holding the other fingers straight or relaxed in the air), the *thumb-up* or *thumb-down sign* (a hand gesture achieved by a closed fist held with the thumb extended upward or downward) for approval or disapproval, the *V sign* for *peace* or the excessive use of some English words such as *ok; yeah; yeah, right!; really?; No way!*, complemented by various facial expressions or gestures.

Pseudonyms or nicknames are *common* in blogging and are carefully chosen since they are considered important factors in creating an impact on the viewers and in drawing a personal connection with the audience. Both vloggers and their followers either adopt English nicknames or create pseudonyms that display English language features, such as *Mickey Hash, Zmenta's, Ms Anne-Green, Shelly, Blackrain226, Mihai Android, Gold Messi, Da Bacon* etc.

Stylistic borrowings are common in the titles of the postings, for example *De ce se hateresc femeile?* (*why do women hate each other?*);

*Friends Show; M-am apucat de gaming???! (I've taken up gaming), whereas technical borrowings are frequent in farewell endings: Dă-mi un follow pe Instagram, pentru LIVE updates zilnic pe Instagram Stories! (*Give me a follow on Instagram, for Live updates daily on Instagram Stories); Dați-mi like (Give me like); Nu uitați să dați like dacă v-a plăcut episodul și subscribe la canalul meu de youtube! Vă pup! (Don't forget to give like if you enjoyed the episode and subscribe to my youtube channel! Kisses!); Nu uitați să dați like! (Don't forget to give like!); Tot ce trebuie să faceți este să dați share la postare (All you need to do is *give share to the posting) etc.*

4.3. PODCASTS

Podcasts are similar to radio programs, but they are an episodic series of digital audio or video files that can be downloaded and listened to. Listeners can play them at their convenience, using devices that have become more common than portable broadcast receivers. Podcasts usually contain talk back radio style content rather than music and have become a recognized medium for spreading information for both corporate and personal use (Starak, 2018). They are another form of online entertainment where listeners can leave comments about each podcast episode and also interact with other listeners. Podcasts are considered "a community of individuals sharing a common interest" (International Podcast Day 2018).

As far as Romanian podcasts are concerned, these have started to grow in popularity, especially among younger generations. Since they are still a new concept, our corpus is based only on six podcasts on a YouTube channel that are presented by Romanian comedians popular with the young audience (the list is provided after the list of references).

It is worth mentioning that *stand-up comedy* itself is borrowed from American models as well as the comedians' approach, the nature of their jokes or punchline stories. These comedy acts are different at times from classical comedy shows performed by Romanian comedians as they are mainly performed in comedy clubs or pubs rather than in theatre halls and they involve direct interaction between the comedian and the audience in an informal style, usually with a sarcastic or ironic but humorous tone. They are also distributed online via YouTube videos or podcasts and are a popular form of entertainment for the youth.

However, the data used in our study is based on podcasts in which the comedians are either the hosts or the guests (similar to radio shows) and they discuss or present various topics and interact with their listeners. This is to say that we are not studying the language used in comedy

acts, but the role of anglicisms in the language used by comedians as participants in a podcast discussion, which reflects features specific to the stand-up comedy style in terms of register (colloquial) and tone (sarcastic, ironic, humorous). We notice a predominant use of English loanwords that are integrated in the Romanian text and adopt Romanian inflexion features. Not only the concept of the podcast has been adopted, but also its name, which is a *necessary* loanword since it does not have a Romanian equivalent, but, as in the case of most anglicisms, has been adapted and used as a neuter noun, for example *un podcast, podcasturi, podcasturile*.

Moreover, the frequent distribution of anglicisms in this dataset creates a text with a mixed structure that addresses an elitist audience with a high level of English in order to mark group solidarity. Consequently, we consider these videos as a relevant and interesting source for our object of study in order to develop an understanding of language in use and in a given context.

4.3.1. STYLISTIC BORROWINGS WITH AN EXTENDED SEMANTIC MEANING

We identify anglicisms that are deliberately used to replace their Romanian equivalents in order to suggest implied meanings.

In the example *pantofii mei sport sunt special edition (my trainers are special edition)*, the speaker wants to highlight the fact that he is wearing brand new shoes that are the latest model. He indirectly refers to those who feel the need to boast about their labelled items, thus creating a humorous context. This would have less of an impact if the Romanian equivalent *ediție specială* was used and it would not sound natural either. This loan is orthographically and phonetically adopted.

In the case of the English *discount*, which alternates with its Romanian equivalent *reducere*, the speaker uses the loanword (orthographically and phonetically adopted) when he talks about brand clothes that are worth buying since there are discounts, and indirectly creates the idea of a high-status consumer, whereas the Romanian *reducere* implies a low quality of clothing items, usually bought from regular shops, by people with a low income.

In the examples *nu sunt un workaholic (I am not a workaholic)* and *trebuie să fim aware de ceea ce se întâmplă (we have to be aware of what is happening)* the speaker deliberately uses the English words instead of their Romanian equivalents in order to differentiate himself from other social groups as it may sound *more sophisticated*. The same happens

when the comedians talk about their next show in Italy and announce the number of people attending their event: *avem 28 going deja* (we already have 28 going). Here we also identify an ellipsis. In the example *Așa am zis, checked!* (This is what we said: checked!) the anglicism is used to suggest agreement.

Another example is *nu pot să lean back, să mă bucur, să mă liniștesc, să fac un show relaxant* (I can't lean back, to enjoy myself, to rest, to prepare a relaxing show). The speaker replaces the Romanian verb *a se relaxa* (to relax) with the English *lean back*. It is an unnecessary loan used to distinguish the speaker.

We also exemplify *m-a abordat unul azi în pasaj la Universitate, unul cu geacă de la Unicef, cerșetor next level care mi-a cerut bani să-i ajut pe copii* (I was approached by a guy at the subway today, he was wearing a Unicef jacket, next level beggar who asked me for money to help children). Here we sense the ironic tone of the speaker with a view to being humorous.

Another example is: *ăsta ne-a dat slam-dunk* (he gave us a slam-dunk) - when talking about somebody who is not fond of their jokes. A *slam-dunk* is a specialised term used in basketball meaning *a shot in which a player thrusts the ball down through the basket* (Oxford dictionary n.d.). Starting from the idea of this forceful movement in order to score a basket, the speaker wants to highlight the level of dissatisfaction of their viewer who bluntly tells them that he dislikes their jokes.

4.3.2. ADAPTED LUXURY ANGLICISMS / ADAPTED STYLISTIC BORROWINGS

In the examples *nu sunt un workaholic* (I am not an workaholic) and *Jay Leno nu filmează special-uri pentru că vrea să repete glumele în diferite show-uri* (Jay Leno doesn't record specials because he wants to repeat his jokes in various shows), the English nouns *workaholic* and *specials* are used as masculine nouns. The English *workaholic* (orthographically and phonetically adopted) receives the Romanian masculine indefinite article *un*, whereas *specials* is used in the Romanian masculine plural form *special-uri* and is phonetically adapted. The use of the hyphen marks its foreign characteristic and differentiates the English *special* from its Romanian homograph. We also identify here the frequent distribution of anglicisms in the text. We notice the use of *show-uri*, which is registered in dictionaries of neologisms, replacing the Romanian *spectacol*. Here it is used as a neuter noun in its plural form, by receiving the *uri* ending. The hyphen marks its foreign characteristic.

In the following examples the English loans are used as Romanian neuter nouns and receive the definite article (*ul*) or the indefinite article *un*: *Ideea era că a fost boom-ul ăla din '80 care s-a spart în '90. Ultima dată când s-a produs boost-ul ăla a venit un nou val de creativitate. Se așteaptă din nou boost-ul ăsta ca să vadă din nou un refresh.* (*The idea was that there was that boom in the 80s which vanished in the 90s. The last time that boost took place a new creativity wave came up. This boost is expected to come again and *to see a refresh*). We distinguish the use of the hyphen, which marks the foreign characteristic of the loans and the frequent distribution of anglicisms in the text. We consider these loanwords *stylistic borrowings* since they have an equivalent in Romanian (*boom* = *explozie/creștere*; *boost* = *amplora/creștere*; *refresh* = *reînvingorare*). In both languages these nouns are figuratively used in the example above, which leads us to the conclusion that the speaker's linguistic choice is justified by a need to be distinctive and to create impact.

A similar process regarding the adaptation of the loans, their distribution and the linguistic choice with a figurative meaning occurs in the following examples: *mie mi-a plăcut foarte mult un bit de stand-up care semăna cu un banc* (*I liked one bit of a stand-up that was similar to a joke*); *Doru Octavian și-a dat la zero counter-ul* (*The Romanian comedian Doru Octavian placed his counter at zero*). The loanwords *bit* and *counter* are used as Romanian neuter nouns, and receive the indefinite article *un* (*un bit*) or the definite article (*ul*) (*counter-ul*) and the use of the hyphen to mark their foreign characteristic. In both cases, the speaker could have used Romanian equivalents. The phrase *un bit de stand-up* could have been replaced by *un număr/o glumă* (a Romanian alternative to *one act of a stand-up comedy show*), while the phrase *și-a dat la zero counter-ul* (*he placed his counter at zero*) could have been replaced by the Romanian expression *a luat-o de la zero* (an alternative to *he started from scratch*). Here again we identify a deliberate use of *stylistic borrowings*. The speaker addresses an elitist audience with a high level of English in order to mark group solidarity.

4.3.3. UNNECESSARY ANGLICISMS

In the following examples, we identify various anglicisms that are adopted as *concepts, ideas or meanings* and are inserted into a Romanian sentence as independent words. Sometimes they do not respect the English language norms. Moreover, even if they do not always have a direct equivalent in Romanian, they are *unnecessary* since they replace Romanian words or phrases that could be used with the same meaning.

An example is *ce putem să zicem ca review e că ambalajul e foarte rezistent* (*what we can *say as a review is that the package is quite resistant*) when

talking about a wrapped present. Starting from the meaning of the English *review* – *evaluation, assessment, appraisal* (Oxford dictionary n.d.), the speaker uses this term as functional language to express opinion, which does not follow the English language norms. However, it has impact and also distinguishes the speaker.

In the example *ne-a dat shut out la telefon* (**he gave us shut out on the phone*) the speaker implies the idea of not being allowed to be part of the conversation. However, you cannot *give somebody shut out*. Another example is *umorul lui este squeaky clean* (*his humour is squeaky clean*). The speaker means that the jokes are not vulgar. However, in English *squeaky clean* has a rather different use, namely to describe somebody's appearance or behaviour.

In the example *se aşteaptă din nou boost-ul ăsta ca să vadă din nou un refresh* (*This boost is expected to come again and *to see a refresh*), the speaker uses the specialised term *refresh* to imply the idea of a new start, but you cannot *see a refresh*.

When the speaker wants to open a present, he says *vreau să fac opening* (*I want to *make opening*) instead of *vreau să deschid cadoul* (*I want to open the present*). The English *opening* replaces the Romanian verb *a deschide* (*to open*), after the English *grand opening*. We can sense the deliberate exaggeration used for a humorous purpose.

Another example is: *gluma asta are replay value* (*this joke has replay value*) – to highlight how funny the joke was. In the example *Doru Octavian și-a dat reset pe plan internațional* (*The Romanian comedian Doru Octavian reset himself internationally*) – the specialised term *reset* is used to imply the idea of a new start.

Other examples of *unnecessary loans*, used for stylistic purposes and which might require a certain level of English knowledge, are *așa ajunge materialul să fie hacked* (*this is how the material gets hacked*); *are un efect booming* (*it has a booming effect*); *ai hateri, asta înseamnă că o duci bine* (*you have haters so you are living a good life*); *eu care sunt joy of life* (*I am the joy of life*); *Trebuie să dai totul pe scenă. E faza aia cu you're only as good as your last show* (*You have to do your best on stage. It's that thing that you're only as good as your last show*); *sunt safe aici* (*I'm safe here*). We notice that the loanwords in the examples above keep their original orthography and phonetics unchanged.

4.4. YOUTUBE VIDEOS

The following examples appear in various videos covering different topics on a YouTube channel (the list is provided after the list of references).

4.4.1. NECESSARY LOANS

The names of certain products, concepts, processes etc. determine the use of English terms, for example: *Jay Leno nu filmează special-uri pentru că vrea să repete glumele în diferite show-uri* (Jay Leno doesn't record specials because he wants to repeat his jokes in various shows); *ne-a adus un bucket for one cu multe crispy* (we were served a bucket for one with lots of crispy strips); *aveți 10 mii de view-uri* (you have 10 thousand views); *aștept ofertele de Black Friday* (I'm waiting for the Black Friday offers); *mi l-am luat de Black Friday* (I bought it on Black Friday); *dați un subscribe* (subscribe); *după update, auto steer se calibrează* (after the update, auto steer is on); *activez auto lane change* (I activate auto lane change); *mă interesează auto steer care a trecut din off în on* (I am interested in auto steer which turned from off to on); *suntem la setări și mă interesează driver assistance* (we're looking at the settings now and I'm interested in driver assistance); *un update de soft* (an update of a soft); *mașina asta are o mulțime de lucruri noi ca evitarea accidentelor atunci când mergi în cruise control activat, un fel de auto hold care ține mașina pe loc* (this car has a lot of new things like avoiding accidents when you drive in cruise control activated, a kind of auto hold which keeps the car steady); *activează acceleration sport insane* (activate acceleration sport insane).

4.4.2. CALQUED FORMS AND STRUCTURES

The following examples are loan creations formed by literally translating English words or idioms, as follows: *nu vrei să știi* (you don't want to know) instead of *e mai bine să nu știi*; ***nu vrei să te duci acolo*** (you don't want to go there) instead of *nu e bine (nu e recomandat) să te duci acolo*; *a face sens* (to make sense) instead of *are sens*; *a se focusa* (to focus on) instead of *a se concentra*; *a fi fericit cu ceva* (to be happy with something) instead of *a fi mulțumit de ceva*, for example *este fericită cu noul job* (she is happy with her new job).

Other examples are: *a aplica pentru, a aplica la* (to apply for) instead of *a se înscrie, a-și depune actele*; *suport* (support) instead of *sprijin*; *determinare* (determination) instead of *hotărâre*; *audiență* (audience) instead of *public, auditoriu*; *instrumental* (instrumental as in influential, contributory) instead of *indispensabil* or *decisiv*, for example *Podolski a fost instrumental în obținerea victoriei* (Podolski was instrumental in getting the victory) instead of *Podolski a fost decisiv pentru obținerea victoriei*; *inconfortabil*

(*uncomfortable*) instead of *stânjenit/ă*, for example *eram inconfortabil cu Andrew* (*I was uncomfortable with Andrew*) instead of *eram stânjenit/ă în prezența lui Andrew* or *nu mă simțeam în largul meu în prezența lui Andrew*.

Moreover, we identify the use of a number of English adjectives ending in *ic*, which replace their Romanian equivalents, for example: *arabic* instead of *arab/arăbesc*; *realistic* instead of *realist*; *homofobic* (orthographically adapted from the English *homophobic*) instead of *homofob*; *energetic* instead of *energic*.

We also notice the use of the possessive adjective in an unnatural way following the English model, for example: *Stimați călători, în timpul călătoriei cu metroul sunteți rugați să țineți sub supraveghere bagajele dumneavoastră* (*Do not keep your luggage unattended*) instead of *Stimați călători, în timpul călătoriei cu metroul sunteți rugați să vă țineți sub supraveghere bagajele*.

Other examples are: *Fii gata să primești pedeapsa ta* (*Be ready to receive your punishment*) instead of *Fii gata să-ți primești pedeapsa*; *Încetează cu minciunile tale* (*Stop your lies*) instead of *Încetează cu minciunile*; *Găsește destinația ta de vacanță* (*Find your holiday destination*) instead of *Găsește-ți destinația de vacanță*.

4.5. TYPES OF ONLINE SLANG

Based on our researched material, we classified the examples of the specific online slang as follows: abbreviations and acronyms; clipping; emoticons & emoji; onomatopoeic spellings; punctuation, capitalisation and other symbols; letter & number homophones; leetspeak and specialised terms.

The examples presented below illustrate changes in the English language that have been adopted in Romanian. Also, the Romanian examples follow similar changing pattern(s).

4.5.1. ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

Shortening forms of words or phrases (*abbreviations*) and forming new terms from the initial letters of other words that are pronounced as a whole (*acronyms*) are the most productive ways of word-building in order to save time and effort during online chatting. Some English examples are: *BF* = boyfriend, *GF* = girlfriend, *pls* = please, *CEO* = chief executive officer, *FYI* = for your information, *BTW* = by the way, *ZUP* = what's up?, etc.

A similar process takes place in Romanian, for example: *CNV* = *cineva* (somebody), *Ms* = *merci* (thanks), *CMF* = *Ce mai faci?* (how are you?), *CF* = *ce faci?* (how are you?), *LMA* = *La mulți ani* (Happy Birthday), *CP/CPL* = *cu plăcere* (you're welcome), *E BESC / T'BESK* = *te iubesc* (I love you), *PWP* = (te) *pup* (kisses), *NPC* = *n-ai pentru ce* (no problem/don't mention it), *nik* = *nimic* (nothing), *sal* = *salut* (hello), *BV* = *bravo* (well done), *AFR* = *afară* (outside), *APP* = *apropos* (by the way), *mrgm* = *mergem* (we're going/gonna).

4.5.2. CLIPPING

Another common linguistic means of word formation used in online communication is *clipping* - reducing or shortening words without changing their meaning, for example: *advertisement* – *ad*, *examination* – *exam*, *telephone* – *phone*, *website* – *site*, *photograph* – *photo*, *hamburger* – *burger*, *graduate* – *grad*, *teenager* – *teen*, *internet* – *net* (Barseghyan, 2013, 28). In Romanian, we have identified: *mulțumesc* = *mulțu* (thanks), *cu plăcere* = *cu plă* (you're welcome), *trebuie* = *tre* (must/have to), *sunt online* (*sunt conectat*) = *sunt on* (I am online), *sunt offline* (*sunt deconectat*) = *sunt off* (I am offline).

4.5.3. EMOTICONS & EMOJI

Keyboard-generated icons and smileys are abundant in instant messaging, as well as pictorial representations (*emoticons*) of facial expressions, common objects, places, types of weather, animals etc. (*emoji*). Apart from being efficient, they also portray specific emotions and are more appealing to the eye, for example :-) (*smile*), :-((*sadness*), :-((cry), ;-) (*wink*), :*/xxx (*kisses*), ()() (*hugs*), <3 (*heart – I love you*), zzz (*sleep/tiredness*) etc.

4.5.4. ONOMATOPOEIC SPELLINGS

Onomatopoeic spellings are used to replace words and phrases that express feelings or reactions: *hihi/haha!* (amusement), *aha!* (confirmation of a statement), *aaa!* (confirmation of a statement complemented by wonder), *mda!* (no comment), *ooo!* (surprise), *hmmm!* (content). The following examples are borrowed from English language: *oops!* (surprise or feeling sorry about a slight accident), *wow!* (amazement), *ooh!* (joy or surprise), *yay!* (delight or triumph), *phew!* (relief).

4.5.5. PUNCTUATION, CAPITALISATION AND OTHER SYMBOLS

We identify an exaggerated use of punctuation for emphasis or stress while replacing words or expressions, for example ??? (what? / I don't understand), !!! (to express amazement or to highlight the importance of an idea), ... (no comment). Also, capitalisation of each and every word from a title is used for emphasis, unlike Romanian norms. Symbols that replace words are common, too: @ = *at*, @ home = *at home*, xxx = *kisses*, oxoxox = *hugs & kisses*, G2G = *got to go* etc.

4.5.6. LETTER & NUMERAL HOMOPHONES

Words or bits of words are also replaced by their phonetic equivalent embodied into letters or numbers. For instance, in English: *U* = *you*, *C* = *see*, *Q* = *queue*, *2* (*two*) = *to/too*, *4* (*four*) = *for*, *CU* = *see you*, *CU l8er* = *see you later*, *GR8!* = *great!*, *G2G* = *got to go*, *ME2* = *me too*, *4U* = *for you*, and in Romanian *DC?* = *de ce?* (*why?*), *K să* = *ca să* (*in order to*), *aks* = *acasă* (*at home*), *dak* = *dacă* (*if*), *C??* = *ce??* (*what?*), *d la* = *de la* (*from*) etc.

4.5.7. LEETSPEAK

Leetspeak is an informal language or code, used on the Internet, in which standard letters are often substituted by numerals or special characters. *Leet*, or *l337*, is a short form of *elite*, commonly used by video gamers to suggest that they are skilled (Urban Dictionary n.d.). For example: *l337* (*leet*), *!nt3rn37* (*internet*), *8aCK* (*back*), *9ood* (*good*) (NetLingo n.d.).

Another characteristic is the capitalisation of all the consonants in a word: *LIKe ThiS* or letter substitution for other letters that might sound alike. "For example, the letter *Z* can replace the final letter *S* in the word *skillz*. With the letter *X* replacing the letter *C* or *K*, the example becomes *sxillz*. Then using numbers and symbols, leetspeakers might refer to their computer skills as *5x1llz*" (NetLingo n.d.).

4.5.8. SPECIALISED TERMS

Another interesting aspect is the adaptation and assimilation into Romanian of a number of common verbs in IT such as: *to download*, *to upgrade*, *to search*, *to scan*, *to turn off*, *to process*, *to stand-by* etc. These have developed new meanings in Romanian, as integrated parts of a phrase or expression, for example: *a-și downloada sufletul* (*to confess*); *a se upgrada* (*to buy something new/to improve*); *a procesa* (*to think*); *a fi în stand-by* (*to wait*), *a scana* (*to stare*), *a-și da un search* (*to remember something*), *a da un turn off / „sunt off* (*to be silent*), etc.

5. CONCLUSION

The analysis of anglicisms in terms of frequency, assimilation and adaptation to the standards of Romanian and to its semantic system, semantic evolution and text distribution brought forward some findings.

We noticed that a number of the English loanwords are phonetically, graphically and morphologically adapted to the standards of Romanian and to its semantic system and are used with a stylistic role, replacing their Romanian equivalents.

Based on our corpus, *luxury anglicisms* are more frequent than *necessary anglicisms* and are used not only isolated, but also in different word combinations. Moreover, they are used as synonyms when alternating with the Romanian words in order to avoid repetition. Furthermore, a number of anglicisms have developed new semantic meanings and are used as *stylistic borrowings*.

We can assert that anglicisms used in online fashion publications may be extrinsically motivated as they *designate certain international fashion styles, thus becoming more precise. Moreover, they can also be justified by the need of particular social categories to be linguistically distinctive from others since they are assimilated both in standard and specialised press language.*

On the other hand, English loanwords used in vlogs, podcasts and YouTube videos may be intrinsically motivated. The speakers deliberately replace Romanian words or phrases with English loans in order to produce impact, to create humour or irony, or to mark group solidarity.

We can conclude that online communication is constantly changing due to the need for instant interaction between its users, for saving time and effort when typing, for differentiation from other groups and for entertainment and socialising purposes. We identified the use of a simple and sometimes coded language, which consists of abbreviations, acronyms, clipping, emoticons, onomatopoeic words, punctuation marks and graphic symbols, homophone letters and numbers as well as specialised terms borrowed from English or internally created, without respecting and following language rules and norms. It can be considered as a nonconventional language used to show modernisation and independence of the users.

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03

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**Racism in the American
Education System**

Racism in the American Education System

In the United States, the difference between various racial groups in terms of educational attainment is an issue often debated among scholars of race and education alike. After the end of the American Civil War in 1865, the public education system followed the trend of treating people of different races living in the US as "separate but equal." In 1954, when *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was settled, racial segregation in public schools was deemed unconstitutional. However, despite the nominal desegregation of public schools in the US, the transition to equality is not complete to this day. This article examines recent data gathered on the education of different racial and ethnic groups in the US, including rates of college enrollment and completion among them. The aim of the study is to show that racism remains an issue in the American public education system for three main reasons: inexperienced teachers, little access to higher-level science subjects, and high punishment and dropout rates among racial and ethnic minorities. These disadvantages are significant, as their impact extends to the post-secondary education of racial minorities, thus creating a deficit on the job market as well. Considering that the share of racial and ethnic minorities in the American education system has risen above 50% and is growing steadily, the nation and the government must take steps to avoid creating a system which only serves a minority of students and finally solve the problem of racism in US schools.

KEYWORDS

racism, education, United States, segregation, discrimination

1. INTRODUCTION

The difference between educational attainment among races has been a much-debated issue in America for centuries. Between the American Civil War and the middle of the 20th century, public education, like many other aspects of everyday life, treated different races in the US as “separate but equal.” This meant that black and white students could not attend the same institutions, and many differences were present between black and white schools, usually at the expense of the former (Martin 2015, 18). A landmark court case occurred in 1954, when *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) was settled by the Supreme Court, and segregation based on race in public schools was deemed unconstitutional (United States Courts, n.d.). However, despite the nominal desegregation of public schools in the US, the transition to equality is not complete to this day, especially since the presence of other racial and ethnic minorities became significant, such as Asians and Hispanics. The two largest minority groups, blacks and Hispanics together make up 41% of the students in American public education, yet they are the groups most notably affected by discrimination and the lack of complete desegregation (Geiger 2017). This essay argues that racism is still an issue in American public schools because minority students are taught by inexperienced teachers, they have less access to higher-level science subjects, and the punishment and dropout rate of racial and ethnic minorities is significantly higher compared to their white peers.

The resolution of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) outlawed systematic institutional segregation, but it could not prohibit isolation based on the composition of communities. Although the past decades have seen some decrease in the number of schools with predominantly one race of students, this is still the most common composition of school populations (Geiger 2017). Today, more than half of white elementary and secondary students attend schools with 75% or more white enrollment, while the same can be said about 27% of black and 33% of Hispanic students (National Center for Education Statistics 2017). There are also minority schools where the student body is mainly comprised of students from a racial or ethnic minority. Nearly two-thirds of Hispanics and blacks are enrolled in such schools (National Center for Education Statistics 2017). These figures account for an effect similar to the “separate but equal” treatment of races, wherein schools with a higher number of minority students are able to spend less money on both their students and their staff (Cook 2015).

2. INEXPERIENCED TEACHERS

According to Resmovits (2014), a teacher in a school with fewer black and Hispanic students is paid \$5,000 more annually than a colleague who

works in a school with a higher concentration of minorities. Therefore, less diverse schools seem more attractive to accomplished, competent teachers who are looking for a higher salary. As a result, many minority schools are forced to hire new teachers who lack experience and, in some cases, even the necessary qualifications (Cook 2015). While 7% of black students are enrolled in schools where a fifth of teachers are uncertified, Latinos and Native Americans are three times as likely as their white peers to have a large number of first-year teachers in their schools (Resmovits 2014; Rich 2014). While inexperienced teachers are not necessarily unskilled, they are easily challenged by the different social and domestic issues affecting minority students. A more seasoned colleague of theirs would perhaps be able to deal with these problems more effectively than a newcomer, since the hardships in the lives of students from racial and ethnic minorities begin as early as in their preschool years.

When it comes to upbringing, black children are disproportionately disadvantaged in terms of the household environment, compared to their white peers (Cook 2015). More of them experience poverty, homelessness, unsafe living conditions, and emotional trauma in their adolescence. Abuse, neglect, and violence are also not foreign to them. These factors all contribute to the learning difficulties faced by these children in school, both in terms of lack of supplies available to them and fewer abilities to concentrate (Cook 2015). The issues mentioned can prove hard to resolve even for psychologists, let alone underqualified, inexperienced educators who might not be motivated by their low salaries.

Furthermore, partially due to their own lower levels of educational attainment, black parents do not expect their children to do well in schools as much as their white counterparts do (Cook 2015). Their limited encouragement and lack of interest do not motivate their children and might result in negative connotations about school. Again, veteran teachers would be able to stimulate their pupils enough so that they gain an interest in learning. Similarly, while the majority of white children are read to by their family members in their early adolescence, black parents are less likely to read to their children due to less time, materials, reading confidence, and diversity among books (Cook 2015). Although these habits may inhibit early developmental skills, with proper help from skillful teachers, the advancement of differently advantaged children may be leveled out in time. Nevertheless, qualified and experienced educators are not only needed for resolving social inequalities, but also to adequately teach the subjects which students can benefit from later in life.

3. PUNISHMENT AND DROPOUT RATES

Apart from adequate instructors, school attendance is also crucial to students' success in finishing school. However, minority students are disadvantaged in their elementary and secondary school completion process from an early age. This repression takes place in the form of suspensions, expulsions and other discipline techniques aiming to delay a student's educational attainment (Resmovits 2014). School suspension among minorities, especially black students, is significantly higher than among white students. This difference is already present in preschools, where out of the students who are suspended from school more than once, 48% are black (Resmovits 2014). Meanwhile, Resmovits claims that suspension rates are not due to these racial or ethnic groups misbehaving more frequently. Holding back students is also a common practice throughout grade levels, even though it has been shown that no social or academic advantage comes from being held back as a child, only a higher likelihood of dropping out (Cook 2015). Black students are also held back at higher rates than their white peers. If children are suspended from school or held back in their studies, it hinders their course of educational attainment and might drive them away from continuing their learning process.

A serious consequence of the heightened punishment rates against racial and ethnic minorities is the "school-to-prison pipeline," that is, the process of handing problematic students over to the justice system, therefore cutting their chances of school completion severely (Resmovits 2014). This happens due to the zero-tolerance policies regarding school misbehavior, wherein even the smallest violations of the school code are punished by suspension, expulsion, or arrest. As demonstrated above, a difference between the severity of punishments can be traced along racial lines (Scott 2016). Therefore, minority students, and especially blacks, are more likely to transfer from small, sometimes unintended wrongdoings in school straight to the world of serious crimes and truly violent activity, at a relatively early age compared to their white peers (Cook 2015).

Moreover, even if students from racial and ethnic minorities are not incarcerated while they are in school, suspension and expulsion rates put a strain on their educational advancement and trigger a higher rate of school dropouts among them (National Center for Education Statistics 2016). In general, it can be said that the recent decades have seen a fall in overall high school dropout rates in the US, especially among students of Hispanic descent (Krogstad 2016). However, Hispanics and blacks are still the groups with the highest high school dropout rates, with 12% and 7% respectively, compared to 5% of white students who drop out before completing high school (National Center for Education Statistics 2016). If a student does not obtain a high school diploma, their chances of college

enrollment are essentially reduced to zero. The significance of this inhibition is proven most notably by the rapidly rising share of Hispanic high school graduates who enroll in college, but an increase among other minorities is in effect as well (Gramlich 2017). This rate means that lack of interest is not what prevents the majority of these racial and ethnic groups from entering higher education, but their lack of qualifications to do so. High school does not mark the end of differences, as graduation rates are a distinctive factor in race disparities throughout all levels of education (Garrison 2013, 357).

College enrollment and completion are important steps among all races and ethnicities in this era because of the significant value of a college degree in the job market which emerged in recent decades. In the 21st century, the wage and employment differences between a high school graduate and a person with at least a bachelor's degree have increased substantially (Pew Research Center 2014). The median yearly income of a college graduate is \$12,500 higher than that of a high school educated adult among Americans aged 25–32. Furthermore, the unemployment rate is more than eight percent lower for college graduates, and a person with only a high school diploma is around four times more likely to live in poverty (Pew Research Center 2014). Therefore, today's young adults have a higher chance to get ahead in life if they complete more degrees, and the less education they receive, the more likely they are to be unemployed. Moreover, those who do not finish high school may be at an even higher risk of unemployment and living in poverty, as their lack of qualifications might reduce their options to menial jobs or forces them to work without a proper contract, thus losing the social benefits of a legitimate workplace.

For racial and ethnic minorities, these factors are relevant because of their already existing deficit on the job market. Although the proportion of different races and ethnicities among college graduates has not changed significantly, the rate of college graduates within all of these groups has been growing steadily (Wang and Parker 2011). When looking at the share of adults with a bachelor's degree or higher, Asians have shown the largest percentage (55%), while 36% of whites, 22% of blacks, and 15% of Hispanics hold the same level of attainment (Ryan and Bauman 2016, 5). College completion is also vital in terms of race and ethnicity because at higher levels of attainment, racial and ethnic disparities shrink substantially. According to Milan (2012) and Hoffer, the employment of doctorate holders at colleges in the of fields science, engineering, and health was nearly equally shared among races and ethnicities (8). Therefore, the degree completion process of minorities should be supported on all levels instead of retaining punishments introduced at an early stage to deal with the misbehavior of troubled students.

4. LESS ACCESS TO SCIENCE SUBJECTS

Even if minority students are able to finish high school, the knowledge they obtain during secondary education might not suffice the requirements for college courses which could grant them high-paying jobs. The fields of science, technology, mathematics, and engineering (STEM, in short) are often criticized for underrepresenting both women and racial-ethnic minorities in their workforce (Garrison 2013, 357). Although some companies may have taken steps to increase diversity among their employees, the roots of this problem, at least the racial aspect of it, can be traced back to secondary education (Anderson 2017). According to Rich (2014), "[a] quarter of high schools with the highest percentage of black and Latino students do not offer any Algebra II courses, while a third of those schools do not have any chemistry classes." Furthermore, Cook (2015) states that "[w]hile nearly one in five white students took Calculus in high school, one in 15 black students did." These pieces of data show that students of color do not have access to as many advanced science courses in high school as their white peers. This is due to the lack of financial support from poor school districts for such classes to be held (Scott 2016). The only racial minority exempt from the lack of scientific attainment is Asians, which is explained by students of Asian descent enrolling in schools with a lower number of minority students (National Center for Education Statistics 2016).

The problem with fewer science courses offered in minority schools is that it is not students' lack of desire to work in a STEM field what stops them from doing so; it is their performance and level of attainment (Anderson 2017). As shown in a study by Garrison (2013), moving towards higher and higher levels of qualification in a STEM field is not inhibited by minority students' change of interest, but rather the decreasing graduation rates compared to white students (358). One's performance, however, can have an impact on their overall interest in the subject, especially at an earlier stage of their studies. Anderson (2017) shows that among high school seniors, those who were reported to enjoy sciences and would prefer to get a STEM field job tended to do better on tests. Therefore, a correlation between attainment, interest, and the availability of subjects can be traced, although there are other factors to consider, such as the interference and educational attainment of parents.

School is not the only ground where differences in science proficiency can be found based on race and ethnicity. When it comes to general post-education knowledge and questions, white adults are also more likely than blacks or Hispanics to answer correctly (Anderson 2015). The disparity in science knowledge reaches over several fields, with similar results. Once again, educational attainment is a defining factor here, as

well as the aforementioned underrepresentation in STEM fields. However, minority students would not only benefit from advanced science courses in terms of general knowledge. Going to college, majoring in a science subject, then obtaining a STEM field job can greatly increase the chances of a member of a racial or ethnic minority to get ahead in life and to broaden their future choices. These fields offer the highest salaries, with computer science at nearly \$50,000 as the annual income; sciences and engineering are also the majors which result in the most degree-related positions in the job market (Pew Research Center 2014). This is why it is important for minority students to have access to advanced sciences and to be encouraged to pursue their interest in them, as well as other career choices requiring higher degrees of qualification.

5. CONCLUSION

As demonstrated, the attempts to desegregate the US education system and end discrimination have not proven to be sufficient. Racial and ethnic differences and deficits are still present in several aspects of the education system. Due to the remaining existence of minority schools and the smaller budgets of these schools, the distribution of teachers is unequal, leaving minority students with inexperienced, underpaid instructors. Suspension and expulsion are practiced more frequently among blacks and Hispanics, preventing these groups from successful school completion and college enrollment. Limited financial support allows for fewer advanced science courses in high schools, therefore students from most racial or ethnic minorities do not have access to the knowledge necessary for higher-paying STEM field jobs. Meanwhile, the percentage of white students in the US education system has dropped below 50% in recent years for the first time, and is expected to decrease even further, with the share of racial and ethnic minorities constantly on the rise (National Center for Education Statistics 2017). If the issue of racism is not settled, the American education system will soon become a system helping only a minority of students, leaving the majority at a disadvantage with their other socioeconomic deficits (Cook 2015). Fortunately, there are some efforts to protect students affected by racial disparities (Scott 2016), but the nation, as well as its leaders, must recognize the significance of this problem in order to eventually solve it and truly end segregation in US schools.

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04

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**Syntax of Complex Nominal
Phrases in English and Slavic**

Syntax of Complex Nominal Phrases in English and Slavic¹

The objective of this paper is a syntactic description of complex nominal expressions in English and two Slavic languages: Czech and Polish. The analysed nominal phrases are those with a head noun and multiple levels of pre-modification expressed by means of determiners, adjectives, numerals and so-called quantifiers, i.e. elements that indicate quantity, such as *many/much*, *plenty*, *little/few*, *all*, etc. In Czech and Polish, quantifiers can be classified into different groups according to the agreement patterns they exhibit when entering a relationship with a noun and a verb. The aim here is to compare the properties of those nominal expressions between the two Slavic languages and English and to provide some possible explanations for those special characteristics by reviewing recent research in linguistic as well as extralinguistic fields. The paper consists of data from English, Polish and Czech to show the differences between analytic and synthetic languages, which might be important and useful for interpreters, translators and students.

KEYWORDS

nominal phrase, Slavic, numerals, quantifiers

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In many languages we can observe the classification of quantifiers into several groups based on the nature of the relations they exhibit with the head noun they modify, e.g. Veselovská (2001), Rutkowski (2002). Technically speaking, numerals constitute a subtype of quantifiers, where the first ones are numerically specific, the latter ones – existential and universal – are not. One of the most striking characteristics of numerals across languages is their division into lower numerals (1–4) and higher numerals (≥ 5). This is especially evident in Polish and other Slavic languages (for example Czech).

Lower numerals constitute a separate syntactic and morphological class, which is different from higher numerals. In some languages, higher numerals are not present at all (for example some of the New Guinea languages), as they are not believed to belong to a language's core vocabulary (Rutkowski 2003).

In English, the aforementioned division into two different morphosyntactic classes of numerals is not observed, as seen in the following examples:

- i) *many / several / three apples were used to bake a pie*
- ii) *all / a few / twenty apples were used to bake a pie*

It can be seen in (i) and (ii) above that the syntactic distribution of quantifying elements in English is not restricted according to any division between lower and higher numerals, and between universal or existential quantifiers. All of them can occur in the same place in the structure, and the forms of the nouns as well as verbs are identical with respect to case and agreement features. The next section will be concerned with the behaviour of quantifying elements in Polish and Czech and showing how different it is the English pattern in (i) and (ii) above.

2. SYNTAX OF NOMINAL PHRASES CONTAINING NUMERALS AND QUANTIFIERS IN PRESENT-DAY POLISH AND CZECH

This section will provide the basic syntactic facts about the behaviour of numerals and quantifiers in a sentence both in Polish and in Czech. First, the properties of lower numerals and universal quantifiers will be presented, and then higher numerals and existential quantifiers will be discussed. For the sake of further discussion, the quantifying elements in Polish and Czech will be divided into two groups:

Q_A - lower numerals and universal quantifiers

Q_{GEN} - higher numerals and existential quantifiers

Lower numerals and universal quantifiers (Q_A) comprise a group which consists of numerals 1-4 and universal quantifiers such as for instance *wszyscy* 'all_{VIRAL}' in Polish and *všichni* 'all_{FEM}'. Higher numerals and existential quantifiers are numerals ≥ 5 and universal quantifiers such as *wiele* 'many_{FEM}' in Polish and *mnoho* 'many' in Czech. The syntactic properties of both groups of quantifying elements in Polish and Czech will be presented in subsections 2.1 and 2.2.

2.1. LOWER NUMERALS (1–4) AND UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIERS

In Polish and Czech, lower numerals and universal quantifiers decline and agree with the noun that they precede like adjectives. The nominal expression agrees with the predicate in person, number and gender. They clearly show adjective-like declension and agreement patterns, as seen in the following data:

(1) Polish

- | | | | |
|----|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| a) | <i>dwaj/ przystojni</i>
two/ handsome-NOM,Masc
'two/ handsome men came' | <i>mężczyźni</i>
men-NOM-Masc, pl | <i>przyszli</i>
come-pastPRT,Masc,pl |
| b) | <i>dwie/ piękne</i>
two/ pretty-NOM,Fem
'two/ pretty women came' | <i>kobiety</i>
women-NOM-Fem,pl | <i>przyszły</i>
come-pastPRT,Fem,pl |
| c) | <i>wszyscy</i>
all-NOM,Masc
'all men came' | <i>mężczyźni</i>
men-NOM,Masc, pl | <i>przyszli</i>
come-pastPRT,Masc,pl |
| d) | <i>wszystkie</i>
all-NOM,Fem
'all women came' | <i>kobiety</i>
women-NOM,Fem, pl | <i>przyszły</i>
come-pastPRT,Fem,pl |

(2) Czech

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| <i>dvě/všichni</i>
two/all-NOM,Fem
'two/all girls came' | <i>dívky</i>
girls-NOM,Fem,pl | <i>přišli</i>
come-pastPRT,Fem,pl |
|---|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|

In the above examples (1) – (2) we can see that Polish and Czech have the same pattern of agreement and distribution of lower numerals and universal quantifiers.

2.2. HIGHER NUMERALS AND EXISTENTIAL QUANTIFIERS

Higher numerals and existential quantifiers assign the genitive case to the noun they precede and always trigger the neuter agreement with the predicate. The following examples (3) – (4) illustrate this pattern:

(3) Polish

- a) *pięć* *(piękných) kobiet* *przyszło*
 five-ACC²,Fem pretty-GEN-pl, women-GEN-pl come-pastPRT,3sg,Neu
 'five (pratty) women came'
- b) *pięciu* *(przystojnych) mężczyzn* *przyszło*
 five-ACC,Masc handsome-GEN-plmen-GEN,pl come-pastPRT,3sg,Neu
 'five (handsome) men came'
- c) *wiele* *(piękných) kobiet* *przyszło*
 many-NOM,Fem pretty-GEN-pl women-GEN,pl come-pastPRT,3sgNeu
 'many (pretty) women came'

(4) Czech

- mnoho / osm* *chlapců* *přišlo*
 many/ eight-NOM boys-GEN,pl come-pastPRT,3sgNeu
 'many/eight boys came'

However, if a nominal phrase is put into the inherent case context, the Q_{GEN} does not assign the genitive case to the noun any longer. The noun and its potential premodifier(s) take the inherent case from the verb, e.g.:

(5) Polish

- a) *Datam to* *pięciu* *miłym* *koleżankom.*
 five-Dat nice-Dat,pl friends-Dat,pl
 'I gave it to my five nice friends'

² Polish higher numerals are intrinsically accusative according to the so-called Accusative Hypothesis. For further reference see for instance Miechowicz-Mathiasen (2011).

b) *Poszłam do kina z pięcioma kolegami.*
 with five-Instr,pl friends-Instr,pl
 'I went to the cinema with my five friends.'

c) *Rozmawiałam o pięciu koleżankach z pracy.*
 about five-Loc,pl friends-Loc,pl
 'I was talking about my five friends from work.'

An interesting question to ask is why lower and higher numerals behave differently in a morphosyntactic sense. The answer can perhaps be found in the historical development of this word class. The next section will be an attempt to reconstruct the way quantifying elements obtained their present-day status.

3. DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENT OF NUMERALS

The following section will focus on the historical development of numeral elements, first by looking into reconstructed Proto-Indo-European data, followed by Old Polish and Old Czech.

3.1. PROTO-INDO-EUROPEAN NUMERALS

In Proto-Indo-European, there was no unified syntactic and morphological class for the numeral terms – they were very diverse in morphosyntactic terms and inflectionally belonged to all the existing declensions types, i.e. to the pronoun, noun and adjective declensions.

They did not differ from other word categories regarding internal structure. All of them consisted of three elements: the lexical part (connected with semantic meaning), the thematic vowel (the declension class classifier) and the inflectional ending (indicating syntactic relations) (Długosz-Kurbaczowa and Dubisz 2001, 250–251). The following data (6) is a reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European numerals one, two and three.

(6)

- a) thematic vowel -o-
- | | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-----|-------------------|------|---------------------|
| PIE | * <i>oino-</i> // <i>eino-</i> | PSL | * <i>(jed)in,</i> | Pol. | <i>jeden;</i> 'one' |
| PIE | * <i>duuo-</i> | PSL | * <i>dva,</i> | Pol. | <i>dwa;</i> 'two' |
- b) thematic vowel -i-
- | | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|------|----------------------|
| PIE | * <i>trej-</i> | PRS | * <i>trje,</i> | Pol. | <i>trzy;</i> 'three' |
|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|------|----------------------|

(Długosz-Kurbaczowa and Dubisz 2001, 250–251)

In (6) the numerals 1–3 have been grouped according to their thematic vowels *-o-* and *-i-*. Also, the reconstruction for Proto-Slavic (PSL) and the present-day Polish (Pol.) forms have been given for each numeral.

3.2. PROTO-SLAVIC NUMERALS

The formation of a semantic class of numeral terms began with changes within one word, namely the 'numeral name' *jeden* 'one'. In the beginning, this was a three-gender pronoun which meant 'some' or 'certain'. It declined like the demonstrative pronouns *тъ, to, ta* 'this'. The paradigm was the following:

- (7) Nom sg. **jedinъ, *jedino, *jedina*;
 Nom pl. **jedini, *jedina, *jediny* (and suppletive forms);
 Nom dual **dъva, *dъve, *dъve*.

(Długosz-Kurbaczowa and Dubisz 2001, 250–251)

The 'numeral name' *jeden* 'one' did not have a regular dual number but only appeared in singular and plural. This initial change caused a semantic shift from **jedinъ* 'some/certain' to **jedinъ* 'one', however, the word itself remained a pronoun and not a numeral.

Other numeral nouns were created from adjectives like **trъje, *četyre*, which have an irregular declension, which enabled them to become numerals easier. In this way, the semantic class of numerals was shaped. It consisted of the following members:

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| (8) <i>*jedinъ, *dъva</i> | originally pronouns |
| <i>*trъje, *četyre</i> | originally adjectives |
| <i>*pęť, *sestъ, *sedmъ, *osmъ, *devęť, *desęť, *sъto</i> | originally nouns |

It can be safe to assume that in Proto-Slavic, a new part of speech – the numeral – appeared as a semantic class that did not have its own morphological features, nor its own type of declension (consult Długosz-Kurbaczowa and Dubisz 2001).

4. NUMERALS IN OLD CZECH AND OLD POLISH

The Old Polish period is considered to be a breakthrough in the development of the Polish language in general. During that time, spoken language and its archaic Proto-Slavic constructions combined with the written language that developed under the influence of Latin. As a result,

a new written version of Old Polish emerged (Słoboda 2012)

Numerals in Polish started to diverge only in the Middle Ages as a separate class of words. One of the important inflectional changes was the loss of the dual number in Old Polish, which brought together the lower numerals and evened out their distribution.

The Czech language went through a similar development with a few internal differences. It kept the general tendency of Slavic languages regarding the development of numerals, which started to form as a distinct word class at the stage of transition from common Slavic into individual Slavic languages (Basaj 1974). For a long time now, scholars (Klemensiewicz, Lehr-Spławiński, and Urbańczyk 1955, Basaj 1974, Słoboda 2011, Słoboda 2012) have thought of ways to account for this special syntax of quantifying elements presented in section 2. What is the origin of such a state?

In the following sections, some of the data collected by Basaj (1974) from over 240 different historical texts written in Old Czech will be presented. The examples will illustrate the general syntactic properties that were true for constructions with numerals in that period.

4.1. FORMS OF NOUNS WITH NUMERALS 1–4 IN OLD CZECH

Numerals 1–4 agree with nouns in number, gender and case in Old Czech. Dual number started to disappear in the 15th and 16th century, and went extinct in the 17th century. So, in the Old Czech period there are two kinds of noun forms possible with numerals: plural forms and dual forms. Until the end of the 15th century we can basically notice only dual forms of nouns; plural forms became more common in the second half of the 15th century. Consider the following example for the usage of the plural form of a noun:

- (9) *po* *dvú* *let*
after two years-pl
'after two years'

(Basaj 1974, 230)

Sometimes, in the same source there are both forms next to each other, dual and plural, like in: *dwie figure* DUAL - *dwie figury* PLURAL 'two figures' (Basaj 1974, 320). In the 16th century, we notice that the plural forms of nouns become more prominent in use than the dual ones. What is interesting is that dual forms occur longer when standing next to the numeral 2 than

without it. Until the end of the 16th century it was more common to use the dual form of the feminine noun for the numeral 2, than masculine or neuter.

Interestingly, in Old Czech there are examples with nouns in genitive plural forms with numerals 2–4. Consider the following examples:

(10)

a) *prosil těch trzy kraluov*
 three kings-GEN,pl
 'He begged those three kings.'

b) *čtyři člověků poslal*
 four men-GEN,pl send-pastPRT,3sgMasc
 'He sent four people.'

(Basaj 1974, 231)

The examples in (10) show the inherent case contexts, where, similarly to present-day Czech, nouns also occur in genitive plural case form.

4.2. FORMS OF NOUNS WITH NUMERALS 5–10 IN OLD CZECH

Numerals 5–10 were originally feminine nouns. When put together with a noun, it was only the numeral that got inflected; the other element (a noun) always remained in a genitive case form, like in Present-day Polish nominal constructions of the following kind: *róg* NOM *domu* GEN 'the corner of a house', *rogu* GEN *domu* GEN, *rogiem* INSTR *domu* GEN. In Old Czech, only a few examples of such a type survived, for instance:

(11)

a) *po sedmy let král jede*
 seven-ACC years-GEN, pl
 'for seven years the king has been going'

b) *budeš vlasti nad desety měst*
 ten-ACC cities-GEN, pl
 'you will be home after ten cities'

(Basaj 1974, 233)

In the above examples, it is always the numeral that governs the genitive case of the following noun. This was true for nominative, dative, genitive, and accusative. In the remaining cases, the system had changed and the noun started to get the case that was required by the context, i.e. with

dative, locative and instrumental the noun gets the inflectional endings and the numeral does not, it usually stays in nominative. Consider the following example:

- (12) *kteřák se jemu uvázal v šest člověků*
 to six-NOM man-GEN,pl
 'who tied him to six people'

(Basaj 1974, 234)

The example (12) shows the opposite situation to the present-day one, where in the inherent case contexts both the quantifying element and the noun inflect the same way.

4.3. FORMS OF THE PREDICATE WITH NOMINAL PHRASES CONTAINING NUMERALS IN OLD CZECH

Nominal phrases containing a quantifying element agree in person with the predicate of the sentence. The main verb takes the third person inflection to agree with the subject of the sentence which is exemplified in (13) below. Consider the following example:

- (13) *tři kráři přijeli*
 threenom kingsnomPL arrive-come,pastPRT,3sg,Masc
 'There arrived three kings.'

(Basaj 1974, 261)

There are no accounts for predicates in singular with noun phrases containing numerals 2–4 until the end of the 15th century (Basaj 1974).

For numerals 5–10, the main verb took either the singular or the plural form. There did not seem to be any regular restrictions as to whether the main verb should only take the plural form. From the data collected by Basaj (1974), 60% of the sentences have the main verb in the singular form. The majority of plural verb forms found in his corpus come from Bible translations. This finding can correspond to Štoboda's (2012) assumption that Latin had a significant influence on the structure of Old Polish. However, the biblical pattern did not survive because in Present-day Czech and Polish the predicate is always in the singular form when put together with a noun phrase containing a quantifying element (see section 2 of this paper).

As far as gender is concerned, the predicate takes the same gender

as the gender of the noun phrase containing numerals 1–4. Consider the example in (14) below:

- (14) *pakli by sě o to ti třiě páni dělili*
 three gentlemenMasc do-pres,3pl,Masc

If the noun phrase contains numerals ≥ 5 , then the predicate occurs in neuter in a singular or plural form. When in plural, it gets the same gender as the noun phrase, i.e. feminine, masculine or neuter. Consider the example (15):

- (15) *v tu dobu pět rytieřuov ciesařovi pověděli*
 fiveNom knightsNom,pl,Masc emperor-Dat,sg tell-pastPRT,3,pl,Masc
 'At that time, five knights told the Emperor'

(Basaj 1974, 266)

The pattern in (15) is quite different to what is known today about Czech and Polish. In the Present-day languages, the only option to agree in gender for the predicate and a noun phrase containing numerals ≥ 5 is the neuter gender (consider section 2, examples (3) and (4) in this paper).

5. WHAT CAN PSYCHOLINGUISTICS TELL US ABOUT THE NATURE OF QUANTIFYING ELEMENTS?

Language is one of the many capabilities that biology has provided humans with and it is an integral part of human cognition. It is not an isolated and independent ability; rather it is motivated by various factors of physical and mental nature.

When higher numerals appeared in a language for the first time, their status must have been different from the status of the lower numerals. They were originally nouns, as this is the category used to denote abstract concepts in a language (Rutkowski 2003).

Humans possess a sense for numbers, which can be observed in recent experiments (see Rutkowski 2003) where the findings show that people can easily capture the number of elements in a set if the set contains one to four elements. The sets that contain more elements constitute a problem for human perception. The same phenomenon is true for our memory: we can easily remember up to four elements in a row. However, the findings show that a limit for the number of elements in the surrounding neighbourhood that can be simultaneously captured by human perception also exists.

In many languages, there are morphological and syntactic differences within individual semantic classes of numerical expressions that define the boundary between lexemes denoting lower (1–4) and higher numerical values (from 5 onwards). This especially applies to cardinal numerals. The Middle Ages were a period in which languages like Old Polish and Old Czech still exhibited the internal diversity within the so-called lower numerals. Explanations of this state should be sought in Indo-European origin numerals. Perhaps originally there were only the numerals *one*, *two* and *three*, and the latter could then mean 'many', as Ibrah (1990, 15) states that the number *three* was already a threshold for the human numerical system which cannot be understood or defined, and "in the mind of man the discovery of numbers stopped first on the two". The proof for the existence of such an initial limitation may be the early distinction between singular, dual and plural in Indo-European languages (Słoboda 2012). Researchers dealing with this issue indicated that the differentiation of morphosyntactic numerals must be due to some universal conditions related to processes occurring in the brain. The universalism of this phenomenon manifests itself in that the division into lower and higher numerals is not a mere feature of Indo-European languages.

The meanings of numerals indicated by the lowest numbers could be perceived and presented like the meanings of basic adjectives, e.g. red, hot, round etc., i.e. as visible properties of an object or a group of objects (Hurford 1990). Lower numerals can therefore be considered perceptually as the features of objects. Rutkowski (2003) notices that perception of a set of less than 5 elements is something else (less complicated) than abstract counting – a demanding process requiring more advanced data processing in the human brain. Numerals denoting numbers above 4 may have appeared in language when people already developed their arithmetic skills. Therefore, the status of higher numerals had to be different from the status of lower numerals, which captured the number as a feature of the object (Rutkowski 2003).

6. CONCLUSION

The basis for the morphosyntactic diversity of numerals in Slavic must have been conditioned due to universal properties related to the processes taking place in the brain. The universalism of the phenomenon manifests itself in the fact that the morpho-syntactic division into lower and higher numerals is not a feature found only in Indo-European languages (Hurford 1990). However, in most European languages with the English language being a perfect example this division is not present. It is assumed that it happened because human mind could minimize the perceptual differences between sets consisting of four and five elements.

Slavic languages, on the other hand, introduced an innovation which transformed higher numerals, which were originally adjectives, first into nouns and then into a separate numeral word category (Siuciak 2008, 16-17). This process is responsible for the special status and morpho-syntactic behaviour of numerals in Present-day Polish and Czech. The discussion concerning the historical origins of numerals in Polish and Czech seems to prove the psycholinguistic hypothesis. The status and morphosyntactic properties of these elements were indeed already different in the early stages of language development.

When attempting to translate the numeral expressions from English into Slavic, translators must remember about the special syntax they possess in the target languages. The correct use of case inflection and also the subject predicate agreement are aspects which require much attention. Not only is the knowledge of Slavic grammar an important prerequisite, but also being aware of the historical development of the numeral class may be very useful for translators and interpreters who struggle with the aforementioned issues.

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05

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**Literary Intertextuality in the
Lyrics of GZA, MF DOOM, Aesop
Rock and Billy Woods**

Literary Intertextuality in the Lyrics of GZA, MF DOOM, Aesop Rock and Billy Woods

Abstract: Rap and literature have always been intertwined with each other. To a degree, that is not surprising as rap music is an indirect successor of the Black Arts Movement of the late 1960s. The generation of children that started hip-hop as a youth movement in South Bronx was the first one after the civil rights movement. Rap developed as part of the hip-hop culture and was never at its forefront. This article describes the manner in which literature has been integrated into rap records with regard to the socio-historical circumstances at times of their development. GZA, MF DOOM, Aesop Rock, and Billy Woods are the rappers analysed as they substantially influenced contemporary rap writing. Before the analysis is made, the main concepts are defined. A short description of the origin of hip-hop is given. Allusion, intertextuality, and sampling are defined and explained in the context of hip-hop as a genre. A short overview of research on intertextuality in rap is made.

Keywords: Hip-Hop, Rap, Intertextuality, Allusion, Sampling

NOTE

The article is partially based on the author's MA thesis *Intertextuality of Literature in Billy Woods's Lyrics* accessible on the following link:

<https://dk.um.si/dokument.php?id=119169>.

Parts of this article have been modified and appear in the author's upcoming monograph *Billy Woods: Virtuoso of Intertextuality*.

1. INTRODUCTION

Hip-Hop as we know it today started in the early 70s with DJ Kool Herc. He started throwing parties in the *rec rooms*, recreational facilities at 1520 Sedgwick Avenue in the Bronx used by young people, as they were suitable for parties (for a party in a basement would cause too much of a commotion for other inhabitants). At that time, the Bronx was the most impoverished area of New York City. It was heavily affected by the deindustrialization and the construction of the highway connecting New York and New Jersey, which led to a massive displacement of people. The people who stayed back were those that could not afford to leave. The deindustrialization was followed by large-scale unemployment. Additionally, housing projects were built where people with low income rates (mostly members of minorities and new immigrants) were situated. Those were managed by landlords who deliberately neglected their property and went so far as to burn their apartments to collect insurance money. It was in those circumstances that DJ Kool Herc was throwing his parties.

It has to be noted that the parties were not the starting point for the youth movement, but acted as the catalyst for a wider youth counterculture movement that had been developing since the late 60s. This counterculture was uniting young people through the arts of graffiti writing, DJing, breakdancing, and rapping. The specific contribution of DJ Kool Herc to this counterculture was the development of the so-called "break". At the time when DJ Kool Herc was throwing parties, he observed that people were dancing more vigorously to a specific part of the record – the first few seconds of the drum beat before the record starts. He realized that by playing two records at the same time, he could prolong the break and people could dance harder for a longer period of time. The technique of playing the break section of the two records at the same time was dubbed by DJ Kool Herc the 'Merry-Go-Round'. From this, we can see that rapping was not the most prominent part of this counterculture when it started. The shift of prominence within the hip-hop culture to rapping came when rap records started to appear in the late 70's (Chang 2005, 19-24 and 111-113). Using these developments as the basis, it is possible to establish the relevance of the contributions of subsequent rap artists to the genre.

2. RESEARCHING INTERTEXTUALITY IN RAP

Intertextuality is a common subject in rap. Yet, the research on it developed slowly as it was always given marginal attention in previous literature on rap, be it about music production such as in Joseph Schloss' *Making Beats: The Art of Sample-Based Hip-Hop* (2004), or about lyrics

such as in Paul Edwards' *How to Rap: The Art and Science of the Hip-Hop MC* (2009). In any case, it was not until Justin Williams' *Rhymin' and Stealin': Musical Borrowing in Hip-Hop* (2013) that a comprehensive study on intertextuality in rap had been written. Williams (2013) tackles musical borrowing in rap music by arguing that hip-hop as such is an interpretative community in which different kinds of references are made that are understood differently by different rap listeners. His research focusses on the following three aspects of borrowing: musical borrowing from other music genres, borrowing from specific places such as an automobile, and sampling of voices in specific records. However, Williams did limit his research to a few influential and prominent artists such as Dr. Dre, 2Pac, 50 Cent and Eminem (Williams 2013, 15; 17-18), which might compromise the degree to which his research is generalizable. This article builds on his research by applying the concept of intertextuality to rap lyrics to observe how intertextuality of literature has been integrated into rap in general, which Williams 2013 fails to do. The article looks at two aspects of using intertextual references, both as a stylistic enhancement in rappers' writing and as a means to integrate challenging concepts into rap writing. For the sake of brevity, the analysis is limited to four rappers, namely GZA of the Wu-Tang Clan, MF DOOM, Aesop Rock, and Billy Woods. The rappers have been chosen because they are renowned for their rap writing and had a substantial influence on contemporary rap writing.

3. ALLUSION, INTERTEXTUALITY, AND SAMPLING

Before defining intertextuality, it is necessary to define allusion first, because both concepts refer to commonplace practices in rap, and are used there to incorporate literature. According to M. H. Abrams *Glossary of Literary Terms*, "[a]llusion is a passing reference, without explicit identification, to a literary or a historical person, place or event, or to another literary work and passage" (Abrams 1999, 9). The idea of intertextual reference can be understood as an extension of the idea of allusion. Norman Fairclough saw intertextuality as a process that could be observed within the text and outside the text. Firstly, when Fairclough is talking about intertextuality *on the textual level*, he is referencing Bakhtin and Kristeva's definition of intertextuality as the text referring to other texts, connecting across different genres and writing (Fairclough 2013, 189). Secondly, when it comes to intertextuality *in medias*, he means the influence of different segments and relationships in society on Hip-Hop (Fairclough 2013, p. 200). In fact, both of these definitions are applicable to intertextuality in the genre.

The invention of DJ Kool Herc's 'Merry-Go-Round' was the start of intertextuality in hip-hop music. It also started what would later become

a common practice and one of the distinctive features of hip-hop music: the use of sampling. Sampling is a method of creating music by taking pre-existing recordings (musical and nonmusical) and arranging them into new tracks (Schloss 2004, 34). This brings us to intertextuality. From what was just explained, we can see that hip-hop music has been intertextual from its very inception because of the way it was produced. It can also be seen that hip-hop music corresponds to Fairclough's two-sided definition of intertextuality. Hip-hop music includes both musical and textual layers of intertextuality; as a medium, it has penetrated all segments of society from advertisements to political campaigns. This analysis, however, will focus on intertextuality in rap writing only, and it will make an overview of how literature has been integrated into rap writing throughout the history of the genre. The focus will only be on integration of literature because a much broader analysis would be needed to show how other media references (television, cartoons, movies etc.) have been integrated into rap. Because of the sheer volume of intertextuality of different media in rap writing, it is impossible to fit all of it into a single article.

4. LITERARY INTERTEXTUALITY IN THE LYRICS OF WU-TANG CLAN, MF DOOM, AESOP ROCK, AND BILLY WOODS

In the 1980s, literature was integrated into rap by rappers applying its general concepts to their lyrics, as can, for example, be seen on the Public Enemy and Ice T records. Allusion and intertextuality were occurring, but it was not until the Beastie Boys released *Paul's Boutique* that the frequency and unorthodox usage of allusions increased ("Beastie Boys" in Bogdanov et al) to contemporary levels. The two people who influenced rap the most with their literature are Malcolm X and Iceberg Slim. With Malcolm X, the idea was to bring back the awareness of the civil rights movement and its leaders among a generation born in its aftermath, and the Public Enemy records were to be the medium (Chuck D, 2012). Iceberg Slim was a direct influence on Ice-T (Ice T, 2012; 2013). The Beastie Boys achieved the diversification of literary allusions and intertextuality that still influences rap writing today.

The 1990s were the decade that expanded the stylistic possibilities of rap; most of the rap techniques used today originate from this time. Therefore, it is not surprising that allusions and intertextuality became more diverse during the 90's. Intertextual references to religious texts also became commonplace in rap at that time. On any record made between 1993 and 2000, Wu-Tang Clan made use of such references. Following the 2010s, even books were started to get adapted into and break the standards of rap writing.

4.1. WU-TANG CLAN

The Wu-Tang Clan are the most influential rap group from the 1990s. They were the first rap group with nine individual rappers, each of whom had his style of rapping. Stylistically, they combined Eastern mysticism with stories of crime in their communities (Bradley and DuBois 2010, 533). Their records have been known to make use of intertextuality as they sampled a variety of films, but they did not shy away from using literary intertextuality either as they are known to have integrated allusions to the Five-percenter doctrine and ideology.

The Five percenters are one of the branches of the Nation of Islam that was founded by Clarence 13X (whose government name was Clarence Edward Smith). He formed his own organization because he found the doctrine of the Nation of Islam too rigorous, and this attitude attracted young men to his following. His teachings were modelled after the Nation of Islam and Malcolm X's departure from it. As Clarence 13X saw how Malcolm X departed, he decided he could do the same. According to the doctrine of the Nation of Islam, people are divided into three groups: 85% of people are the uncivilized people that do not know God and are therefore mentally impoverished and slaves. Another 10% are the rich slaveowners of the impoverished, who teach them false knowledge. The remaining 5% are those who do not believe the lies of the 10% and teach the truth: that the true God is the black man. Clarence 13X expanded this interpretation to the Nation of Islam itself: he saw the 85% as the non-ruling members of Nation of Islam and 10% as the ruling part of the organization (including the leader Elijah Muhammad and his inner circle) (Knight 2007, 32-37). Two of the main concepts of the Five Percenter ideology were the "Supreme Alphabet" and the "Supreme Mathematics", which were based on the dialog between Elijah Muhammad and his master. In "Supreme Mathematics", each number from zero to nine was assigned a specific meaning (for example, "one" means "knowledge"). The "Supreme Alphabet" did the same for the twenty-six letters of the English alphabet, with A meaning Allah, and so on (Knight 2007, pp. 52-54). Clarence 13X maintained that the African-Americans were the original men (Knight 2007, p. 55), and there was also a strong patriarchal relationship between men and women within the organization. The men were referred to as 'Gods' whereas women were 'Earths'. The role of women in the organization was to be wives and mothers and to take care of the children (Knight 2007, pp. 208-210).

The Five Percenters were highly influential for rap from the late 1980s until the 1990s. Some of the more well-known rappers and rap groups influenced by them include Rakim, Big Daddy Kane, Brand Nubian and the Wu-Tang Clan (Knight 2007, pp. 177-186). From 1993 to 2000, the members of the Wu-Tang Clan released a slew of influential records, one

of them being *Liquid Swords*. This article will look at *Liquid Swords* to see how intertextuality was made use of.

5.1.1. GZA – LIQUID SWORDS (1995)

On the record *Liquid Swords*, intertextuality can be observed in the song titled “Cold World.” The first two lines are a reference to the English poem “The Night Before Christmas” by Clement Clark Moore (n.d.). Compare:

“Cold World”

It was the night before New Year's, and all through the fucking
projects
Not a handgun was silent, not even a Tec

“The Night Before Christmas”

Twas the night before Christmas, when all through the house
Not a creature was stirring, not even a mouse

GZA adapted the stanza of the poem and put into it a new setting.

Intertextuality and allusions to the Five-Percenter ideology can also be found. Men are referred to as ‘Gods’ throughout the record. In the song “Living in the World Today”, intertextuality of the supreme alphabet is included in the line “Father You See King the police.” The first four words are intertextual references to the supreme alphabet – Father, which represent F, You which is U, See is C, and King is K (Knight 2007, 52-54). If we put those words together, they spell out the word ‘Fuck’, and the line becomes “fuck the police.”

5.2. MF DOOM

A substantial change in rap music occurred in the late 1990s with MF DOOM, who broke the previously established norms in rap writing. Rap as a genre used to put a lot of emphasis on authenticity and the so-called “realness.” It was important that rappers were rapping about the topics they had actually experienced or were exposed to (White 2011, 97-98). In rap, there is also a strong emphasis on the first-person narrative, but this does not mean that rap is non-fictional. (It *can* be, as can be seen in one of the most well-known songs “Murder Was the Case” by Snoop Dogg.) These strong tendencies were completely disregarded by Daniel Dumile.

He decided to fictionalize all the narratives on the records and did so consistently, unlike other rappers who only did so occasionally. Most of his narratives were written from the perspectives of MF DOOM, Viktor Vaughn or King Geedorah. The first two are based on Marvel comic villains and the last one on Godzilla's arch-enemy, King Ghidorah—a three-headed space dragon (MF DOOM 2011). Stylistically, Dumile does not narrate from the first-person perspective, but from the third-person perspective to emphasize the character-driven narrative and to distance himself from the story. With the introduction of fictional characters, he parodies one of the core concepts of rap. Dumile uses allusion and intertextuality to add additional layers of interpretation to his writing. What is more, he routinely does not use the traditional rap structure in his songs. Most notably, he tends to avoid writing refrains and writes his songs as one verse.

The title of the record *Operation: Doomsday* is an allusion to the British mission to liberate Norway from the German occupation, which was given the codename "Operation Doomsday" (Paradata 2018). It is also an allusion to the novel *Doomsday Conspiracy* by Sidney Sheldon (1991). The skits of the record sample dialogs that reconstruct the dialog from the novel.

Doomsday Conspiracy:

FLASH MESSAGE TOP SECRET ULTRA
NSA TO DEPUTY DIRECTOR COMSEC EYES ONLY
SUBJECT: OPERATION DOOMSDAY
MESSAGE: ACTIVATE
NOTIFY NORAD CIRVIS, GEPAN DIS GHG VSAF, INS.
END OF MESSAGE (Sheldon 1991, 3)

"The Time We Faced Doom":

[...]
Flash message top secret ultra
[...]
Ears only
[...]
Arrange temporary transfer this agency
[...]
Metal Face Doom
[...]
Your concurrence in the above is assumed
[...]
Notify MF, KMD, GYP, CM. effective immediately
[...]
Top secret ultra-end of message

[...]

In the song "Doomsday" on the same record, he alludes to the said author:

While *Sidney Sheldon* teaches the trife to be trifer
I'm trading science fiction with my man the live lifer [emphasis J. K.]

In "Go with the Flow", there is a paraphrase of the phrase Sherlock Holmes uses in "Adventure VII. The Crooked Man", in which Watson and Holmes converse.

"I have the advantage of knowing your habits, my dear Watson," said he. "When your round is a short one you walk, and when it is a long one you use hansom. As I perceive that your boots, although used, are by no means dirty, I cannot doubt that you are at present busy enough to justify the hansom.

"Excellent!" I cried.

"*Elementary*," said he.

"It is one of those instances where the reasoner can produce an effect

which seems remarkable to his neighbor, because the latter has missed the one little point which is the basis of deduction (Doyle 1997, 135-136) [emphasis J. K.]

Those utterances in the conversation are paraphrased in the song "Go with the Flow":

Who asked me what we don't got that you got son
For one flow that's elementary, my dear Watson [emphasis J. K.]

In the context of the song, the poetic persona points out that producing a good flow is something obvious and necessary to be a rapper. In the same manner, Sherlock Holmes explains how he had deduced Watson's behaviour because it was his usual behaviour.

Later instances of Dumile incorporating literature into rap can be found on his records *Vaudeville Villain* (2003) and *Born Like This* (2009). On *Vaudeville Villain*, he alludes to the Vaudeville Theater that was popular in the United States in the late 19th century and the early 20th century. It was a theatre performance with different, unrelated acts ("Vaudeville Entertainment", Encyclopaedia Britannica). The record *Vaudeville Villain* is a collection of songs that all feature unrelated absurd stories. On the record *Born Like This*, he samples Charles Bukowski reading his poem "Dinosauria We" (Bukowski 2007) from the documentary *Born into This* (Dullaghan 2006) in the song "Cellz:"

(sample of Charles Bukowski reading):

Born like this, into this
 As the chalk faces smile, as Mrs. Death laughs
 As political landscapes dissolve
 As the oily fish spit out their oily prey
 We are born like this, into this
 Into hospitals that are too expensive that it is cheaper to die [...]

"Cellz":

[...] DOOM from the realm of El Kulum smelly gel fume
 Separating cell womb to Melle Mel boom
 Revelations in braille respiration inhale view
 Nations fail and shaking of a snake tail make due
 Blazing swords trace the haze praise the lord
 Saving Grace, lace your broad she say she bored [...]

The verses in the song continue using the same cadence in the following stanzas.

4.3. AESOP ROCK

Aesop Rock is known for his dense lyrics and abstract imagery. In 2017, a study on the sizes of the vocabularies of rappers was published, and according to it, Aesop Rock uses the most unique words of all rappers in his song (Daniels 2017). The interesting aspect of Aesop Rock's writing is his usage of obscure allusions and the manner in which he uses them: he does so to give additional meaning to his writing. On the song "Save Your Self", Aesop Rock raps about being a better rapper than his contemporaries.

Spitting like a dragon with a similar demeanor.
 Stood innocent bystand, witness the die-hard fans turn Rip Van [...] [emphasis J. K.]

He uses the simile of a dragon to show that he is such a good rapper that he 'breathes fire'. With this ability, he turns fans away from other rappers. He uses the idiom "to sleep on it" in the meaning of postponing something ("sleep on it", The Free Dictionary) with the allusion to Rip Van Winkle. "Rip Van" is the protagonist of a children's story in which he oversleeps the revolutionary war in the United States ("Rip Van Winkle", Encyclopaedia Britannica).

Aesop Rock's literary allusions become even more complex in his later work. On his record *Skelethon*, he uses allusions to give his texts additional layers of interpretation. On the song "Gopher Guts", on which he raps about his divorce and what effect did it have on his mental health, he alludes to the novel *Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* (Stevenson 2005) in the following line:

Got a little plot of land where authority isn't recognized
Contraband keeping the core of his Hyde Jekyllized

The poetic persona uses the allusions to Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde to lay bare their mental health. The head of the persona is described as a plot of land. Medications are contraband, and the mental issues are Dr. Jekyll, for the effects of the medication, and Mr. Hyde for the symptoms of mental issues, referring to the fact that Dr. Jekyll was good-natured but had to transform into Mr. Hyde to be able to do bad deeds.

4.4. BILLY WOODS

The author of this article has worked extensively on Billy Woods and the manner in which he integrates intertextual references into his work (see Kolarič, forthcoming; 2016). For the purposes of this article, a review of three items of Woods' opus will suffice.

Super Chron Flight Brothers – *Emergency Powers* (2007)

Super Chron Flight Brothers was a rap duo comprised of the rappers Billy Woods and Privilege. *Emergency Powers* can be considered the first mature record including Billy Woods, who has been known to integrate intertextuality into his writing as a crucial part of raps that gives them additional layers of interpretation. In his writing, postcolonialism is also one of the main concepts and is overwhelmingly present in his rapping. On the song "Slaughterhouse" there is a line with an intertextual reference to Hegel.

"Slaughterhouse":

You see? It's more than the words on the page
The dialect of slaves ever indirect

"The dialect of slaves ever indirect" is a reference to Hegel's 2018 (1807) book *The Phenomenology of the Spirit*, specifically to its chapter "Independence and Dependence of Self-Consciousness: the Dialectic

of Lord and Bondsman", known as the slave-master dialectic, in which Hegel describes how the relationships between the slave and the master are formed.

He explains the relationship of two fighting self-consciousnesses that are the same but want to be different from each other. To achieve the acknowledgment, they fight for dominance. The winner can kill the loser, but does not and becomes the master while the loser becomes the slave. Yet, the master is not the winner in the long run as he does not achieve the type of acknowledgment he desires. The slave tends to all of his master's needs under constant threat of death. This relationship is unstable as the master gradually loses his ability to do the required work for himself and does not know how to cope with death. The slave with his newly acquired skills can break free from the master and become an artisan. The problem that remains is that the slave's emancipation potential and self-consciousness are limited as his skills are limited to manual crafts, hence he still serves others. Indeed, the slave becomes the master over some aspects of himself, but the power structures still exist and the slave is not objectively free. The master and the slave have realized that the relationship is better if they provide service to each other (Hegel 2018 (1807), 198-210; Steinhart 1998).

On the song "Slaughterhouse", this theory is applied to the African-American experience with slavery and their navigation of the music industry. In the song, Billy Woods deconstructs the music industry. Despite the fact that rappers are dominant in the music industry, they still need to navigate the power structures of the United States system – the system that is a race regime by design. Here, we can apply Hegel to the African-Americans that were able to navigate the music industry after the end of slavery as musicians/entrepreneurs in their own right. In the long run, they were not able to fully control their own fate, much less the music industry as a whole. In the early stages of hip-hop, the artists did not own their records and did not receive royalties from the record sales (Charnas 2011, 61-71). It took a long time for a hip-hop artist to get decent record deals and become able to own his/her own masters. Nevertheless, the industry perpetuated rap and the images that would sell. Billy Woods uses the example of mainstream rap. The violent, misogynist imagery of the rappers is a reflection of their insecurities and the fact that they come from dysfunctional families. The poetic persona uses the imagery of grill jewellery and calls them "the new blackface," because historically, the image of the violent, hypersexual black man was one of the accepted portrayals of black people. Billy Woods calls the rappers "the great pretenders" as the image they portray does not reflect what the rappers think of themselves. On the surface, it might be seen as threatening, but this was merely a marketable imagery of an angry black man with which

the general population of United States is familiar and comfortable (White 2011, 19-32). The rappers, as menacing as they appear, are harmless as they do not control the whole system in which they operate. To show the fragility of their status, Billy Woods uses the reference to two songs: Tragedy Khadafi's "Live by the Gun?" and Public Enemy's "Miuzi Weighs a Ton", which both thematise the use of guns to assert dominance. However, Billy Woods turns this idea upside down. The line in the song is as follows: "Live by the gun? Trust me that Uzi weigh a ton". The other side of rappers asserting their dominance with guns is that if they make one mistake and break the law (by assault or ownership of unregistered firearm), their career is compromised and they go to prison. It does not matter how successful they are: in the eyes of the justice system, they are still just black men with guns. This is also the closure of Hegel's argument: despite the slave becoming an artisan, he is still not the one who controls the power system. In the same manner, despite rappers being the successful artist, they still don't own the record industry (recordings, production and distribution). This is an instance of rappers using intertextual references to introduce challenging concepts into their lyrics, which was described in chapter 2.

Armand Hammer – *Race Music* (2013)

One of the stylistic characteristics of Billy Woods's writing is combining popular culture with classical literature. One example of this is from the Armand Hammer (another duo of which Woods was part of) record *Race Music* in the song "Toad and Frog Can be Friends." The first four lines combine allusions to Fredrick Douglass and rappers with intertextual references to rap records.

Unpublished but ghostin' for Fredrick Douglass
Trust/, I could write your whole album
Eazy-Duz-It
Raiders snapback with the Jheri Curl [emphases J. K.]

The poetic persona says that they are ghostwriting for Fredrick Douglass. Fredrick Douglass was an abolitionist, writer, and fighter for the equality of black people (Jarrett 2014). This can be interpreted to mean that the poetic persona is continuing the emancipatory work of Fredrick Douglass.

The next line claims that the poetic persona could write other people's records, which the third line continues with a reference to the title of Eazy-E's *Eazy-Duz-It*. The concept of ghost writing is preserved and can be seen as a commentary on the practice of ghost-writing in rap music. As has been discovered, Eazy-E did not write his own raps, but

they were written by Ice Cube (Charnas 2011, 268-269). This is supported with the final line here which describes Ice Cube's appearance at the time when he was still a part of N.W.A.

Today, I Wrote Nothing (2015)

Billy Woods also adopted the complete stylistic approaches developed by other writers. On his record *Today, I Wrote Nothing*, he adapted a collection of short stories by Daniil Kharms into rap form. Daniil Kharms was a Russian absurdist writer. In the 1920s, he was part of UBERIU, a collective of avant-garde writers from Leningrad. The collective was later disbanded and Kharms would go on to write children's literature. Throughout his career, he was in conflict with the Soviet authorities and was imprisoned several times. He died in prison in 1942. Kharms' writing is stylistically hard to define as his fiction is absurd and nonsensical. In a sense, it is meta-fiction parodying and satirizing the existing forms of fiction and their structure with added slapstick humour (Kharms 2009, 12-17). On *Today, I Wrote Nothing*, Billy Woods adopts Kharms' writing style. He breaks every existing rap norm and writes very short rap songs. Note the conceptual similarity of the following:

Daniil Kharms 2009, 120:

Today, I wrote nothing. It doesn't matter.

"Dreams Come True":

Caught feelings off an old picture, hit her up like,
I still miss ya. Two words: Nigga. Please. Fair enough.

It has to be noted that the stylistic adaptation of Kharms' work was done intentionally. Billy Woods was having writer's block and when he read *Today, I Wrote Nothing*, it occurred to him that he could also do what Kharms did, but in rap. He decided that he would intentionally break the traditional structure of rap and not think about how to write, but simply write (Woods 2015).

6. CONCLUSION

After this brief survey of intertextuality in the lyrics of four prominent rappers of the 20th and 21st centuries, it is obvious that literature has had a tremendous influence on rap. How much literature is used in rap varies

in magnitude from rapper to rapper. We can see that intertextuality is mostly used mainly in two different manners by rappers – it can be used as a stylistic enhancement of writing (as seen with Aesop Rock and MF DOOM) and to convey difficult concepts with rap such as Hegel's Master-Slave dialectic employed by Billy Woods. However, it has to be noted that rap is a highly referential form and the intertextuality of different media should not be glossed over. To be able to fully comprehend how intertextuality has been integrated into rap, a broader analysis has to be done. It is impossible to generalize how much literature influenced rap without making a broad research of the history of all intertextuality in rap. To see that, there needs to be a comparative inquiry into how literature's influence on rap measures up against the influences of films, comic books, anime, etc. Only then can an accurate gauge be made.

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06

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***The Lion, the Witch, and the
Wardrobe and The Book of Lost
Things: Escape into Fantasy as a
Way of Dealing with War***

***The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* and *The Book of Lost Things*: Escape into Fantasy as a Way of Dealing with War**

Many children's fantasy novels include scenes in which the protagonists leave the safety of their homes and cross over into unknown fantasy worlds. It could be argued that the whole premise is based on the phenomenon of escapism. In particular, this paper will explore the way in which the war circumstances of the real-world fuel the need of the child protagonists to seek out a new and better world. This will be done through a comparative analysis of two novels that take place in England during the Second World War, and whose protagonists temporarily leave their homes in favour of the novels' respective fantasy worlds: *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* by C.S. Lewis and *The Book of Lost Things* by John Connolly. The comparison will be explicated by following the proposed stages of the plots' development: the introduction and contextualisation of the war circumstances; going over into the fantasy world; the adventure in the fantasy world and how it mirrors the real situation. The final stage encompasses the return to the ordinary world and the exploration of how the protagonists' worldview has changed.

Relevant literary sources will be consulted to support the arguments, and historical sources will be utilised for the contextualisation of the plot and an interdisciplinary overview of the topic.

KEYWORDS

fantasy, war, escapism, Lewis, Narnia, Connolly

1. INTRODUCTION

Still one of the most widely read children's novels, *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* was written by Clive Staples Lewis in 1950, during the aftermath of the Second World War, the consequences of which were still resonating throughout the world. It follows four child protagonists – the Pevensie children: Peter, Susan, Edmund, and Lucy – who, with the help of the seemingly omnipotent Lion, Aslan, face off against the ultimate Evil, the White Witch, who oppresses the good people (and animals) of Narnia.

More than half a century later, in 2006, Irish-born John Connolly wrote *The Book of Lost Things*. This standalone novel is set in 1939 England and features a twelve-year-old protagonist David, who, much like the Pevensie siblings, crosses over into a new, fantastic world and is more or less thrust into an adventure. This paper will juxtapose these two novels and explore how children's novels set in wartime depict the real-life events and allow their main protagonists to indulge in escapism.

Popular fiction, under which the genre of fantasy falls, is often described as being a sort of escapist literature – it provides the audience with a reading time that is free from real-life worries. In a way, such literature is the means of temporary relief from worldly struggles. Escapism, by the definition found in Cambridge Dictionary (n.d.), is “a way of avoiding an unpleasant or boring life, especially by thinking, reading, etc. about more exciting but impossible activities”. But luxuriating in fantasy does not have to be restricted only to the readers – the characters themselves can be subjected to the need of escaping the grave circumstances of their own, primary worlds; this is why they look for other, secondary worlds.

2. ESTABLISHING THE WAR CIRCUMSTANCES

The dissatisfaction with the original, 'real' world can be observed in both novels this paper deals with. The setting of the novels points the reader to imagine the characters in the context of the Second World War. In *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*, the introduction of wartime circumstances is relatively brief: “This story is about something that happened to them (the Pevensies) when they were sent away from London during the war because of the air-raids. They were sent to the house of an old Professor who lived in the heart of the country, ten miles from the nearest railway station and two miles from the nearest post office” (Lewis 2006, 3). For the context of the story, and this paper, it is useful for the reader to know that the Battle of Britain went on from 10 July to 31 October 1940, but the attacks continued as part of the Blitz until 1941;

"from 7 September to 13 November, London was bombed almost every day and every night" (Bourke 2001, 36). Lewis never unequivocally states in what year his novel takes place, but the above description implies the mentioned period from 1940 to 1941.

On the other hand, Connolly develops his setting in greater detail. Early on, the author presents the scenes such as David's father reading newspaper articles about Hitler's armies' movements across Europe ("Of All That Was Found and All That Was Lost"), Spitfires and Hurricanes flying to-and-fro ("Of Jonathan Tulvey and Billy Golding, and Men Who Dwell by Railway Tracks"), the commotions on the streets of London: "There were more policemen on the streets than before, and men in uniform were everywhere. Sandbags were piled against windows, and great lengths of barbed wire lay coiled around like vicious springs" ("Of the New House, the New Child, and the New King"), and so on. In this novel, too, the topic of evacuation is brought up. Historically, the evacuees were mostly transported from what is known as Evacuation Areas (London, outer metropolitan areas, the Medway towns, the cities in the Midlands, Merseyside, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, the North East, and Scotland) into the Reception Areas (areas in the South, the South West, and the Midlands), main destination being the private houses of denizens (Welshman 2010, 24). This is why the Pevensies are welcomed to a house of a Professor who is a complete stranger to them. Although David himself is not evacuated, he does reflect on the topic: "Their [the evacuees'] absence made the city appear emptier and increased the sense of nervous expectancy that seemed to govern the lives of all who remained" (Connolly 2006, "Of the New House, the New Child, and the New King"). Instead of evacuating, David and his family – his father, stepmother, and newly born younger half-brother – move to a house on an unspecified location, some fifty miles away from the capital. By exposing and detailing the circumstances of living in wartime, the authors hint at (Lewis) and build up (Connolly) the anxious atmosphere that the protagonists and the readers want to escape.

3. CROSSING OVER

The next stage in plot development that connects the novels of Lewis and Connolly is the crossing over to a secondary, fantastic world. Already in the first chapter of *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*, Lucy discovers that an old abandoned wardrobe is actually a pathway to a land called Narnia. It takes David of *The Book of Lost Things* six chapters to cross over to a kingdom of twisted fairy tales. The circumstances of his crossing over are particularly interesting. When a German bomber is falling from the skies, David, in an attempt to save himself, scurries away deeper into the hole in the sunken garden of their countryside house:

[The airplane] grew larger and larger, until at last it seemed to fill the sky, dwarfing their house, lighting up the night with red and orange fire. It was heading straight for the sunken garden, flames licking at the German cross on its fuselage, as though something in the heavens above was determined to stop David from moving between realms. The choice had been made for him. David could not hesitate. He forced himself through the gap in the wall and into the darkness just as the world that he had left behind became an inferno. (Connolly 2006, "Of the War, and the Way Between Worlds")

It is obvious from the passage that David's escape from this world was directly launched by the wartime circumstances. On the other hand, the link between the Second World War and the Pevensies' visit to Narnia is not explicitly established.

4. INSIDE THE FANTASY

Once the protagonists cross over into the secondary world, the adventure can start in full. Following the escapist line of argumentation, it can be said that the protagonists, while inside the fantasy, seek refuge from the war and the world as they know it. However, the fantasy worlds they enter are not idyllic. The protagonists do not forget where they come from and the similarities between reality and fantasy are therefore to be found in abundance. This paper concentrates on two parameters of comparison – the food and the antagonists.

4. 1. MEAT AND MEAD

As one of the pillars of comfortable everyday life, food is of immense significance to the protagonists. It is important to note that both Lucy's and Edmund's first acquaintances with Narnia are connected to food. The first person Lucy meets in Narnia is Mister Tumnus, who invites Lucy to have tea with him. The first of Lewis's rich descriptions of food throughout *The Chronicles of Narnia* is as follows: "And really it was a wonderful tea. There was a nice brown egg, lightly boiled, for each of them, and then sardines on toast, and then buttered toast, and then toast with honey, and then a sugar-topped cake" (Lewis 2006, 13). When it is Edmund's turn to step into the snowy wonderland that is Narnia, he is given a rather cold welcome by the White Witch Jadis, until she decides to use her charms and magic to coax him into giving her the information she needs. Then she provides him with a hot drink, "very sweet and foamy and creamy" (Lewis 2006, 27) and several pounds of Turkish delight that is "sweet and light to the very center" (Lewis 2006, 28). No matter how contrasted they themselves are in the

context of character development of the two younger Pevensies, these two instances share a common characteristic: they are both examples of indulging in food – something that was possible in fantasy, but not in the real England of that time. Even the fact that Lucy and Mr. Tumnus get to eat an egg each is immoderate, as England's rationing allowed for only one egg a week (Daniel 2006). This extravagance is continued throughout the book, most notably during the scene in which the Pevensies share a meal with Mr. and Mrs. Beaver: "There was a jug of creamy milk for the children (Mr. Beaver stuck to beer) and a great big lump of deep yellow butter in the middle of the table *from which everyone took as much as he wanted to go with his potatoes*" (Lewis 2006, 55, emphasis mine). Again, the quote highlights the craving for foods that were being rationed in the real world of wartime England. Another scene that supports the argument that the imaginary characters get to enjoy what the contemporary Britons were lacking is the scene in which the White Witch and Edmund come across a group of Narnia animals who are clearly having a Christmas dinner party. The star of the meal is "a plum pudding" (Lewis 2006, 82). It is well known that due to rationing, dried fruit and other proper pudding ingredients were almost impossible to acquire – people used carrots, potatoes, beetroot, parsnip, or turnips as substitutes for the rare ingredients (Burns 2011) and used them to make "valiant but sad fake puddings" (Duane 2010, 77). As part of war tactics, Germans attacked the merchant ships that were bringing food to England (they imported large amounts of food from the Continent); consequentially, to limit the amount of food available, the British government distributed ration books with coupons that could be used each week and had to be turned in after they being used. The coupons did allow for the basic protein, carbohydrate, and vitamin intake (Duane 2010), but extravagant foods such as Edmund's favourite Turkish delight would be inconceivable.

In a crisp contrast to the Narnia abundance, David is allowed a severely lower amount of food, arranged into acutely less elaborate dishes. The rationing is outright mentioned while David is still at home, in England: "Her [Rose's, his stepmother's] attempts to cook meals that he liked for dinner, despite the pressures of rationing, irritated him" (Connolly 2006, "Of Jonathan Tulvey and Billy Golding, and Men Who Dwell by Railway Tracks"). Already David recognizes that one should not indulge when there is not enough food to go around. This mentality translates into the secondary world as well. When he enters the strange land, David is given shelter by the Woodsman, who becomes one of his mentors (until he is replaced by Roland, a knight), and during their first evening together they eat a simple meal of bread and cheese (Connolly 2006, "Of the Loups and How They Came into Being"). In the fantasy world, David does not escape the feeling of hunger: "He had eaten with the dwarfs that morning, but now his stomach was rumbling and aching. There was still food in his pack, and the dwarfs

had added to his supplies a little by giving him some pieces of dried fruit, but he had no idea how far he might have to travel before he reached the castle of the king" (Connolly 2006, "Of the Deer-Girl"). The description of his provisions is evocative of real-world rations that were being distributed by the government. David exhibits rational thinking by not eating all he has at once, but later is not able to restrain himself from succumbing to the temptation of an apple tree (despite having been warned by his dwarf companions to stay on the path): "It had been weeks since he'd eaten an apple, not since a local farmer had quietly slipped Rose a couple 'for the little 'uns.' Those apples had been small and sour, but these were wonderful. The juice trickled down his chin, and the flesh was firm in his mouth" (Connolly 2006, "Of the Deer-Girl"). Even though the apples fade in comparison to the lavish Narnian foods, the fact that David desires and enjoys them so much points to the grave fact that even such common foods were unavailable to the public during the rationing period, which, to a greater or lesser extent, lasted until 1954 (Duane 2010). A peculiar scene including a description of a would-be feast is more of a reproach than an opportunity to indulge: when David enters an enchanted fortress to try to save Roland, he stumbles upon a room with a table laden with food:

Candles were lit along its length, and their light shone upon a great feast: there were roast turkeys and geese and ducks, and a huge pig with an apple in its mouth as the centerpiece. There were platters of fish and cold meats, and vegetables steamed in big pots. It all smelled so wonderful that David was drawn into the room, unable to resist the urgings of his growling stomach. (Connolly 2006, "Of the Enchantress and What Became of Raphael and Roland")

Unfortunately for David's stomach, he discovers carcasses of many insects that have helped themselves to the meal. Realising that all the fare on the table is poisoned, David turns away in disgust. This digression may serve as a reminder of what David already knows – that war is no time to indulge.

4. 2. THE WICKED WITCH & CO

Another point of comparison may be the antagonists of the novels: the White Witch and the Crooked Man in *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe* and *The Book of Lost Things*, respectively. The White Witch, also known as Queen Jadis, is a usurper on the Narnian throne, who has turned Narnia into the snowy land that the Pevensies are introduced to. Along with the common interpretations of her representing the forces of Hell, opposed to Aslan's Heaven, she may be put into the context of World War Two and likened to England's greatest enemy, the leader of

the Nazis. Hence, she becomes “the local Hitler (...) whence all evil flows” (Edwards 2009, 155). The extent of her power is shown through the fear that she induces in her own subjects. She scares the denizens of Narnia into turning over anyone suspicious, anyone who may work to overthrow her regime. This is represented in the example of Mr. Tumnus, whose original intentions are to betray Lucy to the White Witch:

I'm a kidnapper for her, that's what I am. Look at me, Daughter of Eve. Would you believe that I'm the sort of Faun to meet a poor innocent child in the wood, one that had never done me any harm, and pretend to be friendly with it, and invite it home to my cave, all for the sake of lulling it asleep and then handing it over to the White Witch? (Lewis 2006, 16)

A pivotal pillar of the White Witch's power is her Secret Police. At its head is Maugrim, a grey wolf, who does her bidding: “‘Take with you the swiftest of your wolves and go at once to the house of the Beavers,’ said the Witch, ‘and kill whatever you find there. If they are already gone, then make all speed to the Stone Table, but do not be seen’” (Lewis 2006, 81). It is Maugrim and the rest of the wolf Secret Police who efficiently and invisibly hunt down Mr. Tumnus (Lewis 2006) and other Jadis' enemies (except, of course, the Pevensies and the Beavers, who manage to escape their radar). The Secret Police is suggestive of its real-life counterpart, the Geheime Staatspolizei, abbreviated to Gestapo, which consisted of various regional posts, until the process of regional integration was finalized in 1936 and the Gestapo at the whole Reich level was constituted (Browder 1996).

Among other minions of the White Witch are all the creatures conventionally classified as evil in fantasy fiction. Lucy and Susan see them when the White Witch kills Aslan in a night ritual: “Cruels and Hags and Incubuses, Wraiths, Horrors, Efreets, Sprites, Orknies, Wooses, and Ettins. In fact here were all those who were on the Witch's side and whom the Wolf had summoned at her command” (Lewis 2006, 110). In the culmination of the novel, during the battle of the forces of Good and Evil, the creatures again make an appearance: “in the daylight, they looked even stranger and more evil and more deformed. There also seemed to be far more of them” (Lewis 2006, 129). No description of the Witch's subordinates points to them having any possible redeeming characteristic; if anything, closer inspection (during daylight, as opposed to the first impression under the cover of night) casts them in an even more negative light. The enemy, as represented in *The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe*, is as Evil as Aslan's forces are Good.

The situation in the world of *The Book of Lost Things* is far more complex. Along with the main Evil being, the Crooked Man, a prominent figure of the evil forces is Leroi, a Loup (a hybrid of man and wolf, or rather,

a wolf gradually evolving into a man). Leroi is the leader of an army which encompasses both Loups and regular wolves. But unlike Maugrim's undying loyalty to the White Witch, the Crooked Man and Leroi, in their pursuit of David, are reluctant allies at best. With the Evil being dispersed into different characters and not having it centred into one figure that needs to be defeated, this novel steps away from the classic Great Evil trope present in Narnia. What is more, David allows himself to question what is good and what is bad; he sees that not everything is black and white and that he may even profit from siding with the Crooked Man, whom he has been warned against: "He [the Crooked Man] couldn't be trusted (...). Yet David also knew that much of what he was saying was true: the wolves were coming, and they would not stop until they found David" (Connolly 2006, "Of the Crooked Man and the Sowing of Doubt"). Not only does David make his decisions based on logic (unlike the Pevensies who simply take it for granted that the White Witch is evil because a Faun and a beaver told them so), but he also sees past the appearance of his enemies:

...without the Loups the wolf packs would scatter, fighting and scavenging their way back to their own territories, but for now the Loups had corrupted the natures of the wolves, just as their own natures had been corrupted. They believed themselves to be greater and more advanced than their brothers and sisters who walked on four legs, but in reality they were much worse. They were impure, mutations that were neither human nor animal. (Connolly 2006, "Of the Crooked Man's Act of Betrayal")

As shown, David does not necessarily blame all the wolves for following the Loups' orders. He is able to differentiate between those with malicious intentions – the Loups, with their twisted ideology of becoming the ruling race and thinking themselves superior to everyone else – and those who are doing what they have been told to do, perhaps only after having been coerced into joining the Loups' ranks. David's mature way of thinking is hence displayed in him being aware that the wolves, the subordinates, are not inherently evil. In a stark contrast to the Narnia's inflexibly imputed characterisation, David does not place collective blame on the opponent army. David's level-headed realisations come as no surprise, due to David's musings earlier in the novel, when he tries to imagine himself in the military forces: "David tried to imagine himself in a bomber – a British one, perhaps a Wellington or a Whitley – flying over a German city, bombs at the ready. Would he be able to release the load? It was a war after all" (Connolly 2006, "Of the New House, the New Child, and the New King"). Unlike the Pevensie children, David is conscious of the fact that any conflict, especially a large-scale one, is more layered than a simple division between Good and Evil. However, the conflicts and battles in both novels represent the fantasy as an escape inasmuch as granting the protagonists an ability they do not

possess in the actual world – affecting the course of war. While powerless to confront the real enemies, they help bring about the desired outcome in the fantasy land, by putting an end to the war and emerging victorious.

5. THE RETURN

The final stage of the two novels could be dubbed the return to the real world. This phase takes place after the defeat of the threat in the fantasy world. In a way, the return marks the beginning of a new quest – the trials in the imaginary world prepared the protagonists for confronting the struggles of the real world. This is why the Pevensies, who have all but forgotten their birthplace after spending many prosperous years as the Narnian royalty, see the return to England as a new adventure: “Then in the name of Aslan,’ said Queen Susan, ‘if ye will all have it so, let us go on and take the adventure that shall fall to us” (Lewis 2006, 137). In a similar notion, David, whose aim throughout the book is to return home, is reluctant to leave the fantasy once he has finally reached his goal: “Now that it is time to leave, I’m not sure I want to go,’ said David” (Connolly 2006, “Of Rose”). Now that the antagonists are defeated, the parallels between the fantasy and the reality diverge: the fantasy land is at peace, whereas war still rages in the real world, making the latter less attractive to return to. Nevertheless, the protagonists of both novels brave the new adventure. The adventures of the everyday may not be as thrilling to the Pevensies as the fantastical endeavours and the reader does not get a glimpse into how the children go about their daily evacuee life for the rest of their stay in the countryside. But if the novel’s last sentences are to go by – “And that is the very end of the adventure of the wardrobe. But if the Professor was right it was only the beginning of the adventures of Narnia” (Lewis 2006, 138-139) – it could mean that the Pevensies need still more escaping; whether from war, boredom, or tragedy. The need for escape and further development causes them to return to the fantasy land in several other books from *The Chronicles of Narnia* (*Prince Caspian*, *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader*, *The Last Battle*). On the other hand, Connolly’s novel is, as already mentioned, a standalone, which necessitates the explication of David’s character development and him reaching a closure. He is described as having become “both quieter and more thoughtful of others; more affectionate toward Rose, and more understanding of her own difficulties in trying to find a place for herself in the lives of these two men, David and his father; more responsive to sudden noises and potential dangers” (Connolly 2006, “Of All That Was Lost and All That Was Found”). David does not require any additional escapism, as his stay in the fantasy land has taught him valuable life lessons and offered him a short-term getaway from his own world.

6. CONCLUSION

The comparison of two children's fantasy novels that are both set in the United Kingdom during the Second World War, but set apart by their publishing date, is fruitful in concluding how the war, and the dealing with it, is represented in them. Perhaps Lewis did not want to burden his young readers with more outright mentions of the real war that was still fresh in the collective memory. Narnia is a colourful world that allows the protagonists' indulgence unthinkable in their actual world. The influence of wartime, and Britain's involvement in the conflict, is obvious, but Narnia is the be all and end all to the Pevensies: "Children from this world are drawn into it [Narnia], and do things for it, but there is scarcely a glance back at life in our world" (Manlove 2003, 83). Narnia is a true escape from their real-world troubles and in this, *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* does comfort to Manlove's (2003, 40) description of children's fantasy of mid-twentieth century: "less a place for learning or growing than a sort of prolonged secondary world where the imagination can feel at home". From Lewis' writing the sequels, it can be inferred that the Pevensies still have some growing-up to do and that they are not ready to face the world as it is. Due to writing his novels promptly after the Second World War, in the time when the society was still deeply immersed into the conflict and its consequences, Lewis allowed his characters to enjoy their stay in the fantasy without burdening them with complex questions of morality and shades of evil, giving them feasts and fame instead.

On the other hand, Connolly is writing from a temporally removed perspective and to generations of audience who are not emotionally involved in the issues of World War Two. It could be argued this is one of the reasons, if not the most important one, why David is far more rational in her perception of war, enemies, and the world in general. Contrary to the Pevensies, who never refer to their world of origin in any significant quantity, David is unequivocal about knowing his world is "a place of pain and suffering and grief" (Connolly 2006, "Of the Battle, and the Fate of Those Who Would Be King"). The real situation in the novel has been established in great detail, with descriptions of the real war's effect on David. The war circumstances are, like in Narnia, translated into David's fantasy land, but due to David being more aware of the real troubles, his world is much bleaker in comparison. Despite the graver tone of Connolly's book, it can be argued that its protagonist profits more from his fantasy escape than the Pevensies profit from their dwelling in Narnia. He escapes, but he also learns and gains a better understanding of life. The Pevensies embark on more journeys to Narnia, which hints at their still-present need to escape.

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07

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**“A Man’s no Horse”:
Reason, Language, and the “Thing
which is not” in Jonathan
Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels***

“A Man’s no Horse”: Reason, Language, and the “Thing which is not” in Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels*

The eighteenth century is known for the emergence of free thought, rationalism and critical thinking, and for the liberation of the arts and sciences from superstition. Jonathan Swift, being a devoted Anglican, was also a formidable critic of the Enlightenment thought, making his skepticism of modern learning a major theme in his writing. In *Gulliver’s Travels* Swift challenges the idea that truth can be empirically defined by a simple collection of facts, and he argues that humans are not rational animals. In a letter to Pope, Swift wrote that he has material towards a treatise proving the falsity of that definition *animal rationale* and to show it would be only *rationis capax*, i.e. capable of reason. This is especially evident in Part IV, in the land of the Houyhnhnms. I will focus on this last part of the Travels and will compare it to the empirical philosophy of John Locke’s *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. My aim is to discuss Gulliver’s shift to madness, following his inability to internalize the perceptions of the societies in which he happens to find himself and his irrational aspiration to become one of the “horses”. The current paper will concentrate on the interplay of truth and lies, central to Swift’s writing and language, as the tool for achieving a subtle irony, enhanced by Gulliver’s obsession with truth, self-deception, and constant contradictions. Arguably, the target of Swift’s satire are not lies, but the denial of lies and the pursuit of reason at all costs.

KEYWORDS

Gulliver, Swift, Enlightenment, empiricism, reason, Houyhnhnms

NOTE

“A Man’s no Horse” is a quotation taken from a poem called *Hudibras*, by Samuel Butler. In this poem the hero would “undertake to prove, by force | Of Argument, a man’s no horse” (Butler 1663-1678, l. i. 71-72).

1. INTRODUCTION

Jonathan Swift's 1726 book, *Gulliver's Travels*, is written as a parody of travel books. However, this is only the outer shell of a deep, satirical exploration of the human creature. Jonathan Swift was a formidable critic of the Enlightenment thought, therefore it is not surprising to find his skepticism of modern learning a major theme in his writings. In *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift challenges the idea that truth can be empirically defined by a simple collection of facts and responds to definitions of man as a *rational animal* (1726, Part IV, Chapter III). Swift's writing has provoked dispute and distress over a great number of issues, even among first-time readers, and this has been so ever since its publication in 1726. Indeed, what makes Swift's impact ongoing for almost three hundred years is his skillful use of language and subtle satire. The interplay of truth and lies is central in *Gulliver's Travels*, and Gulliver's obsession with truth, self-deception and the constant contradictions are all a tool used to enhance irony. But where exactly does Gulliver end and Swift begin? Answering this has been a challenge for scholars because the two are so strongly entwined, and because Swift was an ingenious hoaxer whose chief end in all his works was "to vex the world rather than divert it" (Swift 1725, in Wooley 2001, Letter to Pope, September 29).

2. THE SUBTLE ART OF LYING

Swift's obsession with truth is evident in all of his works. In 1708, under the pseudonym Isaac Bickerstaff, he wrote an almanac titled *Predictions for the Year 1708*, mocking the then famous astrologer Partridge by *predicting* his death (Swift 1708). In his political pamphlets he used satirical hyperbole to assert his criticism of modern economics and the British policy towards the Irish. In *Gulliver's Travels* he interweaves mendacity and veracity in a way that becomes more complex with every re-reading of the book. Swift plays with deception and assaults the reader's expectation from the very beginning – the opening gives an impression of truth, but is so quickly overtaken by the preposterous that the reader is left with a sense of uneasiness that will, indeed, haunt him until the very end of the novel. This feeling is evoked by the voice of a narrator whose "principal Design was to inform, and not to amuse" (Swift 1726, Part IV, Chapter XII) the reader, but also by a missing clear-cut distinction of moral opposites in the book (Martinez 2017) and the fact that Gulliver is not a reliable narrator. Despite his constant insistence on the truthfulness of his narrative as seen from the following lines: "Thus, gentle reader, I have given thee a faithful history of my travels for sixteen years and above seven months: wherein I have not been so studious of ornament as of truth." (Swift 1726, Part IV, Chapter XII), the obvious contradictions are yet another satirical tool.

But it quickly becomes apparent that Swift goes further than that. One reason for this conclusion is the fact that Gulliver *is supposed* to be an unreliable narrator. We can prove this by closely examining Swift's use of extratextual resources of front matter. In a later issue of the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, under the portrait of Lamuel Gulliver, a Latin quotation from the Roman poet Persius was added:

Justice and right blended with the spirit, a mind pure to
Its inner depths, a heart steeped in nobility and honour. (n.d., ii. 74)

In the 1735 edition, that caption is changed to "Capt. Lamuel Gulliver Splendide Mendax. Hor." The Latin phrase originally comes from Horace's *Odes* (n.d., III. xi. 35) and means *lying magnificently* (Rawson and Higgins 2008). An exact opposite of the former, the latter implies the unreliability of the narrator. However, we cannot readily call Gulliver a liar. On the one hand, he is a gullible character and a great deal of the contradictions are owing to his misunderstanding. Still, there are enough examples of him admitting to lying, again, contradicting his constant claims of truthfulness. But it is exactly this lack of ability to rightly perceive the world around him that will be considered as Swift's target and later discussed.

3. OBSESSION WITH TRUTH IN PART IV

3.1. ANIMAL RATIONALE, THE PERFECTION OF NATURE

Swift was a talented hoaxer and that is evident in the way he argues that humans are not rational animals. In a letter to Pope, he wrote: "I have got material towards a treatise proving the falsity of that definition *animal rationale* and to show it would be only *rationis capax*," (Swift 1725, in Woolley 2001) i.e. capable of reason. However, there is not much sense in this, as the distinction he makes implies some ideal use of the word "reason" that was never intended. And Swift was well aware of that. What he does is not directly responding to the truthfulness of the definition, but rather "rubbing in the fact that humans have no right to pretend to the virtues of high rationality" (Rawson 2014, 124). And he perfectly develops this in Part IV of *Gulliver's Travels*, in the land of the talking horses. The Houyhnhnms, etymologically "the Perfection of Nature" (Swift 1726, Part IV, Chapter III) – virtuous, reasonable, and incapable of lying, are an example of a high moral ideal. They are Swift's demonstration of what *animal rationale* really is and what man is not, nor can ever be. The choice to use horses as animals, superior to humans, is a purposely insulting parody of the logic textbooks where the definition derives from, which used horses as an example of the opposite to human, the non-rational animal.

3.2 LANGUAGE AND THE "THING WHICH IS NOT"

The ability of language to deceive is something that comes up a lot in *Gulliver's Travels* and it is especially central to Part IV, in its relation to Reason and Nature. The Houyhnhnms have no word for lying, and to them it goes against reason:

For [the Master Horse] argued thus: "that the use of speech was to make us understand one another, and to receive information of facts; now, if any one said the thing which was not, these ends were defeated, because I cannot properly be said to understand him; and I am so far from receiving information, that he leaves me worse than in ignorance; for I am led to believe a thing black, when it is white, and short, when it is long." And these were all the notions he had concerning that faculty of lying, so perfectly well understood, and so universally practised, among human creatures. (Swift 1726, Part IV, Chapter IV)

We learn that Gulliver is aware of how widespread this vice is among human beings and this has ironic consequences for him. In his fanatical worshipping of the Houyhnhnms, and his attempt to become *one of the horses*, he develops an obsession with truth:

But I must freely confess, that the many virtues of those excellent quadrupeds, placed in opposite view to human corruptions, had so far opened my eyes and enlarged my understanding, that I began to view the actions and passions of man in a very different light, and to think the honour of my own kind not worth managing; which, besides, it was impossible for me to do, before a person of so acute a judgment as my master, who daily convinced me of a thousand faults in myself, whereof I had not the least perception before, and which, with us, would never be numbered even among human infirmities. I had likewise learned, from his example, an utter detestation of all falsehood or disguise; and truth appeared so amiable to me, that I determined upon sacrificing every thing to it. (Swift 1726, Part IV, Chapter VII)

But his frequent claims to the reader that he is "chiefly studious of truth" (Swift 1726, Part II, Chapter I) are nothing more than a goal he could never reach. The constant contradictions and some obvious lies, such as when he tells the Japanese Emperor that he is a Dutchman, are the harsh proof that man can never reach that high moral ideal. They are a form of Swift's mockery against the pursuit of truth and reason at all costs, and an open attack on scientists and the Enlightenment.

3.3. EXTREME OPPOSITIONS

It seems like Swift's chief purpose is to make the reader uncomfortable by attacking his, and mankind's, pride. He goes on by introducing the Yahoo species – dreadful creatures devoid of reason, an opposite extreme to the Houyhnhnms, yet dramatically resembling man. Rawson (1991) argues that, while the Houyhnhnms are an insulting impossibility, the Yahoos, though not a reality, are an equally insulting possibility, in the sense that their primitive and barbaric nature is a reminder of the same brutish potential of humans. Gulliver struggles to find his place in this extreme opposition, and although mankind falls somewhere in between – as it is at the same time capable of reason, yet not *reasonable* -this is everything but comforting. As he talks to the Master Horse, Gulliver comes to realize that "instead of reason [men] were only possessed of some quality fitted to increase [their] natural vices" (Swift 1726, Part IV, Chapter V) and that

although [the Master Horse] hated the Yahoos of this Country, yet he no more blamed them for their odious Qualities, than he did a Gnnayh (a Bird of Prey) for its Cruelty, or a sharp Stone for cutting his Hoof. But, when a Creature pretending to Reason, could be capable of such Enormities, he dreaded lest the Corruption of that Faculty might be worse than Brutality itself. (Swift 1726, Part IV, Chapter V).

In other words, men only use their reason to make themselves worse, hence men are possibly worse than the Yahoos. This notion serves Swift's purpose – to insult and to vex the reader, but also the narrator. Gulliver's irrational reactions to the society he finds himself in are a satirical illustration of the consequences of man's extreme aspiration for high morality and reason. The Houyhnhnms represent an impossible moral ideal – they need no laws, for their virtues are natural, unlike man, whose natural vices ought to be restricted by laws:

That, our Institutions of Government and Law were plainly owing to our gross Defects in Reason, and by consequence, in Virtue; because Reason alone is sufficient to govern a Rational Creature; which was therefore a Character we had no Pretence to challenge... (Swift 1726, Part IV, Chapter VII)

4. A MAN'S NO HORSE

4.1. HORSES AND EMPIRICISM

According to the Houyhnhnms, a reasonable creature needs no

laws to govern his actions, something impossible for humans who are ruled by emotions. This is easily an attack on science and the thinkers of the Enlightenment who seemed to rely more on logic and reason than emotions, but were nevertheless humans, too, and worked for personal gain and out of pride. In Swift's view they were directing their experiments towards an impossible progress, aiming at an impossible expansion of the human knowledge. This impossibility is exemplified by the Houyhnhms, as previously mentioned, but also by the contrast drawn between them and Gulliver – who, in the novel, serves as a mirror to man. We could read this part of the *Travels* as a parody of John Locke's empirical philosophy, in particular. This work was chosen because it represents the ideas stated in this paper well. In his 1689 *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, Locke claims that truth can be empirically defined by a simple collection of facts and the use of reason to correctly connect the perceptions and build a system of knowledge. He puts great emphasis on reason and, when discussing morality, he argues that, with the right use of it, we could come to a set of moral rules, universally indisputable like those in Mathematics:

I am bold to think, that Morality is capable of Demonstration, as well as Mathematics: since the precise real Essence of the things moral Words stand for, may be perfectly known; and so the Congruity, or Incongruity of the Things themselves, be certainly discovered, in which consists perfect knowledge. (Locke 1689, Book III, Chapter XI, Section 16)

This is a brave idea, but rather naïve, and an example of what Swift pokes fun at when he describes the society of the Houyhnhms – the "Perfection of Nature" (Swift 1726, Part IV, Chapter III). What he says, and he does it in a painfully honest way, is that man is far from reaching that moral high, and the pursuit of it is dangerous and useless.

4.2. A SHIFT TO MADNESS

It is important to note here that *Gulliver's Travels'* aim is not to be a moral lesson, but rather an indictment, a criticism. Swift's anger seems to be provoked by what he considers a waste of effort that could have otherwise been put into effective solutions to problems and important discoveries. Therefore, the obsession with reason and pursuit of an impossible high mental state is harmfully useless, but also dangerous. The theme of the consequences has been brought up earlier in the paper, but will be further developed here. As mentioned earlier, Gulliver represents mankind as a whole, and for that reason his reactions, though exaggerated, are a bitter reminder of human imperfection. But the weaknesses of the character also imply defects in the empirical theory. Throughout the novel Gulliver lays

great emphasis on everything he sees, but is unable to establish a correct perspective of the world. He creates his own moral philosophy, which by the end of the book becomes profoundly misanthropic, to an extreme where he falls in a state of fanatical worshipping of the Houyhnhnms. In his aspiration to become one of them, Gulliver exposes his human weaknesses and loses his sanity. And this shift to madness is the dangerous consequence of reaching for something that is beyond reach.

5. CONCLUSION

Gulliver's obsession with truth, the uncertainty as to what his identity is, and the complete rejection of humankind, are all the result of his inability to perceive the world around him. And all of this is at the center of Swift's skillful satire, which uses Gulliver as a tool to exemplify the consequences of the denial of lies and the pursuit of reason at all costs. It is both a reminder that man has no right to claim a high morality, and an attack on human pride. Gulliver's drastic change in tone, his aggressive behavior, and arrogance towards the reader, are all results of a mental derangement, and his pride seems to be the root of the problem. He is incapable of accepting the truth about humankind, but also about his own identity. He is driven to an eccentric misanthropy and criticism of men: "the Yahoos were a Species of Animals utterly incapable of Amendment" (Swift 1726, A Letter from Captain Gulliver to His Cousin Sympson). He seems to still place himself above other people, and refuses to communicate with them. Instead, in his absurd desire to become one of the Houyhnhnms, he spends four hours a day in his stable, talking to the horses which, he says, understand him "tolerably well" (Swift 1726, Part IV, Chapter XI). This is by no means comforting to the reader, who is left, at the end, with nothing more, no alternative point of view, but an unreliable mad narrator. Although Swift is not Gulliver, his presence behind him is noticeable, and their resemblance easily recognizable. Some critics argue that this excessive behavior distances the satirist from his insane speaker; however, many have accused Swift of misanthropy, misogyny, and madness. In Samuel Johnson's (1811, 35) words, his "anger was heightened into madness." It still remains uncertain, to readerly discomfort, and a challenge for scholars to determine, where exactly Gulliver ends and Swift begins. But if humans are what the story says, this includes the narrator, the author, and, in Gulliver's words, you, gentle reader.

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08

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**Manuela
Neuwirth**

**Magnanimity:
Aristocratic Animals and
the Great Chain of Being from
Naturalism to Postmodernism**

Magnanimality: Aristocratic Animals and the Great Chain of Being from Naturalism to Postmodernism

Even though the lives of nonhuman animals and humans have always been linked, the study of these interactions has only received critical attention in the field of Animal Studies in recent decades. This seems surprising, considering the wealth of animal representations in human culture. The present paper takes this magnitude of animal portrayals literally to mean not only the great number of animal representations in literary and cultural texts, but the scale of these portrayals, presenting an analysis of what I call 'magnanimality', i.e. majestic animal metaphors.

In a New Historicist approach, I trace the philosophical theory of the Great Chain of Being – a concept of medieval Christianity suggesting a strict hierarchy of all life – in American texts ranging from the late 19th up to the late 20th century. Examining animal metaphors linked to aristocracy and nobility, I strive to answer the questions why and to what end a religious, pre-Enlightenment concept that seems at odds with American national narratives is repeatedly employed in contemporary literary and cultural texts. I use texts from different time periods and genres, e.g. E.T. Seton's short story *Lobo, the King of Currumpaw*, Jack London's novella *The Call of the Wild* as well as contemporary movies. I argue that the Great Chain of Being, applied to modern American texts, bridges the human-animal divide by elevating the individual nonrational being and forming a continuity between various species.

KEYWORDS

Animal Studies, Anthropomorphism, Aristocracy, Great Chain of Being

1. INTRODUCTION

The lives of nonhuman animals and humans have always been inextricably linked, yet the study of the interactions between these two categories of animals has only received critical attention in the interdisciplinary field of Animal Studies in recent decades (cf. DeMello 2012). This seems surprising, considering “the *magnitude* of animal representations, symbols, stories, and their actual physical presence in human societies and culture” (DeMello 2012, 5, my emphasis). The present paper takes the above statement and its stress on magnitude literally, to mean not only the sheer wealth of animal representations in literary and cultural texts, but the scale of these portrayals, presenting an analysis of what I call ‘majestic animal metaphors’. It takes the ancient philosophical concept of the *scala naturae* (lat. literally “ladder/stairway of nature”), which suggests a strict hierarchy of all matter, as its point of departure. The *scala naturae* was further developed in the Great Chain of Being, a theological theory universally accepted from the Middle Ages to the 18th century. Following the New Historicist approach, my paper traces the Great Chain of Being in American texts produced between the late 19th and the late 20th century. Placing emphasis on the construction of animal metaphors built on notions of aristocracy and nobility, it explores a number of questions. Why is the Great Chain of Being – a religious, pre-Enlightenment concept that seems inherently at odds with American national ideals and narratives – repeatedly utilized in contemporary literary and cultural texts? Can these ‘majestic metaphors’ be interpreted as a technique of anthropomorphization, i.e. of attributing human features to animals? If so, do these metaphors serve to underline a hierarchical categorization, or do they, in fact, bridge the human-animal gap? If, as Margo DeMello asserts, “animals exist as mirrors for human thought; they allow us to [...] classify ourselves and others” (2012, 14), what conclusions may be drawn from the classification of these fictional aristocratic animals, from their destruction or persistence?

The analysis of American texts from different time periods and genres, i.e. E.T. Seton's *Lobo, the King of Currumpaw* (1898), Jack London's *The Call of the Wild* (1903), as well as the original *King Kong* movie (1933) and the contemporary Disney film *The Lion King* (1994), strives to provide answers to the above questions. I argue that the Great Chain of Being, applied to modern American texts, may tentatively bridge the human-animal gap by elevating the individual nonrational being and forming a continuity between various species.

2. ANIMAL STUDIES AND THE GREAT CHAIN OF BEING REVISITED

The notion of arrangement, strict classification and ordering of natural earthly beings goes as far back as the Bible. Randy Malamud shows that the story of Noah's Ark, in its emphasis on God's and Noah's dominion over the animals and its presentation of an arrangement of the animals on the ark by kind, marks "the beginning of a tradition of collecting and organizing that runs through Aristotle, Linnaeus and Buffon" (2012, 15). The concept of organizing nature as a ladder, of a hierarchical order of animals, thus finds its beginnings in religious scriptures as well as in Platonian and Aristotelian thought, which described "the idea of arranging all animals in a single graded *scala naturae* according to their degree of 'perfection'" (Lovejoy 1970, 58). The ancient theory of the *scala naturae* would later form the basis of the Great Chain of Being, a concept universally accepted from the Middle Ages to the 18th century, which Arthur O. Lovejoy explicates thus:

[T]he conception of the universe as a 'Great Chain of Being,' composed of an immense, or [...] infinite, number of links ranging in hierarchical order from the meagerest kind of existents [...] through 'every possible' grade up to [...] the highest possible kind of creature (1970, 59).

Clearly, the notion of hierarchy from less complex, nonrational, to more sophisticated, rational beings at the heart of the above quote is directly taken over from the Classical *scala naturae*. However, the existence of "immense or infinite" subdivisions and links are German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's significant additions to the theory. According to Laurence Carlin's interpretation (2000), Leibniz, in applying his 'law of continuity' to the Great Chain of Being, suggests that all beings are placed on a single scale of ordering of perfection, establishing a link between them closer than a mere top-to-bottom classification would allow for:

[I]t is necessary that all the orders of natural beings form but a single chain in which different classes like so many links clasp one another so firmly that it is impossible for the senses or the imagination to fix the exact point where one begins or ends: all the species [...] are bound to be ambiguous and endowed with characteristics connected equally well to neighboring species (Leibniz quoted in Carlin 2000, 134).

Superficially seen, this argumentation seems to contradict Leibniz's assertion that rational creatures form a separate class of created beings. However, it is important to keep in mind that Leibniz takes the distinction between rational and nonrational substances down to the individual and is thus able to claim that the "well-trained soul of a beast is either nearly as perfect as, or more perfect than [...] the soul of a rational infant" (Carlin 2000, 141). Thus, the capacities for reflection and perception remain the

distinguishing features of humans, but the distinction between rationals and nonrationals lies in individual degree, not in universal kind. This is best understood in repeating the principles of hierarchical ordering:

- (a) Every created being has a certain degree of perfection.
- (b) With respect to degree of perfection, no two created beings are exactly alike.
- (c) The degrees of perfection of created beings form a continuous series (i.e. there is no gap anywhere in the series) ranging from less perfect beings to more perfect beings (Carlin 2000, 131).



Figure 1. Great Chain of Being: Strict hierarchical order from God (top) to inanimates (bottom) and within strata (Wikimedia Commons 2014)

In this way, Leibniz's understanding of the Great Chain of Being allows the interpretation that a nonrational being, depending on its individual degree of perfection, may occupy a place above a rational creature in the chain of being, the two forming a continuous gradation. Thus, the strict hierarchy of the Great Chain of Being (see Figure 1), with its divisions and subdivisions ranging from God over angels, kings, commoners to different kinds of animals and lastly, inanimate entities such as plants and minerals, is mitigated to a certain degree.

Running through these constructions of animals in biblical and philosophical texts are elements of dominion and control that come with the act of classification: "Structuring the natural world meshes with the structure of *imperial* power" (Malamud 2012, 125, my emphasis). The ideological underpinnings of this power are echoed in DeMello's assertion that "animals are assigned to human categories" in "politically-charged classifications" (2012, 10); the power structures at work that have established the human-animal dichotomy in the distant past are upholding it up to this day.

The texts analyzed in the paper at hand are testament to the fact that seemingly outdated concepts, such as the Great Chain of Being, are still at the basis of cultural representations in the late 20th century. Considering Leibniz's expansion of the theory to present a more inclusive picture of human-animal relations and DeMello's supposition that "if we were to grant a continuity among the various species, then the [arbitrary boundary between human and nonhuman animals] would be harder to justify" (2012, 16), the implications of these hierarchical animal representations are not as clear-cut as it might at first appear. The portrayal of animals as majestic figures might be interpreted in opposing ways: on the one hand, seeing as animals are used to mirror human societal structures, this representation could be viewed as perpetuating existing social hierarchies (cf. DeMello 2012). On the other hand, the portrayal of animals as royal characters might be read as a powerful technique of anthropomorphization, which, in fact, posits the animal higher up on the ladder of beings and supplies it with, in Leibniz's terminology, a higher degree of perfection. In this, the animal almost becomes a liminal¹ figure, bridging the gaps between hierarchical strata, until it becomes "impossible for the senses or the imagination to fix the exact point where one begins or ends" (Leibniz quoted in Carlin 2000, 134).

Crucial in determining which theory of interpretation to favor is the historical and cultural context of these animal representations. For this reason, the following textual analysis focuses on literary and filmic examples from similar and different time periods. What these texts share is their creation in the common national/cultural framework of the United States. In order to arrive at a starting point for the analysis, the sensitive status of the concept of aristocracy within the American cultural imaginary needs to be examined.

3. MAJESTIC METAPHORS AND NATIONAL NARRATIVES

Considering the process of nation-building in the United States and the national ideals of egalitarianism and democracy the country is built on, American society's attitude to notions of class consciousness and nobility can be termed problematic at best. Writing from the beginning of the postmodernist period, Oscar Mandel, in his 1958 controversial article on *Nobility in the United States*, purports that "the want of a feeling for aristocracy [...] constitutes the most signal failure of the American spirit" (1958, 197). In light of what he perceives as the failure of democracy and

¹ The Oxford English Dictionary defines liminal as "occupying a position at, or on both sides of, a boundary or threshold."

egalitarianism in supporting high art and intellectual endeavors, leading to loss of culture and of "moral and aesthetic leadership" (Mandel 1958, 209), he calls for a re-examination of American egalitarianism and a reframing of the ideas of hierarchy and aristocracy.

In his assertions, Mandel interestingly employs a rhetorical frame that is very similar to the ideas at the basis of American national narratives. For example, he repeatedly claims that "the feeling for aristocracy is above all a hope" (1958, 198) and stresses future-directedness and elements of human possibility and betterment. In this, his understanding of aristocracy can be seen as much closer to, for instance, the American Dream, which is also based on a hope for the future, yet quintessentially egalitarian. Furthermore, Mandel suggests that "the feeling of aristocracy is [...] the vision of a fusion of every nobility" (1958, 204), a statement which, in its rhetoric, could be interpreted as having the same origin as the seemingly disconnected notion of the 'melting pot'. Certainly, in Mandel, this fusion, even in its ideal form, creates a class rather than a classless structure. In this, it is opposed to Carlin's interpretation of Leibniz's expansion of the Great Chain of Being, which sees individual distinctness and continuity of beings rather than strict class distinction and fusion on an individual level.

Taking these intersections of such opposing societal structures as aristocracy and democracy built on ideals of egalitarianism and social justice into consideration, the representation of animals as kings in American narratives might seem less paradoxical.

4. MAGNANIMALITY – METAPHORICAL AND LITERAL ANIMAL GREATNESS

As we are surrounded by animal representations (DeMello 2012), we are similarly accustomed to (yet mostly unaware of) animals being portrayed as aristocratic. Movies such as *The Aristocats* (1970), *Monkey Kingdom* (2015), *Empire of the Ants* (1977), *Kingdom of the Spiders* (1977), and *King Cobra* (1999) are only a few examples of metaphorical animal aristocracy. Greatness, metaphorical and/or literal, is commonly used to represent the "monstrous other" in horror movies (Malamud 2012, 75). Likewise, we are generically referring to the 'animal kingdom' to denote the wild that is inhabited by undomesticated animals. Furthermore, we structure animals on an arbitrarily constructed hierarchical scheme that ranks certain species, such as lions and eagles, in superior positions. These animals are not only predators, but are also wild and cannot be domesticated, making for poor pet material. Their status as predators puts them, not only metaphorically, high on the Great Chain of Being, but also literally on top of the food chain. Lions and eagles are exclusively connoted as male, just as the animals

analyzed in the four chosen texts in this paper are all masculine.

The representations of the majestic animals in the texts at hand function on a metaphorical, as well as on a literal level. Literally, Kong from the 1933 *King Kong* movie is a giant ape; Buck, from London's 1903 novella *The Call of the Wild*, is described as "larger than the largest of the breed" (London 1949, 99) while the eponymous protagonist in E.T. Seton's story *Lobo, the King of Currumpaw* is "a giant among wolves" (Seton 1977, 6). Solely Simba's physical appearance in the 1994 Disney film *The Lion King* is not commented on as extraordinary. However, seeing as Simba is surrounded by different, smaller species of animals (such as hornbill Zazu, meerkat Timon, warthog Pumbaa), he still appears as the leader in size.

On a metaphorical level, all animal characters are (repeatedly) referred to as kings; in the cases of Kong, Lobo and Simba even so in the very title of the work. Interestingly, the giant gorilla is only once explicitly denoted as king, whereas references to the animal characters' noble status abound in the remaining texts: Buck is called a "sated aristocrat" and "country gentleman" (London 1949, 24); Lobo a "fallen despot" (Seton 1977, 17), "tyrant" (Seton 1977, 18), "kingwolf" (Seton 1977, 19).

4.1 ARISTOCRATIC ANIMALS: ANTHROPOMORPHIZATION THROUGH ARISTOCRACY

The use of the king metaphor in *Lobo, the King of Currumpaw*, *The Call of the Wild*, *King Kong*, and *The Lion King* establishes the animal characters as protagonists of the respective texts, a role usually reserved for human figures. Specifically, the expositions of Seton's short story and London's novella highlight the extraordinary status of these animals, their positions as kings being a defining feature of their identities. *The Call of the Wild* even shifts the narrative perspective to the animal protagonist, having the reader experience the story from Buck's point of view. In contrast, Seton's narrative is told from the narrator's perspective with Lobo as a focalizer. However, the narrator figure projects feelings onto the king wolf throughout the text and occasionally even gives Lobo a voice: "Lobo took no part in the killing – after having thrown the victim, he seemed to say, 'Now, why could not some of you have done that at once without wasting so much time?'" (London 1949, 8), "'Blanca, Blanca!' he seemed to call." (London 1949, 16).

In contrast, Kong is, in his voicelessness, mostly anthropomorphized through his facial features and gestures. The native islanders treat him as a king, or even as a God, organizing elaborate performances in his honor and providing a ritual offering in the form of a woman. Kong's approach is marked by the beating of a drum, a practice similar to the one in feudal

systems. One defining element of anthropomorphization that both *King Kong* and *Lobo, the King of Currumpaw* share is their protagonists' capacity for love. The former even presents a case of interspecies attraction. In both texts, it is the animal figure's love for and loyalty to another creature that sets his downfall in motion. Jopi Nyman points to the underlying racial issues and establishes that Lobo represents a racialized Other, that "by desiring [white] Blanca, [Lobo] transgresses the boundaries of his racialized identity; for a grey [Mexican] wolf to desire whiteness is [...] considered inappropriate" (2004, 82). The same statements can be made about Kong and his desire for a white woman. What an effective tool of anthropomorphization human-like love is can be deduced from Dan Whitehead's poignant observation that audiences, despite the unambiguous representation of Kong as a monster, sympathized with the giant gorilla: "We feel for him, the big clumsy lug who can't articulate his feelings for the woman he adores" (2012, 161).

What Kong's likeable clumsiness does to firmly anthropomorphize him in the horror movie is achieved in the Disney film through Simba's childlike perspective: similar to a human child, he is naive and too trustworthy, easily excited and scared and too proud (of his status as future king). His guilt at his father's death and later uncertainty at the idea of becoming king further point to his humanity.

Similar human features can be found in Buck's loyalty to his master and Lobo's loyalty to Blanca. Andrew C. Isenberg even claims that "it is Lobo's humanity that finally dooms him" (2002, 51). Another possible interpretation is that the reason for Lobo's downfall is his liminal status as a 'loup-garou' – a werewolf. His sagacity and cunning that go beyond that of an ordinary animal as well as the mythical aura surrounding him point to his special status. Likewise, Kong being a gorilla may be read as being closer to man, as primates share most of their genes with humans: "That Cooper and his producer Ernest Schoedsack chose a gorilla says a lot about how relatable they wanted their monster to be" (Whitehead 2002, 160). Especially considering Kong's inability to speak, his human-like hands and eyes, his gestures and facial expressions play an important role in his anthropomorphization.

Another way in which these majestic figures transgress borders between human and animal is in their location between civilization and wilderness. Despite their humanlike features, it is their wildness that forms the basis of their autonomy and acts as an indicator of their survival or death, as the next subchapter will show.

4.2 THE NOBLE SAVAGE: WILDNESS, AUTHORITY, AND AUTONOMY

As mentioned earlier, animals appropriated for 'majestic metaphors' are typically undomesticated, male predators. This description fits all animal characters analyzed, save for Buck who is, at least at the beginning of the novella, a domestic dog. However, his atavistic² notions actually transform him into a wolf in the course of the story. Isenberg asserts that "Seton and London took the most 'savage' contemporary subjects for their work" (2002, 51). While Buck is thus following the call of the wild, moving from civilization to wilderness, this movement is reversed in *The Lion King*, *King Kong* and *Lobo, the King of Currumpaw*: Simba grows up in the unknown wild far from his pack, then returns to save his kingdom as an adult, while Lobo and Kong are captured and die in civilization. They become noble savages in a different sense of the word, with 'noble' connoting an aristocratic background. Judging from Buck's persistence and Kong's and Lobo's destruction, the notion of savagery and wildness is at the basis of aristocratic autonomy. Following Jacques Derrida's statement that "authority and autonomy [...] are [...] attributed to the man [...] rather than to the woman, and to the woman rather than the animal" (1991, 114), the autonomy and authority of majestic animals again point to these individual, male animal characters surpassing the established hierarchy, even transcending a being "naturally" more perfect in the understanding of the Great Chain of Being: the female human.

The authority of the characters in question is clearly marked through textual aesthetics: in *The Lion King*, the king and his family live above the other animals and present themselves (similar to royal families on balconies) on the ledge of Pride Rock, overlooking the kingdom and the other animals in the valley below (4:09). The other animals continually refer to Simba's father as "Your Majesty" and present themselves as loyal subjects. The assortment of animal figures present different strata, from the leading lions to the advisor figure Zazu (a hornbill) from whom a lion still would not take orders (10:10), down to the aggressive and inane hyenas. This structuring could be said to present an appropriation of the Great Chain of Being in its basic form, the different strata hardly interlinked; the only individual whose degree of perfection does not match his original level is Simba's corrupt uncle who usurps the throne. He can thus be seen as an example of differentiation within a stratum.

Similar to the animals in the valley bowing down to the lions on Pride Rock in *The Lion King* (4:09), the wolves in *The Call of the Wild* acknowledge Buck's preeminence: "They were awed, so still and large he stood" (London 1949, 106). The novella, then, comes full-circle on the

² The Oxford English Dictionary defines atavism as "recurrence of traits of an ancestor in a subsequent generation." In Buck's case, this refers to his wolf instincts, the wolf being the dog's direct ancestor.

notion of leadership/authority: while Buck had already been the "king over all creeping, crawling, flying things [...] humans included" (London 1949, 102) at the beginning, at the end of the novella "he may be seen running at the head of the pack through the pale moonlight [...], leaping gigantic above his fellows, his great throat a-bellow as he sings a song of the younger world" (London 1949, 108). Therefore, Buck establishes himself as the ultimate royal ruler, having developed from a king in civilization to a king in the wilderness. The following passage illustrates Leibniz's idea on the individual differences in degree of perfection leading to a nonrational being occupying a place above a rational creature: "He had killed man, the *noblest* game of all [...] They had died so easily. It was harder to kill a husky dog than them. They were no match at all, were it not for their arrows and spears and clubs" (London 1949, 105, my emphasis). In this manner, elevating the individual nonrational being above the rational becomes an aristocratic enterprise.

4.3 THE FATE OF FEUDAL ANIMALS

Whereas Jack London's *The Call of the Wild* as well as Disney's *The Lion King* present majestic animal figures surviving and even thriving in the wilderness, Ernest Thompson Seton's *Lobo, the King of Currumpaw* and Cooper and Schoedsack's *King Kong* see the animal protagonists perishing in civilization.

Lobo is not killed by humans, but dies of a broken heart, whereas Kong is shot while climbing New York's Empire State Building. The symbolism here is self-evident – the animal king, after abduction and subjugation at the hands of sensationalist filmmakers, climbs back to powerful status, threatening to make the 'empire' his. Worthy of note is that the sequel *King Kong* (1976) saw Kong climbing the World Trade Center instead of the Empire State Building (Whitehead 2012). These buildings symbolize aristocratic and economic power and are threatened by the invasion of the wild, the gigantic, the animal Other (also see *King Kong* 2005 and *Kong: Skull Island* 2017 for comparison).

Buck's survival and Kong's and Lobo's deaths clearly point to the interpretation that the notions of aristocracy and freedom/autonomy are inextricably linked in the establishment of 'majestic metaphors': an unfree, captured king is, it seems, no king at all. Having established himself as the ultimate king of his natural kingdom by defeating T-Rex, Kong is killed in the human sphere of the city. What can be deducted is that the ordering according to the Great Chain of Being does not transpose into the human sphere without threatening existing human-human societal structures.

5. CONCLUSION

The present paper has examined the representations of 'majestic animals' in four generically and historically different American texts using the pre-Enlightenment concept of the Great Chain of Being. In one of its interpretations by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, stressing continuity and interlinks between the hierarchical strata, it allows for a tentative bridging of the human-animal gap, at least on an individual level.

The examined literary and cinematic texts provided these individual cases that proved that the representation of animals as kings on a literal and metaphorical level may be seen as elevating the animal above rational creatures and providing continuity within strata.

These 'majestic metaphors' can thus not only be seen as an efficient means of anthropomorphization; they provide insight into not only human-animal, but human-human power structures as well. Although the power inequalities at the basis of all classifying cannot be completely neglected, due to its limited scope, this paper abstains from wider ideological interpretations unmasking human-human power relations. However, as Leibniz's expansion of the original concept of the Great Chain of Being under consideration of American national narratives and concepts of nobility and aristocracy has shown, a modification of long-established dichotomies seems possible.

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VISUAL MEDIA

The Aristocats. 1970. Directed by Wolfgang Reitherman. Performances by Phil Harris (voice), Eva Gabor (voice), Sterling Holloway (voice). Disney.

Empire of the Ants. 1977. Directed by Bert I. Gordon. Performances by Joan Collins, Robert Lansing, John David Carson. American International Pictures.

Kingdom of the Spiders. 1977. Directed by William Girdler. Performances by William Shatner, Tiffany Bolling, Woody Strode. Dimension Pictures.

King Cobra. 1999. Directed by David Hillenbrand, Scott Hillenbrand. Performances by Pat Morita, Scott Hillenbrand, Casey Fallo. United Artists.

King Kong. 1933. Directed by Merian C. Cooper, Ernest B. Schoedsack. Performances by Fay Wray, Robert Armstrong, Bruce Cabot. Radio Pictures.

King Kong. 1976. Directed by John Guillermin. Performances by Jeff Bridges, Charles Grodin, Jessica Lange. Paramount Pictures.

King Kong. 2005. Directed by Peter Jackson. Performances by Naomi Watts, Adrien Brody, Jack Black. Universal Pictures.

Kong: Skull Island. 2017. Directed by Jordan Vogt-Roberts. Performances by Tom Hiddleston, Samuel L. Jackson, Brie Larson. Warner Brothers.

The Lion King. 1994. Directed by Roger Allers, Rob Minkoff. Performances by Matthew Broderick (voice), Jonathan Taylor Thomas (voice), James Earl Jones (voice). Disney.

Monkey Kingdom. 2015. Directed by Mark Linfield, Alastair Fothergill. Performance by Tina Fey (voice). Disney.

09

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**Journey Across the
Communist Past of Albania
through the Lens of American
Drama on Stage (1960-1990)**

Journey Across the Communist Past of Albania through the Lens of American Drama on Stage (1960-1990)

The article aims to trace how *Orpheus Descending* written by Tennessee Williams, *The Crucible* written by Arthur Miller and *The Little Foxes* written by Lillian Hellman were received on the Albanian stage from the 1960s to the 1980s. Trying to establish a critical eye on the Albanian audience in relation to the American way of life and capitalism, these plays were performed to strengthen communist propaganda through theatrical performances. The paper will explore the ways how these dramas were twisted and transformed in order to achieve the main goal: raising proper citizens with communist principles. For the purpose of my analysis, I will rely on historical approach and different reception theories.

KEYWORDS

drama, American dream, capitalism, propaganda tool, communism, cultural translation, reception

"After enduring extreme sufferings under the most tyrannical communist rule in all Eastern Europe, and after being isolated and self-isolated from the rest of the world for nearly fifty years, the Albanians feel an urgent need to forget the dreary past, to do away with it as with a nightmare" (Kadija 1994, 1). In the reflection of scholar Refik Kadija on Albania considering the past, it is evident the importance of the historical and political background in the establishment of solid self-confidence as a nation confronting the world. Examining the past and its impact on the present, it is essential to understand and heal the wounds that a totalitarian regime has left to the country. In my attempt to shed light on some untold truths on the traces of American drama on the Albanian stage, I will concentrate on objective facts and analysis of materials remaining from the communist regime which could help in the creation of Albanian cultural consciousness represented in the eyes of a wider audience. Despite the long delay in staging American drama on the Albanian stage compared to the other Balkan countries during the communist regime, Albania followed the same path like them in terms of artistic choices.

In this paper, I will focus on three Albanian productions of American drama, *Orpheus Descending* written by Tennessee Williams, staged in Albania in 1973, *The Crucible* written by Arthur Miller and staged in 1988, and *The Little Foxes* written by Lillian Hellman and staged only in 1989. The current article sheds light on the representation of America during the last century, the twist a political regime makes in the interpretations of the realities as well as the Albanian perceptions behind these images. Through analyzing critical points of view surrounding the performances of American drama on the Albanian stage, I will explore issues of cultural translatability in the target culture. The production of the above-mentioned plays renders a good basis for the analysis of appropriation strategies in cultural translation, raising thought-provoking questions: To what extent the values manifested in the characters of *The Little Foxes*, such as competitiveness, entrepreneurship, individualism, work ethic, greediness, etc., impacted the values of the Albanian audience in times of a falling regime? What were the major transformations in *The Crucible* in terms of cultural translation and why? What did the political anonymous critics try to imply by banning *Orpheus Descending* immediately after its first appearance on the Albanian stage?

For the purpose of my analysis, I will rely on historical and ideological factors that caused the immediate omission of *Orpheus Descending* in 1973 from the Albanian theater repertoire. Regarding

the staging of *The Crucible*, the concept of the narrow neck¹ in Patrice Pavis's Hourglass of Culture mirrors the extremely selective transformative process of the play. And lastly, for the analysis of *The Little Foxes*, I will focus on pre-performance guiding lines on the staging of this play so late, for the first time, after it had already reached all the other countries of the eastern front. Taking into account the definition of paratext introduced by Gerard Genette, I will analyze how pre-performing guiding lines were used to induce relatively transformed meaning in *The Little Foxes* in Albania. As Gerard Genette states in the definition of paratext, "paratext is an "undefined zone" between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side" (Genette 1997, 2). This "undefined zone" has helped the translator and the director of *The Little Foxes* in establishing a critical eye on the source culture transposing it to the target culture.

2. HISTORICAL APPROACH: AMERICAN DRAMA ON THE ALBANIAN STAGE UNDER COMMUNISM

In order to better understand the first staging of American drama on the Albanian theater, it is necessary to look at the history, the traditions and the politics, especially during those 50 years of communism. "The creation and the functioning of a professional theater in Albania was in line with the totalitarian regime" (Papagjoni 2011, 378). Theater arousal in Albania came quite late in comparison to its neighbor countries. It was only in 1944 that it officially began to operate as an institution. Clearly, it corresponded with the birth and development of the communist state and it came as a need to propagate the audience with party ideology becoming subject to extreme censorship and control, which often resulted in the decline of quality performance. According to Elin Diamond "performances may be seen as cultural practices that conservatively reestablish or passionately reinvent the ideas, symbols, and gestures that shape social life. Such reinventions are negotiations with regimes of power, be they proscriptive conventions of gender and bodily display or racist conventions sanctioned by state power." (Diamond 1996, 67). Such processes of reinventions and negotiations with the regime of power were happening in the Albanian context of communism in the theatrical representation of American plays.

In the 1950s, theater in Albania was filled by plays written by Soviet

¹ As Pavis states, "in the upper bowl of the hourglass, there is the foreign culture, which is more or less codified and solidified in diverse anthropological, sociological or artistic modelizations", and "this culture needs to pass through a narrow neck to reach the target culture" (Pavis 1992).

Union authors preaching ideology, fake idealism, leaving aside the rest of the world, especially the western world. During the 1960s, a gradual reduction of theatrical masterpieces was noticed, with national plays being the only repertoire. "A silent conflict was happening between the State and theater artists, represented in the plays of anti-conformist and dissident artists" (Stefanova 2000, 11). The only trace of American drama during this decade, was *A View from the Bridge*, staged by Pirro Mani in Korça Theater in 1962. No evidence of the play was found in the later years until the collapse of communism. During the 1970s, the gloomy and tough nature of party orders led to detachment from almost all world literature masterpieces. Extreme politicization of plots and punishment of the so-called "modernist" artists was constantly happening. After the death of the dictator, Enver Hoxha, in 1985, American drama reappeared with the staging of *Death of a Salesman* in 1986 by the National Theater. The communist party perceived the American Dream as a threat towards Albanian citizens. Was it because the citizens could have been too much attracted to "the American way of life" if they became aware of the vast opportunities and the freedom that this country offers to every single individual? Perhaps, this was the major fear of the communists, the escape of people's attention in search of the pursuit of happiness elsewhere.

3. ORPHEUS DESCENDING AND THE DEEP IDEOLOGICAL "FROST" IN 1970S' ALBANIA

Orpheus Descending made its way to the Soviet Union first and then to Bulgaria in the same year, 1961, and finally it reached Albania in 1973 at the National Theater in Tirana, under the direction of Mihail Luarasi. According to the observations of scholar Kornelia Slavova, on the early performances of this play in Bulgaria, "The choice of this particular play was not accidental: the Bulgarian premiere took place right after the 1961 Soviet premiere at the Moscow Theatre" (Slavova 2015, 238). Consequently, the Albanian theater attempted to stage the play, following the example of Soviet Union and Bulgaria, despite the delay. The question that raises here is: Why exactly this play by Tennessee Williams? Williams was not a preferred author of communist propaganda for two reasons: because his creativity diverged from socialist realism and because he was way too much liberal for the communist principles, and yet he "touched" the Albanian stage, but "by stepping on a solid ground", through a play previously considered by the other former communist countries. Nevertheless, based on previous observations by scholar Refik Kadija, "in 1973, the ideological "thaw" was followed by a deep frost, the liberal "intermezzo" was swept over by one of the most hardline conventions of the communist party, the notorious Fourth Plenum of May 1973. This Party Plenum was a serious setback in the history of Albanian culture"

(Kadija 1994, 9). The staging of *Orpheus Descending* corresponds to this historical moment when Albania had already split ties with Soviet Union and had strengthened relations with China. Switching political ties from one communist country to the other had left its footprint even on the cultural development of the country.

Based on post-performing guiding lines, the scenic materialization, created by Ali Oseku, was considered formalist and censured because he was supposedly impoverishing the stage by adding unnecessary elements onto it. According to the anonymous critics, the stage was overloaded with symbols that the censors referred to as unspecified and hermetic (e.g. a symbol of the Ku Klux Klan, black and white symbols, sculptures as self-expression, placing decorations in two floors of the stage). The play was not affirming "the optimism" in Albania by proposing a rather open interpretation. Scholar Josif Papagjoni, in his book *History of Albanian Theater* states: "In June 1973, the IV Official Meeting of Party Members in the Central Committee – for cases of high importance – was gathered to strongly attack all the tendencies of "modernist structure", calling them "foreign influences" and "representation of decadent art". (Papagjoni 2005, 251). Theater-makers were stopped by feelings of fear caused by censure and punishment for freely expressing their artistic creativity. The aggressive methods of socialist realism were created by Enver Hoxha, the dictator himself, in order to avoid deviation from the totalitarian ideology in the future. In his book *Teatri Kombëtar në Udhëkryq*, the director Mihail Luarasi implies that *Orpheus Descending* was his fifth banned staging. According to the director Luarasi, "theater was observed and followed ceaselessly, constantly under the magnifying lens of the totalitarian regime that opened investigations because of "the dangerous" hidden meanings of words used that threatened dictatorship" (Luarasi 2003, 89-90). He also genuinely explains that "the perverted mind of the dictator worked in every way to stop performances of high artistic quality because he knew that powerful anti-dictatorship meanings were hidden behind them" (Luarasi 2003, 90). As a consequence, theater became the most censored form of art in Albania during that historical period of time.

4. RESISTANT PERFORMANCE: STAGING *THE CRUCIBLE* IN ALBANIA IN THE 1980S

The Crucible was first performed on Broadway in January 1953. It was inspired by the social and political climate in the United States during the 1950s. "The central issue of the play is represented by the Salem witch trials that took place in the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1692" (Miller 1953, 2). Before reaching the Albanian stage, it became part of several other stages of the Eastern communist front. "It was translated in Russian

in 1955 and staged in 1962 by the Moscow Stanislavsky Theater" (Romijn, Scott-Smith, Segal 2012, 24). "It was recommended by Arthur Miller to Huang Zuolin, director of Shanghai People's Art in 1981" (Wenquan, Li, Qinjuan 2015, 4). I mentioned the two stages of Moscow and Shanghai because of the political influence that they had on the other communist countries following the same ideology. At that moment in time, Albania was in good diplomatic relations with China and it had just interrupted relations with Soviet Union. Despite the political circumstances, Albania was following the same line with them in terms of theatrical propaganda. Consequently, *The Crucible* came in Albania by 1973, translated by Enver Fiço, but it remained on paper for another decade until the late 1980s when it finally became part of the theater repertoire. It came in 1988 in Bylis Theater, located in a small city in Albania called Fier. One question that raises in this case is: Why it was staged so late in comparison to the other major communist countries? What did the Albanian National Theater fear from *The Crucible*? The explanation: Albania was experiencing a sort of "capitalist" hysteria that stopped its connection with the American plays even at the level of theatrical performances. It was a fear, a fear of losing control over the people if exposing them more than it should to the world. It was pure political "dogma" that had frozen the country's inspiration and openness to the world.

Recalling "the narrow neck" mentioned by Patrice Pavis in his *Hourglass of Culture*, I have studied the modifications, twists and adaptations of the translation and the performance in the target language. For the purpose of my analysis, I have created groups of words and phrases that were subject to modifications. For instance, the first group contains religious expressions. *The Crucible* is a play based on the hysteria created by witchcraft disturbing the Christian life of Salem's people recalling the communist hysteria during McCarthyism in the 1950s in the United States. In the Albanian version of the play, many phrases containing religious elements are transposed, like: "While I speak God's law, I will not crack its voice with whimpering" (Miller 1953, 77) which in Albanian was transformed in "Gjersa të jem unë këtu për të vënë në zbatim ligjin e Zotit, nuk do të ketë as më të voglin lëshim nga ana ime" (Fiço 1973, 150). In the target language, this phrase corresponds in meaning with the source language. No major distortion was done. Nevertheless, in the performance of the play, this phrase was omitted. The reason of this omission was done in order to decrease the use of religious expressions. Another use of the religious terms can be observed in words like: "psalm", "prayer" and "Gospel". These three words are translated in the target culture but they are not used during the performance throughout the play. In a careful observation of the performance of *The Crucible* in Albanian, I was able to identify omissions in terms of religious life. The reason for these changes stands in the unfamiliarity of the target culture with terms of the Bible and

Christianity during communism. It is important to mention the absence of religious practices by law in Albania from the 1960s till the beginnings of the 1990s.

Another group of words that was subject to the "narrow neck" and the adaptation in the target language contains "the obscene words". An example is: "I'd not call it sick; the Devil's touch is heavier than sick." (Miller 1953, 17), which in Albanian is translated into: "Nuk e quaj të sëmurë. Mirë të themi, djalli që u ngrin gjakun akull dhe ua bën trutë t'u ziejnë." (Fiço 1973, 24). Based on my observations, words like "hell", "devil", "witchcraft", are present in the translation of the play and they are used more often than the terms specified in the first group. The explanation for this fact stands in the tendency to show the play as a punishment in the eyes of the audience. What the stage directors chose to show was the part of the judgement, the doom, the terror, the court sentences, the horrifying experience of witchcraft hysteria. As a consequence, the terms reflecting faith were drastically reduced in the performance. Major changes are present in the end of the First Act where the translator has found a solution in substituting the last words of the characters: "Betty: I saw Goody Bibber with the Devil!; Abigail: I saw Goody Booth with the Devil!" (Miller 1953, 48). The adaptation in the target language is recreated using a totally different structure, as shown below: "Heill: Me ndihmën e Zotit! Perrisi: O Zot i ushtrive! O Zot i ahmarjes! Na ndriço, tregona ata që ka fshehur satanai midis nesh! Ati ynë që je në qiell. U shenjtëroftë emri yt, ardhhtë mbretëria jote, u bëftë dëshira jote si në qiell ashtu edhe mbi dhe...Amin" (Fiço 1973, 61).

In the Albanian version, the author has tried to adopt the original in a different way, transforming the play totally. He adopted the words of Parris in a prayer to God in search of the truth for the witchcraft that had emerged in Salem. As we can observe, the characters have changed, the phrases have changed, the meaning is totally transformed and the original version is lost. The source culture is shown through a different lens. Another group of adaptations contains the representation of women and the supremacy of men in the source culture considering the time and the space of staging the play. Terms that show violence towards the servants, towards Abigail and Tituba are preserved in the target language transposing the source culture without filtering the essential meaning. Tituba, as the black servant, is performed by a white actress covered in black face. The choice justifies the tendency of propaganda to criticize the American mentality. All these elements are shown as a counter-response to the American society. Another element specified regarding the adaptation of the play is the title of the play "The Crucible" which was adapted as "Shtrigat e Salemit" or "Witches of Salem" in the target language following the translation of Sartre in a French-German adaptation in 1957 "*Les Sorcières de Salem*" (Sartre 1957), and recaptured even by the Albanian translator.

Despite the harsh isolationism of Albania, this play entered the stage late in time compared to the other ex-communist countries bringing partially the American culture approaching it from a critical point of view.

5. THE LITTLE FOXES: THE FORGOTTEN PLAY IN ALBANIA BY THE END OF THE 1980S

The Little Foxes was first staged in Albania in 1989 with a major delay from its first staging on Broadway in February 1939, running more than thirty performances. Its first appearance on the Albanian stage was rendered in Skampa Theater in the city of Elbasan, directed by Spiro Duni. First reaching Soviet Union in the 1940s, Bulgaria and former Yugoslavia in the 1950s and lastly, Albania in the 1980s. *The Little Foxes* remains a masterpiece or a diamond covered by the dust of years waiting to shine again on the Albanian stage. The play's main character is Regina Hubbard Giddens, who fights for wealth and freedom considering the difficulties during the early 20th-century society where the legal heirs of family wealth were sons instead of daughters. The director, Spiro Duni, in the pre-performance guiding lines specifies that his biggest challenge in staging *The Little Foxes* was finding the best actor to interpret Regina. He considered Regina as "The Lady Macbeth of the XX Century" (Duni 1989, 1). Initially, in the pre-performance guiding lines, it is introduced the author, Lillian Hellman, almost not known to the Albanian audience. The next section of the pre-performance guiding lines gives an insight on her "Language and Style of Writing". Her major themes related to the reality of the United States since the beginning of the last century, criticizing the bourgeois society and the gap that existed between North and South America in terms of class division were purposely mentioned as a counter-response to capitalism. Another part describes the scene, the setting and some details on each character emphasizing their greediness. Special importance was given to the servants, Addie and Cal, trying to show the extreme poverty characterizing society in the United States in the eyes of the Albanian audience.

The title *The Little Foxes* was translated as "Nepërkat" in Albanian, which means "asp serpent", deforming the originality of Hellman". The title makes reference to Chapter 2, Verse 15 in *The Song of Solomon* in the King James' version of the Bible: "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines: for our vines have tender grapes." Albania is the only country in the world declared atheist by law from the 1960s to the end of the 1980s. The biblical allusions, quotations and connotations could not be mentioned. "Nepërkat" or "asp serpent" represents a very dangerous reptile that can fatally attack humans by poisoning them which could lead to death. This is the literal meaning of the word in Albanian, personified in the character of Regina and her two brothers who are blinded by their feelings of greed.

It is staged as a Machiavellian play with the aim of showing that these characters are ready to do whatever it takes to become powerful and rich. Another example of the avoidance of biblical allusions can be found in former Yugoslavia, more precisely in Slovenia. On April 23rd, 1949 the Sentjakobsko Theatre in Ljubljana presented the play under the direction of Milan Petrovic, which represents the first staging of *The Little Foxes* in former Yugoslavia (Slunjski 2002, 29-43). The word "kobilice" is translated as "grasshopper" in English. Based on a Cambridge Dictionary definition a "grasshopper" is a large insect with long back legs that can jump very high and makes a sharp, high noise using its back legs or wings. In both cases, Albanian and Slovenian, the phrase "the little foxes" was avoided, perhaps to find a better adaptation in the target cultures, diverging the meaning of the source culture used as a biblical allusion.

6. CONCLUSION

In Albania, during the Cold War, American drama was mainly staged for propaganda purposes and appropriated for moralizing purposes. The 1950s correspond to the foundation of the Albanian Theater as an institution. After giving a purpose and a direction to the national theater, a relatively small number of performances based on American drama were completed. A major American name presented on the Albanian stage during communism was Arthur Miller with *A View from the Bridge* (1962), and later on with *Death of a Salesman* (1986), *All My Sons* (1987) and *The Crucible* (1989). Tennessee Williams represents another major figure who was unfortunately not welcomed in the theater of propaganda in Albania, even though he has later been awarded a wide reception. His play *Orpheus Descending* (1973) became subject to a strict censure, and was banned after the first performance. Although very close to the collapse of communism, *The Little Foxes* was staged in Albania in 1989 and it was well-accepted. Due to the nature of the Albanian totalitarian regime, these major plays were treated almost the same way, bringing out the same moralizing values to speak louder to the audience for the security and trustworthiness of the totalitarian regime. The last decade represents a more "liberal" period. There were significant modifications in all the plays, as well as disruptive, provocative and stimulating effects that brought substantial change in the Albanian context. Helplessness and despair were a sign of bad political leadership, usually identified with capitalism, in opposition to communism that gave security and trustworthiness to the citizens. There was an excessively enforced socialist optimism and strict control over pre/post-performance reviews by theater critics who acted as inspectors of the ideology.

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**Monstrous Appearance and the
Element of Unknown: A Parallel
Reading of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein*
and Contemporary Media Narratives
on Migrant Crisis in Europe**

Monstrous Appearance and the Element of Unknown: A Parallel Reading of Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* and Contemporary Media Narratives on Migrant Crisis in Europe

As one of the most prominent novels of the Gothic period, Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* is mostly remembered by its titular character. Set after the French Revolution, the titular character of *Frankenstein* represents a new kind of man, one that will rise from the poor and uneducated background and become a full member of society. However, his menacing and eerie appearance, albeit in stark contrast to his kind and gentle personality, deters people and results in his search for love and acceptance, and makes this transgression rather difficult. Through *Frankenstein*, a creature so different from other members of society, Shelley expressed her fear of the then-modern ideas embraced by the French Revolution, mainly the rise of lower classes of society, which were often perceived as inhuman, violent and inherently dangerous. In this paper, I will show that *Frankenstein* is intentionally portrayed as a dangerous member of society and that the notion of monstrosity that is applied in the novel has its modern-day equivalent in the recent migrations to Europe from the East.

KEYWORDS

monstrosity, unknown, migrants, media, the other

1. INTRODUCTION

Mary Shelley's 1818 novel *Frankenstein* is one of the most prominent Gothic novels and is today most remembered for the character who is often called Frankenstein, but in the novel it is unnamed. This refers to the creature that Victor Frankenstein created as a result of his experiment and belief that people can be immortal. Anyone who has read the novel or has seen one of its numerous movie adaptations will remember the physical appearance of the creature. Its huge body, veins sticking through the skin and numerous stitches across the body all offer an eerie, scary contrast to his kind and gentle personality. With the novel being set in the period right after the French revolution, the creature can be characterized as the new kind of man that was being born in that period, rising from the uneducated, poor background to become a member of society. But unlike normal people who made this transgression relatively easily, the creature's main obstacle is its appearance, which deters people and results in its search for love and acceptance. Following from that, this essay will attempt to show that by creating such a creature that differentiates itself from the 'normal' society, Mary Shelly was expressing her fear of the then-modern ideas that were being embraced by the French revolution, mainly the rise of lower classes of society, which were often perceived as inhuman, violent and inherently dangerous. The goal is to show that the creature is intentionally portrayed as a dangerous member of society and that the notion of monstrosity applied in the novel has its modern-day equivalent in the recent migrations from the East, which are flooding Europe.

2. A NEW KIND OF MAN

As stated before, the key notion that created the effect of monstrosity in this novel is the French revolution and the birth of a new kind of man. The French Revolution was the event that changed the world of the time and steered the course of humanity towards what it is today. By affecting primarily the lower classes and granting them the natural rights of man, which were proclaimed in *The Declaration on the Rights of Man and Citizen*, it brought upon a change not only on the political scale, but more importantly on a cultural and social level. It made possible for an ordinary peasant to climb the social ladder primarily because of his education and hard work, which meant that the traditional structure of society would change. This also meant that the upper classes of society were no longer reserved to people because of their hereditary title or the fact that they were born into a noble family. When we add to that the rising notion of the reading public and the widespread presence of books that appeared in that time, we can agree with Heller (1999), a literary critic, that the novel "focuses on the problematic influence of experience – both

social and literary – on those vulnerable, unstable groups around whom cluster cultural concerns about education and reading.” The rise of the lower classes brought upon many changes to the up-to-then established societal structure as more and more poor villagers were coming to the cities to work in factories, but many of them were not able to find jobs due to machines that were substituting human labor in factories because of industrialization. This is why some literary critics argue that *Frankenstein* can be read in view of Luddite uprisings, which were happening in England during the 1810s (see O’Flinn 1983; Gardner 1994). At the time of such unrest, some conservative journals used images of “grave robbing, reviving the dead, and monsters who turn on their creators and destroy them, to warn of the dangers of liberal reform” (Gardner 1994, 72). Gardner also argues that the creature is similar to the Luddites as it believed that its master (in case of the Luddites it was the government) had the responsibility of providing for it, and if that was not upheld, then a rebellion could occur. The same occurs in *Frankenstein* as we observe the creature rebelling against its master when he refused to create a female companion so the creature could procreate.

The problem was that despite the ability to succeed in their life and the new changes in laws, the lower classes portrayed in the novel by the creature are still unaccepted by the rest of society. This is because changes in people’s views and mentality simply cannot transform and adapt as fast as laws, meaning that society still refused to accept ‘the third class’ citizens as equal. That can be seen in the novel in scenes where the creature is, despite its knowledge and experience, still seen as less worthy than Victor, even though they are more similar than different. The creature, even though it is poor and homeless, manages to educate itself on the books he could find, Goethe’s *Sorrows of Werther*, Plutarch’s *Lives*, and Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, from which it manages to draw the knowledge it needs to understand the fact that what it reads in the books does not portray the real picture of the world. According to Heller (1999), “it is the gap between the ideal offered by this reading, and the reality that he confronts, that precipitates the monster’s crisis of identity and values.” The result of this crisis of identity is the anguish felt by the creature, as it cannot be accepted into society, which furthers the notion of monstrosity associated with it as it is portrayed as a social outcast banned from the rest of society. The very same thing occurs with the lower classes of society as they finally want to be accepted as inherent members of society, as is their right now, but they are still being looked down upon and taken advantage of, which leads them to essentially very similar path as that of the creature, a path of violent acts and destruction. In its destruction path, the creature focuses its anger on the most innocent of characters, which draws a parallel with the French revolution in which many innocent people were killed (Scribano 2015). Due to this, we have a perpetual circular motion of

discrimination as society uses violent nature of the lower classes as an excuse not to accept them as equal, which leads to destruction or violent acts by the lower classes. It is this ever-repeating cycle of discrimination out of which it is almost impossible to escape that fuels the creature's aggression and adds to its notion of monstrosity. However, unlike the rest of the people, the creature also suffers from physical deformations that make it harder for it to become a member of the middle-class society in which it desperately wants to be accepted. It is precisely the physical appearance that makes the creature stand out from the rest of the society and makes it easily identifiable. By being physically different from the rest of the society, it is immediately seen as a subject of suspicion whose presence and role in society should be questioned. This has an impact on both the creature and the society as both feel fear of what might happen, the society fears 'the stranger' and questions its motives, while the creature poses as a possible threat to the uniform fabric of society, which might disrupt their way of life.

3. THE MONSTROUS

The monstrosity ascribed to the creature does not only stem from its aggression and violent acts. From the first description of the creature, we are given the sense that even the creature's creator, Victor, is scared of what he created. Even though Shelley states that "his limbs were in proportion, and I [Victor] had selected his features as beautiful", we are soon given the real grim picture that "only formed a more horrid contrast with his watery eyes, (...) his shriveled complexion and straight black lips" (Shelley 1818, Chapter 5). Despite the fact that Victor succeeded in his experiment and successfully finished it, the first moment he sees "the wretch – the miserable monster" (Shelley 1818, Chapter 5) he created, he becomes frightened and runs away. The monstrosity of the creature's appearance is not so highly perceptive in the novel, as it is in the movie adaptations, especially the most famous one, Boris Karloff's portrayal of Frankenstein in the 1931 movie directed by James Whale. In the movie, it is not only the physical appearance that adds to the monstrosity, but also the way the creature is created. In the novel, the whole process is very mysterious, there are very little clues, except that Victor "dabbled among the unhallowed damps of the grave or tortured the living animal to animate the lifeless clay" (Shelley 1818, Chapter 4). We are basically left with a very obscure perception of how the entire process of creating the creature was achieved and because of that the creature, as a character, feels unfinished. In the novel, the creature's monstrosity is often associated with its aggression, which is "a by-product of disintegration, not an innate drive that has been cathartically unbound" (Sherwin 1981, 890). However, in the movie, the creature's monstrosity is not only the result of its creation,

but also the way it had been created, so Montag (2000, 388) argues that “...the monster is a product rather than a creation, assembled and joined together not so much by a man as by science, technology, and industry.” In the novel, there is no indication of how the creature was assembled or where from Victor got the needed material, while in the movie the notion of monstrosity can be perceived as being the result of using body parts of criminals who were hanged for their crimes. Shelley's intention to show that human nature and emotions are a result of complex social interactions gets diminished in the movie adaptation, where the focus is set on how the creature was assembled, not how it interacted with other people. By doing that, the movie adaptations send a stronger image than the novel itself, that evilness is inherent in some people and that they cannot fight it, they just have to suffer, just like the creature is doing throughout the novel. Even though the creature desperately tries to be accepted into the society, people cannot look over its physical appearance and that is one of the motives that are relevant even today. People tend to be afraid of the unknown, of something different, which the creature certainly is, as it looks so different from ordinary people. The creature simply represents an entity that is “dreadfully wronged by a society which cannot see the inner man for the outer form” (Malchow 1993, 105). Yet, people cannot look beside its physical appearance and accept it for its kindness and benevolent acts, from helping the De Lacey family survive the winter to saving the little girl from being drowned. It is precisely these acts that give the creature a sympathetic undertone and make it more ‘human,’ despite the fact that there is no need to dehumanize it. Moreover, Baldick (1990, 45) argues that “the decision to give the monster an articulate voice is Mary Shelley's most important subversion of the category of monstrosity.” By giving the creature a voice, the readers can more easily connect with it and see its true colours, while in most of the movie adaptations the creature is represented as a violent mute who cannot form a sentence, but simply grunts and produces incoherent sounds. By portraying it as a character who cannot even express its opinions, movie adaptations further alienate it from society, as he is essentially a scary, large creature who terrifies people by its sheer appearance. The creature is human; it is just not seen as a member of society because it differentiates itself from others, solely on physical characteristics.

4. THE OTHER AND THE UNKNOWN

The idea that we should fear something because it is different from us is normal and present in all of us. It is natural to be scared in unfamiliar surroundings and situations, but we should not project this when interacting with other people. Today, this idea may be taken less seriously as at the time when Shelley was writing the novel. The late 1700s

and early 1800s were the prime time of the European colonization of the world. When coming into contact with the natives of the newly discovered lands, Europeans often saw their way of living as barbaric, primitive and very backward compared to the European lifestyle, which resulted in the feeling that the European culture was more advanced than others. Following that, the concept of 'otherness' appeared in order to express the notion of an entity that is different from your own identity and often seen as less worthy. In the novel, the concept can be most applied to the creature, which not only differentiates itself due to its ghastly physique, but also because of its unnatural creation. It is "a species unto himself, an impossible system of one term, he can have meaning for us but can achieve no self-distinction" (Lew 1991, 274). To remove that self-distinction, the creature wants Victor to create a female companion for it so it could feel loved and also to procreate. According to Hogle (1980, 41), the concept of 'otherness' in the novel is connected with Freud's *Unheimlich*:

First he is created in a "primal scene" of multiple repetitions that exposes its ground as fragments of death at every turn. After that, he differs from people as they are thought to be while resembling them as products of a symbolic order, and so is held at a distance by acts of repression and names that are not specific. (...) He beckons his observers and himself, in fact, toward the prospect they most fear: a vision of man effaced by his own fabrications and forced to accept continual displacement, a Nietzschean energy of repetition that kills, as the only basis of a selfhood that will never be fully.

The notion of otherness is the underlying motif that spurred the creature on its rampage to harm Victor by killing everybody he loved, because Victor never fulfilled his promise of creating a suitable female companion for the creature, which would remove the stigma of loneliness and depression that surrounded the creature's life. By refusing to create a female companion for the creature, Victor essentially sealed his own fate as that was the breaking point for the creature. Not having someone with whom the creature could connect on a deeper, emotional level is the main problem according to Lew (1991, 272) who claims that "the creature has no Other, no one to define 'it' self against or to rival." By being left alone in the world, the creature starts to resent other people, especially Victor, which later turns into hatred that leads it to act on its evil plan of killing everybody Victor loves.

Closely linked with the concept of otherness is also the concept of orientalism, which is also present in the novel in many ways, but one of them is connected to the creature. Its yellow skin and dark hair, alongside its huge physique, can be connected to the Bengali people as Lew (1991)

notes, but precisely because of its physical characteristics the creature is not accepted in the society. According to Malchow (1993), the creature is the embodiment of the way negroes were represented at the time Shelley was writing the novel, as strong, able to survive very harsh environments on little food, and possessing great strength and inherent rage and hate. At the time when the novel was being written, the colonized lands and their people were seen as less worthy than Europeans and this translates into the novel as well. By describing the creature in a way that can connect it with the colonized nations instead of the colonizers, Mary Shelley was further alienating the creature as the colonizers used to dictate the norm and rules of the society.

5. THE FOREIGN AND THE MEDIA

The notion of otherness can be applied even today, over 200 years after the time of the action in the novel, but in a different way. People still have prejudices towards foreigners, especially because they bring with them their own culture and many of them refuse to assimilate into the customs of the new country. The sense of belonging to their 'old' community is the reason many migrants refuse to abandon their cultural beliefs, but because of that, the sense of differentiation between migrants and native people deepens even more. However, migrants experience exactly the same problem as the creature in the novel, they simply stand out either because of their physical appearance or their cultural or religious beliefs. They, like Frankenstein, seek to be accepted into society but they are often met with distrust, fear and hate. It is not only their beliefs or physical appearance that make it harder for them to be accepted, but also the way they are often portrayed in mass media or pop culture. In many movie adaptations, Frankenstein was portrayed as a big, scary character, but one who had a kind heart and genuinely tried to help people. The very opposite portrayal is often attached to migrants today as mass media tends to portray them as aggressive and violent, often showing pictures of them destroying or burning buildings and reporting on the crimes they committed. This was evident during the European migrant crisis in 2015 and 2016. According to a report done by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees regarding the press coverage of the refugee and migrant crisis, only few articles focused on the cultural or economic benefits that asylum seekers and migrants could bring to host countries. Also, the report concluded that there were very few articles that focused on the push factors which forced the migration flows such as wars, human rights abuses or economic inequality. This is not surprising since the traditional media often cast as an issue of national security, preserving law and order etc. (Suro 2011). By focusing only on the negative aspects of the crisis, the notion of monstrosity that was

associated with Frankenstein is now ascribed to migrants. Many media outlets focused on showcasing the destruction often left behind by the migrants, but did not report on the reasons behind their leaving their home country and deciding to embark on a dangerous and, unfortunately for some of them, deadly path. It is important to note that this kind of selective reporting has serious drawbacks as it sets a trend in today's popular culture, a trend of portraying migrants in movies and series often in roles that include some criminal activity. This is very important because today media has a massive impact on public opinions and this kind of selective reporting sets a dangerous precedent for future reporting on such issues. Unlike the creature in *Frankenstein*, which has a voice in order to subvert its monstrosity and to give it a more human note, migrants are often not given the same opportunity. The Opportunity Agenda, a non-profit social justice communication lab, analysed storylines that dealt with immigration in popular television programs from 2014 to 2016 and in its 2017 report revealed the findings that 50% of Latino immigrant characters, 33% of all black immigrants and a quarter of Middle-Eastern immigrants were represented committing an unlawful act. The report also found that, overall, storylines about unlawful activities made up 25% of storylines involving immigrant characters. Some steps have been taken to correct this injustice such as the *Media Reference Guide* developed by *Define American*, a non-profit media and culture organization, with the purpose to "increase accurate representation of immigrants on screen as well as help foster more humanizing narratives in entertainment media overall" (Define American, 2017). When reporting on issues related to migrants, other studies argue that "the newspapers give more space and direct quotations to an in-group member, while citations to out-group members are given only when they are (or can be represented as being) inarticulate, extremist, illogical or threatening" (KhosraviNik 2010, 23). This is also what happens in *Frankenstein*, as Victor cannot comprehend the reasoning behind the creature's violent and destructive path because he does not place himself in its mindset and does not try to understand its motives. The very same process is happening today – society focuses on the negative aspects of the migrant crisis, which are fed to us by the media without considering what could have motivated so many people to decide to travel such great distances.

This is very important as media today has a big impact on whether something, or in this case someone, will be accepted or if it will be seen as a threat to society. Portraying the migrants in a negative light where the focus is set on the violence, destruction etc. brings on about the same perpetual circle of discrimination mentioned in relation to lower classes of society earlier in the text. By equating the migrants as a whole with few instances of violence that a small group committed, we are projecting our fears onto the whole, rather than on individuals. However, unlike at the

time when the novel is set, today people should strive for equality and not treat people differently because of their cultural differences. If we continue to ostracize one group from the rest of the people, we are essentially creating a potentially violent situation where we continue to focus on discrepancies, instead of what connects us. It is those differences that enrich us as people and show us that we should not judge somebody simply because they are different from us, but that we should see those differences as a way of improving ourselves, and society in general.

6. CONCLUSION

Shelley's portrayal of the creature has its roots in the new kind of man that was born in the French Revolution. Even though people could advance on the social ladder as a result of that, some prejudices were still present that obstructed it, which can be seen in the novel where the creature is unable to gain access into the middle-class society mainly because of its appearance. This prejudice towards people based on differences in appearances, cultural beliefs etc. has its modern-day equivalent in the relationship between native people and foreigners who are often treated the same way as Frankenstein, looked upon with distrust, hate and seen as less worthy. This became evident with the influx of migrants to Europe during 2015 and 2016 when the media focused on the negative aspects of the crisis. The portrayal of migrants as criminals continues today as studies show that they tend to be portrayed in popular culture and media committing unlawful acts. This creates a potentially violent situation that might erupt any second, and in a way change the fabric of society and the way of living to which we are accustomed since media and popular culture have a big impact on public opinion. Writing her novel, Shelley unconsciously touched upon a subject relevant for everybody, but often overlooked today. In a way, she managed to write about a topic that has not changed in the 200 years since the publication of the novel and probably will not change in the near future.

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11

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**Creating Heterotopia out of Place:
18th- and 19th-century Australia**

Creating Heterotopia out of Place: 18th- and 19th-century Australia

This paper focuses on Michel Foucault's essay *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias*, and applies the concept of heterotopias, introduced in his essay, to early Australian society. By doing so, the paper aims to prove the existence of heterotopic sites in early Australian society. Since heterotopic sites are essentially cultural constructs ("counter-sites"), the paper also examines the prerequisites that enabled the creation of heterotopias. That is, the paper examines the conceptual transition that Australia underwent – from a conceptual space to a place, and from a place to a heterotopic site. By using various sources of information and taking into consideration both colonial and post-colonial perception of early Australian society, the paper also shows that Australia embodied virtually every aspect of Foucault's philosophy, which means that it represented a whole range of heterotopias: a heterotopia of both deviation and crisis, a heterotopic site that juxtaposed incompatible sites that also changed their functions, a heterotopia of indefinitely accumulating time, a heterotopia of temporariness, a system of opening and closing, and finally a heterotopia of both illusion and compensation. Furthermore, these heterotopic sites are divided into those noticeable on a micro-level (e.g. Parramatta Female Factory), and those noticeable on a macro-level (the whole continent).

KEYWORDS

heterotopia, worlding, Australia, Britain, colonialism, national identity

This paper focuses on Michel Foucault's essay *Of Other Spaces: Utopias and Heterotopias* in order to apply the concept of heterotopias to early Australian society. The paper takes into consideration colonial and post-colonial perception of early Australian society, and attempts to give an insight into what life was like for early settlers, how Western elite changed their lives, but also the lives of natives and currency lads and lasses.

In his essay, Foucault derives the concept of heterotopias from utopias, the main difference being that "utopias are sites with no real space", "fundamentally unreal spaces", while heterotopias are actual, geographical sites (1967, 3). He defines the latter as "something like counter-sites, a kind of effectively enacted utopia in which real sites, all other real sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted" (1967, 3). He further elaborates the concept and draws the conclusion that "there is probably not a single culture in the world that fails to constitute heterotopias" (1967, 4). What makes them different are the varied forms they take (1967, 4), that is, heterotopias can be divided into several types according to their distinctive features. Firstly, there are heterotopias of crisis and heterotopias of deviation. The former refers to "privileged or sacred or forbidden places, reserved for individuals who are, in relation to society and to the human environment in which they live, in a state of crisis" (1967, 5), while the latter refers to sites with individuals "whose behaviour is deviant in relation to the required mean or norm [...]" (1967, 5). Secondly, existing heterotopias may change their function, but they are also capable of juxtaposing "in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible" (1967, 6). Furthermore, there are also heterochronies, that is, heterotopias of accumulation and temporality. They are both linked to slices in time, but the difference between them is that time never stops building up in heterotopias of indefinite accumulation, while time is always in its transitory aspect in heterotopias of temporality, they are "not oriented toward the eternal" (1967, 7).

In general, heterotopic sites are "not freely accessible like a public site" (1967, 7), and thus can be divided according to their systems of opening and closing, which either isolates them or makes them penetrable. One usually has to have a certain permission in order to enter a heterotopic site, or make certain gestures, and, despite the fact that some heterotopic sites seem to be open, they "generally hide curious exclusions" (1967, 7).

Lastly, heterotopic sites usually have a function in relation to all the remaining space. More precisely, there are sites of illusion that expose every real place as more illusory (Foucault 1967, 8), and there are sites of compensation which seem to be more perfect than all the other

remaining space (Foucault 1967, 8). Hence, the purpose of the paper is to apply the above-mentioned Foucault's principles of heterotopia to Australia's society in order to argue that 18th- and 19th-century Australia indeed functioned according to these principles.

2. WORLDING OF AUSTRALIA

It is quite important to bear in mind that heterotopias are cultural constructs realized in real, physical places. This notion is of great importance as it brings closer the underlying concept of heterotopias, i.e. to the prerequisite for heterotopic sites, which is the creation of place out of space. In order to understand the principles of heterotopias in early colonial Australian society, it is necessary to go back to the earliest days of its settler history. More precisely, to its earliest explorers, colonizers, and settlers to see how Australia "came into being", and how Western civilization, particularly Britain, culturally constructed a place out of a conceptual space.

Although first recorded contacts with Australia were not related to James Cook, he still remains one of the main figures in the early settler history of Australia, and his journals most certainly brought Australia closer to his European contemporaries. Despite other notable explorers, such as Sir Philip Arthur, this paper is focused on James Cook's journals as they serve as the most prolific example of the first contact with the unmapped and allegedly uncultured space.

Beside descriptions of the encountered flora and fauna, for Cook mapping and naming were a far more serious endeavour. As Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin suggest,

Maps and mapping are dominant practices of colonial and post-colonial cultures. Colonization itself is often consequent on a voyage of 'discovery', a bringing into being of 'undiscovered' lands. The process of discovery is reinforced by the construction of maps, whose existence is a means of textualizing the spatial reality of the other, naming or, in almost all cases, renaming spaces in a symbolic and literal act of mastery and control (2007, 28).

The fact that mapping was not just a matter of geography, but also a cultural and social matter, lies at the forefront of James Cook's journals. According to Paul Carter, "for Cook, knowing and naming were identical, but there was no relation between signifier and signified [...]" (1988, 9) which, in fact, means that "the name itself becomes an arbitrary imposition on the place, a linguistic gesture without a local topographical or traditional justification" (1988, 13).

Nevertheless, the given names served their purpose for European explorers of his time and made orientation easier. Cook did not “insensitively [reduce] a foreign coast to certain local, biographical preoccupations of his own” (Carter 1988, 31), but, on the contrary, maintained the difference between “the order of nature and the order of culture” (Carter 1988, 31). This would mean that, for Cook, names “created a cultural space in which places might eventually be found” (Carter 1988, 32). That is, he “inaugurated Australia’s spatial history” (Carter 1988, 33), but also opened the path to colonization which is why Cook’s naming and mapping could also be linked to Martin Heidegger’s notion of *worlding* which is a more general term later vulgarized and applied to imperialism, or, more precisely, to imperialist literature in Gayatri C. Spivak’s work *Three Women’s Texts and a Critique of Imperialism* (1985, 260).

This conceptual transition from space to place is quite important for the creation of heterotopias as well because both, places and heterotopias, are culturally constructed. The notion of *worlding* makes this assumption clearer as it is a concept used “to describe the way in which colonized space is brought into the ‘world’, that is, made to exist as part of a world essentially constructed by Euro-centrism” (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 226). Moreover, it is “carried out by activities such as mapping, both by putting the colony on the map of the world and by mapping it internally so as to name it, and by naming it to know it, and hence, control it” (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 226).

The conclusion that could be drawn is that heterotopias are by-products of naming, i.e. by-products of this conceptual transformation of space into place, into reality, through *worlding*, i.e. naming, mapping and colonial discourse¹, on both macro and micro level which will be further explained in this paper.

3. HETEROTOPIA OF DEVIATION AND HETEROTOPIA OF CRISIS

Regarding heterotopias of deviation and crisis, Australia may represent both of these principles of heterotopias if the double aspect of the Australian bush is taken into consideration. This assumption also implies another principle of heterotopias, which is the capability of juxtaposing very different sites into a single real place. Nevertheless, juxtaposition will be discussed on a micro level, unlike heterotopias of deviation and crisis.

¹ “It is the system by which dominant groups in society constitute the field of truth by imposing specific knowledges, disciplines and values upon dominated groups” (Ashcroft et al. 2007, 50).

The bush is one of the main symbols of Australia and is, therefore, an important feature in Australian national identity: "This emphasis on Australian national identity as emerging from a historically 'lowly' type of work, especially in the bush, functions to reinforce or produce a story of Australia as an egalitarian society" (Elder 2007, 49). However, the notion of the Australian bush was not fully transparent since it retained its double aspect which means that it represented both "reality of exile" (Wright 1965, 11), and "reality of newness and freedom" (Wright 1965, 11) for early Australian settlers, especially convicts.

Most of the convicts were sent to Australia for petty crimes because "it was a way to deal with increased poverty [...]. Simple larceny, or robbery, could mean transportation for seven years" (Australian Government, n.d.). Therefore, for them, Australia could have represented a heterotopia of deviation because it was a place destined for "deviant" individuals who disobeyed British law, and whose behaviour was aberrant in relation to required norms. Moreover, penal settlements, such as Norfolk Island, Sarah Island, Port Macquarie, and Moreton Bay, may represent a quintessential example of a heterotopia of deviation due to rough conditions that convicts found themselves in at these settlements: "We have to work from 14-18 hours a day, sometimes up to our knees in cold water, 'til we are ready to sink with fatigue... The inhuman driver struck one, John Smith, with a heavy thong" (Australian Government, n.d.). The fate of women convicts was disturbing as well:

The British Home Office had other ideas, however, and intended New South Wales to be little more than a dumping ground for the excess of convicts which British gaols could not accommodate. Within this penal colony, women were assigned only one main function – they were there primarily as objects of sexual gratification. The main difficulty, as far as the British authorities were concerned, was to find a sufficient number of women convicts, and to do this, they had to impose preponderantly harsher sentences on women [...] (Summers 1975, 268).

Settlers, convicts, and ex-convicts were faced with the "reality of exile" (Wright 1965, 11), a new surrounding they had to assimilate to in order to survive and start a new life. As a result, a number of convicts tried to escape the penal settlements, however, escape did not necessarily imply easier life:

On the 24th, a convict who had absconded on the 5th, having been guilty of a robbery, returned into the camp almost starved. He had hoped to subsist in the woods, but found it impossible. One of the natives gave him a fish, and then made signs for him to go

away. He said, that afterwards he joined a party of the natives, who would have burnt him, but that with some difficulty he made his escape; and he pretended to have seen the remains of a human body actually lying on a fire, but little credit can be given to reports from such a quarter (Philip 1789, 118).

This is another reason why Australia could be interpreted as a culturally constructed heterotopia of deviation. The continent was aimed at “the lowest element of British society” (White 1981, 16) who was sent there to be punished, either through penal settlements or through hardships of coming to terms with a completely new environment. The image of Australia was vulgarized to the extent that Australia was labelled “the ‘land of convicts and kangaroos’” (qtd. in White 1981, 16).

However, it is necessary to stress that this interpretation of Australia is based on a narrow perception. On the other hand, Australia could also be analysed as a heterotopia of crisis, which would mean that Australia was also a privileged space for settlers and convicts who were, in fact, in a state of crisis in relation to their mother country. Therefore, Australia may as well be represented as a privileged space in terms of Foucault’s philosophy, as a “reality of newness and freedom” (Wright 1965, 11).

When all the atrocities done to convicts and natives are taken into consideration, it is quite unimaginable to see the Australian bush as a privileged space at the time. However, it is not impossible if the perspective is changed. In spite of the “convict stain”, settlers strived towards making Australia their homeland. The Great Australian Dream may also incorporate this notion of Australia as a heterotopia of crisis because it symbolises the freedom that Australia could have represented to newcomers, that is, “an earthly paradise for the common man” (Palmer 1958, 9). The government, and other people in whose interest it was to populate the place, made an effort to alleviate the “bad” image of Australia and make it more enticing. There are undoubtedly economic reasons behind the inauguration of this transition: “Between 1830 and 1850, Hell was turned into Paradise. A gradual shift in the needs of both the British and local economies resulted in a new, more complimentary image of Australia competing with, and eventually overwhelming, the old convict image” (White 1981, 29). Settlers were as well aware of the fact that they would fare better if they accepted the new environment and reaped the benefits. For example, Marilyn Lake, a historian featured in the film *The Floating Brothel*, suggests that convicts – women in the context of the film – should be seen as active characters in their own story, as “rational opportunists” (Lewis 2006). Lake refers to conditions on the ship *Lady Juliana*, but this concept of rational opportunism could as well be pertinent to Australia. More precisely, it was a land of new opportunities, new hope and, in a sense, it could be seen as a privileged place for those

whose prosperity was constantly in jeopardy back in Britain.

Nevertheless, convicts and settlers were not the only ones who had to adapt to a new way of life. The Aborigines of the time were as well challenged "to find meaning in a world where their traditional ways and lands were changed" (Australian Government, n.d.). For them, however, due to a century-long racist policies, Australia will become a heterotopia of deviation.

4. JUXTAPOSITION OF INCOMPATIBLE SITES AND CHANGES IN FUNCTION

As it has been shown, the Australian bush represents a place in which heterotopia of deviation and heterotopia of crisis overlap during a certain period of time. However, juxtaposition of incompatible sites can be found on a smaller scale in Australia as well. The two examples that might justify this presumption are female factories and convict ships. Although convict ships are not in direct connection with Australia as a geographical place, they were crucial element in transportation, and for this reason, they are also taken into account when discussing the heterotopias of Australia

It could be argued that transportation ships were heterotopias of deviation in general. They functioned as floating prisons, and conditions on-board were horrifying and humiliating since discipline was brutal. As it is suggested in the film *Short History of The World: Convict Australia*, even "prior to transportation convicts were kept in rotting warships" (Herring 1998), and during transportation they were often chained up for months, they slept in cramped compartments, and were exposed to diseases like scurvy and sea-sickness (Pilot Guides, n.d.). Furthermore, convict ships transporting women often became "floating brothels". Women were "subjected to varying degrees of degradation. In fact, in 1817, a British judge acknowledged that it was accepted that the younger women be taken to the cabins of the officers each night, or thrown in with the crew" (Pilot Guides, n.d.). As humiliating as it was, there were still several positive things related to "floating brothels". For example, in the film *The Floating Brothel*, it is suggested that, for women, life on Lady Juliana also meant fresh air, and regular food, drink and clothes supply (Lewis 2006). Furthermore, Deborah Oxley adds that the British government in fact signed a contract that guaranteed quality food and medical attendance for women as they were regarded as valuable "cargo" (Lewis 2006).

What is paradoxical is that, even though women were sexually harassed and unfairly objectivized, ships like Lady Juliana offered, to some extent, better life conditions. That is, some aspects of life certainly became

better when compared to those in overcrowded British prisons. For this reason transportation ships can represent juxtaposition of incompatible sites – at the same time they were prisons, purgatories, brothels, and, antithetically, places that fulfilled basic physiological and, in a way, safety needs in terms of Abraham Maslow's theory of hierarchy of needs. In fact, Foucault uses ships as the quintessential example of a heterotopia: "The ship is the heterotopia par excellence" (1967, 9).

Another example of heterotopia that juxtaposes incompatible sites is the Parramatta Female Factory which was opened in 1821 and located in New South Wales. It was originally a textile factory, a facility for pregnant women, and also an orphanage (Australian Government, n.d.) or, as Anne Summers puts it in her work *Damned Whores and God's Police*, it was "both a prison and a place of employment" (1975, 280). However, Summers also argues that the factory "functioned as a brothel and as a marriage mart" (1975, 281) as well because "any man, emancipist or free settler, could visit the Factory and choose a wife [...]" (1975, 282). It may even be argued that officials tried to sugar-coat the unjust and inferior position of women in the public eye:

But while the Female Factories would appear to resemble conventional imprisonment, they did not abate the enforced whoredom of the convict women. Rather they removed the women from the sight of the free population – so that they could ignore the ill-treatment and degradation of the convicts – and enabled their systematic abuse to be conducted more efficiently (Summers 1975, 280).

On the other hand, there were certain individuals who were aware of the poor conditions and maltreatment of women convicts:

Lady Jane made frequent visits to the Factory to speak to the women and she was publicly criticized for this. [...] She did not attempt to moralize to the women nor, like Governor Darling's wife in Sydney, try to bribe them to reform. Her concern was that they receive some education and better food and clothing and that conditions within the Factory be improved (Summers 1975, 283).

Therefore, once again, there were positive sides to a primarily notorious place. Moreover, similarly to Lady Juliana, the Parramatta Factory was also a safe place for women since:

There is evidence that many of the women looked upon the Factories as their home and did their best to remain in them. There at least they had the companionship of other women in similar circumstances and, together, they were in a better position to

protect themselves or to initiate things, than if they were isolated within a household as servant and sexual fodder (Summers 1975, 283).

Nevertheless, in 1874, the Parramatta Factory ceased to exist in its previous form (Summers 1975, 285), and the facility, i.e. the already existing heterotopia, changed its function: "The following year the Factory became Convict, Lunatic and Invalid Establishment at Parramatta. [...] the enforced whoredom of women could no longer be so blatantly maintained. It was replaced by the more subtle controls of the institutions of marriage and motherhood" (Summers 1975, 285).

Lastly, what could be concluded is that no matter how harsh the conditions were, the convicts, be they male or female, often sought and found a way to come to terms with their position in the colonies. For this reason, heterotopic sites that juxtapose incompatible, and often negative sites, almost always carry another, positive aspect to them which may be a product of human defence mechanisms.

5. HETEROTOPIAS OF INDEFINITELY ACCUMULATING TIME AND HETEROTOPIAS LINKED TO TIME IN ITS TRANSITORY ASPECT

The above-mentioned heterotopias – ships and factories – also incorporate another principle of heterotopic sites which is temporariness. That is, they are linked to time in its transitory aspect. By the mid-19th century, transportation of convicts to Australia was abolished for two main reasons, one being that only "a small percentage of the convict population was locked up", and the other being "the employment needs of Australia's thriving population" (Australian Government, n.d.). Therefore, Australia slowly became self-sustainable as the ratio between supply and demand in the labour market was balanced.

On the other hand, heterotopias of indefinitely accumulating time are more complex, but it could be argued that Australia embodied this principle of heterotopias as well. Even though from the aspect of the Indigenous Australians, Australia has always constituted a heterotopia of accumulation as the country accumulated their stories and formulated their worldview, the convicts view was different.

Australia was initially inhabited by convicts who were discouraged, tortured, and disappointed in the British system. Because of this, it may be said that Australian penal colonies functioned as a place in which their broken hopes and dreams, inner troubles, and desperation indefinitely

accumulated, and for a long time, people struggled to eradicate the “convict stain”. However, as it was previously mentioned, people tend to pursue their dreams and what later emerged was “the Australian dream of a better society under the Southern Cross” (Alomes 1988, 339). This may also represent a type of defence mechanism – reaction formation.

That is, the accumulation of uncertainty and identity questions eventually altered its form and evoked the urge for amelioration and kinship.

6. SYSTEMS OF OPENING AND CLOSING

One of the principles of heterotopias is the system of opening and closing which means that they can be both isolated and penetrable. In general, it could be said that Australia itself does not represent a system of opening and closing. However, these systems can be found if a particular point of view is taken into consideration. Despite free settlers and government officials, a great number of early settlers were convicts who did not deliberately and freely enter Australia. For them, it was “necessary” to commit a crime in order to enter Australia, i.e. penal colonies and female factories, and it was mandatory to either serve the given sentence or obtain a ticket of leave, a certificate of freedom, a conditional pardon, or an absolute pardon in order to get out. Since authorities often dehumanised convicts at these sites, convicts soon began forming mateships, i.e. systems of support and loyalty that integrate the principles of opening and closing. Even though the concept itself is not strictly linked to a specific heterotopic site, it is a by-product of heterotopic sites such as penal colonies and transportation ships.

In *The Meanings of Mateship*, Inglis Moore indicates the importance of mateship and maintains that it has “received special colorations of significance from its intimate connection with the idea of democracy, equality, socialism, the brotherhood of man, Marxism, and the Great Australian Dream of an antipodean utopia” (1968, 224). Inglis Moore divides mateship into two broad types – the exclusive, which was a closed system, and the inclusive type which was an open system (1968, 224). More precisely, “the first type is found notably in four groups: convicts, larrikins, trade unionists, and marxists. In each of these groups the loyalty of mateship is directed against another group in the social structure: with the convicts against the system, and, on occasion, against all persons standing outside the fraternity and the felony [...]” (1968, 224). On the other hand, the inclusive type is “directed [...] not against conflicting or alien groups, but against the hazards or hardships of an environment, against loneliness, danger, and death, or is directed towards an ideal. Hence there

is no hostility towards other groups, no bitterness, and little narrowness" (Inglis Moore 1968, 225). Therefore, it can be seen that the exclusive type could not be easily penetrated because its members came from specific social groups that shared the common "enemy", while the inclusive type, which prevailed, does not exhibit neither animosity nor preference of certain social groups or places. It is rather ambitious, but not belligerent.

To a degree, the two types of mateship are analogous to the double aspect of the Australian bush. The exclusive type could be seen as a product of the "reality of exile" since the rough reality of a new environment brought these scattered affiliations of different kinds of people together, starting with transportation ships and penal settlements, while the inclusive type is more forward-looking and affirmative like the "reality of new and freedom". The inclusive type could as well carry elements of the "reality of exile", but it seems that its ultimate objective is more unifying and aimed at raising general awareness, rather than focusing solely on hardships and suffering.

7. ILLUSIONS AND COMPENSATIONS

Australia, as a heterotopic site, could have a relation to all the remaining space which means that, according to Foucault, it either creates a place of illusion or a place of compensation:

The last trait of heterotopia is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains. [...] Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory (perhaps that is the role that was played by those famous brothels of which we are now deprived). Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled (1967, 8).

It could be argued that Australia functions as both an illusion and a compensation, but in different points of view and timeframes.

Initially, from Britain's point of view, Australia was a land destined for convicts which means that it was likely that it had neither an important nor a favourable place among the British working class: "For them, the image of Australia was summed up by Botany Bay, and later by the even more horrific places of secondary punishment such as Port Arthur, Moreton Bay and that 'dwelling place of devils in the human shape, the refuse of Botany Bay, the doubly damned', Norfolk Island. Such an image of exaggerated horror was

an essential element in the penal system of the day [...]” (White 1981, 17). In fact, it seemed as if people were more afraid of being in contact with someone who had been in Australian penal settlements than being sent to Australia (White 1981, 20). For the next generation, it was quite hard to get rid of the “convict stain”, but the situation improved. The function of Australia, in relation to the rest of the space, slid towards an illusion. More precisely, a group of intellectuals realized that the Australian society would fare better if a good reputation was formed. As White suggests, “They naturally preferred to see themselves as midwives to a culture that would lead rather than deprave the world” (1981, 28). Australia “could now be seen as a land of opportunity for the ex-convict, as well as for England’s ‘surplus population’ and for the sturdy and ambitious men who felt their prospects in England were limited” (White 1981, 28). Australia was no longer blood-curdling, but quite the opposite, it seemed as “perfect” as Britain was “messy”. Stereotypes usually played a great role in forming opinions on Australia, the thing is that they changed in accordance with economic interests of the elite. So, by the mid-19th century, it could be argued that Australia began to represent a place of illusion, a place that was more perfect than the rest of the space, a place that seemed to offer more than Britain could have offered. Surely, certain settlers were quite successful, but not everyone could succeed.

The idea of Australia as a land marked with “convict stain” and the idea of it as a land of opportunities can be looked upon from another perspective which would show that Australia was, in fact, a place of compensation, a place that exposed everything that was wrong with the British system of the 18th and 19th century, and compensated for it.

Irrespective of Australia’s convict past and many racist policies towards Indigenous Australians, as well as non-white settlers, the position of Anglo-settlers was not their fault; rather, it was the harming mind-set inculcated into some of the members of the Western elite that inflicted discrimination upon vulnerable social groups. The point is that Australia, when analysed through its stereotypes and policies during the country’s settler history, can be interpreted as a heterotopia of compensation.

The colonization began because of British defeats, such as the loss of America due to revolutions, overcrowded prisons, and the need for new trade routes. Therefore, the British may have tried to compensate for their failures by constituting a new nation. Even though the beginnings were harsh, in the end, it was the ultimate attempt at creating an egalitarian democracy, and nowadays, Australia constitutes one “of the best countries to live in the world by international comparisons of wealth, education, health and quality of life” (BBC, 2017).

8. CONCLUSION

To sum up, this paper explained how Foucault's principles of heterotopias could be applied to the Australian society of the 18th and 19th century, i.e. during the colonization and establishment of permanent settlements. It is important to stress that the analysis mostly focused on Western perception and that heterotopias are seen as the products of British invasion of Australia.

Since heterotopias are culturally constructed, it was necessary to go back to the earliest days of colonization and exploration of Australia to see how it was "brought into being" in the Western rhetoric. The *worlding* of Australia enabled the creation of heterotopic sites that can be found on a larger and smaller scale. It could be said that Australia as a whole might be seen as a place functioning as a heterotopia of both deviation and crisis which also shows that it is a heterotopia that juxtaposes incompatible sites. In addition, heterotopias of juxtaposition can be found on a smaller scale, for example, in female factories and penal settlements. Such facilities also carry another function, which is temporariness. Even though they were temporary, they also played a role in making Australia a place that indefinitely accumulated time, that is, the hardships of convicts and early settlers seemed to be indefinite. Regarding convicts, they were sent to Australia because of their crimes; therefore, Australia was an isolated system from their perspective. However, for other settlers, Australia was a penetrable system. Mateship also has this dual function, as a system of opening and closing. Firstly, it was formed on transportation ships and in penal settlements so it used to be exclusive. However, throughout the time, the notion of mateship became inclusive as it spread into sites that are penetrable.

Australia could also function as a heterotopia of illusion because at times, it was represented through the notions of the Great Australian Dream, as if the land was as perfect as other space, notably Britain, was messy. On the other hand, it can also be seen as a heterotopia of compensation. Due to unsuccessful colonial ambitions and inability to manage the situation at home, Britain attempted to create a new settlement. More precisely, the colonization may as well represent a mirror reflecting what was wrong with the British system, colonialism, and imperialism. Rather than being a nation marked with the "convict stain", Australia ultimately managed to compensate for the failures, and become a successful Western democracy. Nevertheless, it is still facing problems stemming from colonization, such as discrimination of the Aborigines.

Finally, as a heterotopic palimpsest, it is a reminder of how cruel imperial politics can be, but also of people's abilities to adjust to a new environment, and create an affluent nation that Australia nowadays is.

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12

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**A Country with an Attitude:
English in Switzerland**

A Country with an Attitude: English in Switzerland

Due to their constructed nature, it can be very difficult to access attitudes towards languages. One methodological approach to do so is a societal treatment study. While societal treatment studies are often criticized because of their informal nature, they are nevertheless considered to be a significant approach as they render it possible to obtain insights into the social meanings and stereotypical associations of language varieties as they examine how languages are treated in society. In order to do so, contents of sources in the public domain are analysed, for example advertisements. Advertisers aim to exploit cultural resonances by using specific languages in order to imbue their products with the stereotypical qualities and values which are commonly associated with a given language group or language. This appropriation of language by advertisers enables researchers to infer people's attitudes towards certain languages by examining their usage in advertisements of a particular country. As a multilingual country where English has gradually become a second language since it is often used as a *lingua franca*, Switzerland is remarkably qualified for studying attitudes towards the English language. Hence, this is a diachronic analysis of the changing and differing attitudes towards the English language of people from the three main linguistic regions of Switzerland done by examining the usage of English in advertisements in Swiss newspapers. In order to do so, the analysis pairs a societal treatment study with a questionnaire as another direct approach in order to reassess claims found by the societal treatment study.

KEYWORDS

newspaper, advertisements, Switzerland, attitudes, multilingual, anglophonia

Since Labov's fundamental study in 1966, where he examined social stratification of speech communities and the influence of prestige and stigmatisation on language change, attitudes in language have become a common field of research in sociolinguistics (Garrett 2010). However, as many different features can be examined, the concept of attitudes often differs depending on the research and its goal. Thus, attitude can be seen as an "affect for or against a psychological object", hence it can consist of positive and negative emotional reactions (Thurstone 1931, 261). Furthermore, attitude can be defined as "a learned disposition to think, feel and behave towards a person (or object) in a particular way" (Allport 1935, 43), which means that attitudes do not only consist of affects but are also a part of thought and behaviour (Garrett 2010, 19). It is often not possible to observe attitudes directly as they are a psychological construct, hence it is necessary to infer them from emotional reactions and statements (Oppenheim 1982, 39). Due to their constructed nature, it can be very difficult to access attitudes, which is the reason why many different approaches exist in attitude research (Garrett 2010, 20).

One of these approaches is called societal treatment study. According to Peter Garrett (2010), societal treatment studies are often overlooked, rare and highly criticised. He describes it as an "informal analysis which is not lending itself to statistical analysis or generalisations to broader or specific populations" (Garrett 2010, 51). Hence, a societal treatment study serves better as a "preliminary to more rigorously designed surveys" and is rather appropriate when researchers have no possibility to access respondents directly due to time and spatial limitations (Garrett 2010, 51). Nevertheless, it is still considered to be a significant approach as societal treatment studies render it possible to obtain "insights into the social meanings and stereotypical associations of language varieties" (Garrett 2010, 51). Therefore, their goal is to examine how languages are treated in society (Garrett 2010). In order to do so, contents of sources in the public domain like prescriptive texts, language policy documents, media texts or advertisements are analysed (Garrett 2010). As studies of advertisements and consumer culture allow researchers to "examine the relations among acts and styles of consumption and the identities of consumers", the usage of languages in promotions can be an informative source of societal treatment material in the case of bilingual or multilingual advertisements (Piller 2001 and Nava et al. 1997). Since languages always "convey cultural resonances in a particular culture", advertisers aim to exploit those resonances by using specific languages in order to "imbue their products with the stereotypical qualities and values with which a given language group or language is commonly associated" (Garrett 2010, 142). Therefore, it is possible to infer people's attitudes towards certain

languages by analysing their usage in advertisements of a particular country (Garett 2010).

As a multilingual country where English has gradually become a second language since it is often used as a *lingua franca*, Switzerland is remarkably qualified for a study regarding attitudes towards the English language (Cheshire and Moser 1994). In Switzerland, 63% of the population speak Swiss German dialects while using the German language mainly for official written communication and in education, 23% speak French, 8% speak Italian and a minority of 1% speaks Rhaeto-Romanic (Swissinfo n.d.).

The following analysis wants to study changing or differing attitudes towards the English language of people from the three main linguistic regions of Switzerland by examining the usage of English in advertisements over time. Furthermore, as the accuracy of societal treatment studies is often criticised, another direct approach, namely a questionnaire, is applied in order to reassess claims found by the societal treatment study.

2. PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Regarding the subject of attitudes towards English, not a lot of research has been done about Switzerland, while there are several studies about the status of English in Germany. Moreover, most of the existing studies about Switzerland focus on the Swiss German part. Their main goal is to examine positive or negative attitudes towards English as a *lingua franca* in Switzerland.

One of these studies is called "Attitudes to the use of English in Swiss German advertising language" and has been conducted by Felicity Rash in 1996. She asked 85 men and women from different age groups in the Swiss German part of Switzerland to translate English slogans, brand names and Anglicisms into German in order to test their comprehension of the English language. She found that understanding depended heavily on age and education of the participants as younger and more educated people had a far better comprehension. Furthermore, younger participants showed more positive attitudes towards English slogans and Anglicisms than older ones. These findings are similar to those of Hermann Fink (1977) who tested participants of different age groups in Germany regarding their comprehension of Anglicisms and their attitudes towards them. However, while Fink also discovered that younger participants understood Anglicisms better, he detected a higher number of positive attitudes towards Anglicisms in older age groups than Rash.

Heather Murray (2003), on the other hand, is one of the only researchers who has conducted a diachronic study about attitudes of different age groups from the Swiss German part towards English in advertisements. She concluded that in general, participants showed a "growing appetite for English" in advertisements as over the years, they increasingly liked English slogans and product names (Murray 2003, 106). Thus, she predicted that the amount of English in advertisements would increase in the future.

Regarding societal treatment studies, there are two which are noteworthy for this analysis. To begin with, there is Gerhard Stickel (1984) who evaluated opinions in newspaper articles and readers' letters towards Anglicisms in the German language. He found that 70% of all opinions were negative. These results are surprising as Fink detected a large number of positive attitudes towards the English language in Germany. Thus, it is indeed possible that the two direct approaches of questionnaires and societal treatment studies lead to conflicting results.

Finally, the paper "English as a cultural symbol: The case of advertisements in Frenchspeaking Switzerland" by Jenny Cheshire and Lise-Marie Moser written in 1994 is the most important study for this analysis. Their research question is based on the claims by Smith (1976) and McArthur (1984) who state that English has become a language of the world and is thus freed from its ties with a particular country where it is spoken as a native language. Cheshire and Moser expect different countries to "use English as a cultural symbol to exploit this linguistic resource in their own special ways, in order to meet their own individual requirements" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 452-453). Thus, they examined advertisements in newspapers from French-speaking Switzerland to determine if the English language is used in a special manner in advertisements and how this usage may reflect "some distinctive aspects of French-speaking Switzerland" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 453).

In their study, Cheshire and Moser found that one third of all advertisements contain English. While the English part is mostly prominently placed in the title of the advertisements, depicted in flashier colours or in a bigger font, the words being used are often a part of basic vocabulary. Moreover, the English language is mostly used for products which are associated with science, internationality, technology or which are a part of transient fashions. The English language also serves as a mean to provoke "connotations related to an English-speaking country, usually the USA" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 468). Regarding special manners in which English is used in French-speaking Switzerland, Cheshire and Moser also observed that many advertisements for Swiss products contain English. Thus, they concluded that for the Swiss, the English language

is a way to evoke the “favourable image” foreigners have of the country; hence English is helping the Swiss population in achieving national unity (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 486).

3. METHOD AND MATERIAL

The research design of this paper is in several aspects mirroring the one used by Cheshire and Moser in their paper. Nevertheless, there are some important differences. Cheshire and Moser (1994) focused on advertisements in two newspapers from French-speaking Switzerland with different target groups in order to study differences regarding their usage of English.

This paper, however, has the goal to examine the usage of English and attitudes towards it in the three main regions of Switzerland. It focuses on advertisements in newspapers from the Swiss German-speaking, the French-speaking and the Italian-speaking part. In order to do so, it was necessary to find similar newspapers as otherwise, the data would not be comparable. Thus, this paper chose to analyse the free newspaper *20 Minuten* as it features editions in all three languages. However, while the German edition has already been published in 2004, the Italian one has only been in print since 2012. Hence, the diachronic analysis can only compare data from 2012 to 2016. Although this is a relatively small timeframe for a diachronic analysis, it will be interesting to see if there is a difference in the amount of English used in the advertisements.

Furthermore, there are also other limitations and considerations regarding the analysed data. Firstly, the German edition of *20 Minuten* is twice as long as its French and Italian counterparts *20 minutes* and *20 minuti*, and so it contains twice as many advertisements as the other two. This means that the German sample is more abundant and hence more informative. Secondly, the advertisements for the analysis have been taken from five different issues spread over the year in order to ensure a representative sample. A specific day in February, May, August, October and December has been chosen for all editions and for each year. However, as the year 2016 was still ongoing at the time this article was written, three newspapers instead of one had to be taken from the summertime. As those are always shorter, the sample from 2016 is smaller than the ones from the other years.

In order to determine the amount of English in advertisements, Cheshire and Moser assigned the promotions to different domains, namely monolingual advertisements which either contain French or English, promotions which are bilingual and advertisements where only

the slogan or the product name is in English. These promotions were then further categorised according to the product they advertise.

Credit cards	Holidays and hotels	Alcohol	Medicine	Motorcycles
Cigars	Computers and communication	Music	Furniture	Sport and leisure
Air travel	Shoes and clothes	Banks	Clairvoyance	Air travel
Watches	Hi-fi equipment	Cars	Soft drinks	
Perfume	Telephone chatlines	Beauty	Insurance	
Schools	Household equipment	Cameras	Cigarettes	

Table 1. Categories of advertised products (based on Cheshire & Moser 1994: 460)

This paper, however, decided to expand the used domains by Cheshire and Moser as many advertisements only had one English word in it and this was often the name of the company. Thus, the category of product names is changed into product names and company names. Furthermore, in the second part of the analysis, the categories have to be changed in order to match the found data. Some categories have to be merged as, they would not provide enough data otherwise. Thus, the denominations of "shoes and clothes", "perfume", "watches" and "beauty" are combined to form the class of "fashion and beauty", the categories "hi-fi equipment", "computers and communication" and "cameras" are merged into the category "electronics", the class of "soft drinks" is generalized into "food and drinks" and finally, the category "medicine" is changed into "health". Furthermore, some categories have to be dismissed due to the lack of advertisements. This is the case for "cigars", "credit cards", "clairvoyance" and "motorcycles". Finally, further categories have to be added, namely "news and magazines" and "charity".

The last important difference to Cheshire and Moser's study is that the analysis of advertisements is accompanied by a questionnaire which is designed to determine associations and attitudes of representatives of each language region regarding the English language. The found answers are then compared to the findings of the societal treatment study in order to determine if societal treatment studies are indeed not

suitable for “generalisations to broader or specific populations” (Garrett 2010, 51).

The questionnaire is inspired by Coronel-Molina (2014) who published model questionnaires examining attitudes towards Spanish and English in the United States in order to help other researchers in designing their own one. The chosen questionnaire consists of a list of attributes which should be associated to the English or Spanish language by rating them on a scale from 1 to 3 according to their appropriateness. This paper, however, decided to dismiss the scale in order to be able to clearly determine which language is attributed to which trait.

Furthermore, this list of attributes has been expanded by some of the categories found by Cheshire and Moser so as to ensure that the answers can be connected as well as possible to the findings of the societal treatment study.

While closed-ended questions like this guarantee the collection of specific answers, open-ended questions have the advantage of giving respondents the possibility to evaluate something in their own words, unrestrained by the thoughts and assumptions of the researcher (Haddock & Zanna 1998, 38-39). Thus, new subjects and associations can appear. This is why the closed-ended questions are preceded by open-ended ones in the questionnaire. However, as the analysis of open-ended questions is very time-consuming, there are only two of them which are asking respondents to state their associations with the English language and their respective mother tongue.

Some additional questions are asked in the questionnaire. Firstly, respondents had to indicate their age, the languages they are able to speak fluently and their educational background. This has been done in order to be able to classify attitudes according to age group and educational background and to determine people's fluency of English.

Finally, two questions about English in advertisements are added. The first one inquires about possible target groups of bilingual or monolingual English advertisements so as to examine which age group is considered to be addressed. In the second one, a promotion advertising a traditional Swiss product containing English words is shown and the respondents are asked to argue if the advertisement is a recent one or not. The answers are supposed to complement the analysis of the diachronic development of the usage of English in advertisements.

As the language in a questionnaire is able to influence the findings of the study, the mother tongue of the respective respondents is chosen.

Thus, the questionnaire is translated into German, French and Italian.

All responses are anonymous, therefore, the social desirability bias is eliminated as respondents are unlikely to answer in the way they think they are supposed to instead of what they really think (Garrett 2010).

Regarding limitations of the data, one problem that arose is the number of participants. While some respondents who are not Swiss or who did not answer every question had to be dismissed from the sample, 67 people from the German-speaking part, 23 people from the Italian-speaking and 21 people from the French-speaking one have in the end been included in the study. Hence, while the Swiss German sample is abundant enough for a reliable analysis, the one for the French- and Italian-speaking part is comparatively small. Nevertheless, the results should still be comparable to the findings of the societal treatment study even though, a bigger sample would be desirable. Another limitation regarding the findings from the questionnaire is the fact that all of the respondents have a university degree and are between 18 and 30 years old. In the case of the German-speaking respondents, a minority of 5 people which were older or younger than the mentioned age group or did not own a university degree had to be excluded from the study in order to ensure a coherent sample. Thus, the following evaluations concern a specific group, namely young and educated representatives of the linguistic regions.

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In the following section, the findings from the societal treatment study and the questionnaire are presented. In general, the amount of English in both the bilingual and monolingual advertisements is really low as in a majority of cases, it only consists of one or two words. As Cheshire and Moser claim in their paper, the English part is not prominently placed as it is mostly neither in the title nor is the font bigger or flashier. To begin with the analysis, the diachronic development of the amount of English used in promotions in the three regions is examined. Then, the advertised products are studied regarding the usage of English in advertisements for Swiss products. Finally, the findings from the societal treatment study are compared to the answers of the questionnaire.

4.1 DIACHRONIC DEVELOPMENTS

First of all, the diachronic analysis of the German edition *20 Minuten* shows that English has been consistently used over the years in a majority of the advertisements. However, its amount continually decreases in

favour of monolingual German promotions. Thus, the proportion of advertisements which only contain German rises from 34.5% in 2012 to 38.3% in 2016. Meanwhile, the number of promotions where only the name of a product or the company is in English declines from 2012 to 2013 from 15.2% to 7.4%, only to increase again to 18.2% in 2014. It reaches its peak in 2016 with 21.6%.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Monolingual German advert.	34.5%	36.9%	36.6%	38.3%	38.3%
Bilingual advert.	38%	48.9%	42.4%	41.6%	32.3%
Advert. containing English-named companies/products	15.2%	7.4%	18.2%	12.4%	21.6%
Advert. containing English Slogan	7.6%	4%	2.2%	4.3%	7.8%
Monolingual English advert.	4.7%	1.9%	0.6%	3.2%	0%

Table 2. Diachronic developments in the German edition

This decline and increase happens at the expense of bilingual advertisements. Hence, their amount rises from 38% in 2012 to 48.9% in 2013 and then decreases again to 32.3% in 2016. While bilingual advertisements are clearly in decline over the years, the number of promotions which use English slogans remains at around 3.2% in 2012 and 2016 with a diminution in 2013 and 2014. Finally, the proportion of monolingual English advertisements has been dropping over the years, as in 2012, 4.7% of all promotions consist of English only while in 2016, there are none of them.

These percentages do not only show an increase in monolingual German advertisements but also a general limitation of the linguistic complexity of the English language used in advertisements as the number of bilingual and monolingual English promotions is decreasing and the amount of advertisements containing companies and products with English names is rising. Thus, the English language is not used in order to communicate anymore, but "to lay claims to the attributes associated symbolically with

speakers of that language" (Eastman and Stein 1993, 188). This concept is called 'language display' and seems to be spreading in the Swiss German part of Switzerland.

A possible explanation for this development can be found in a study from 2007 which states that the majority of the Swiss German respondents are not able to correctly translate English claims in advertisements (Angeli 2007). Hence, while 94% of all respondents of the questionnaire have stated they were fluent in English, it can be assumed that especially older people and less educated ones do not understand the English parts in advertisements. Thus, by using English merely as language display, advertisers can ensure that everyone understands their promotions and nevertheless endue their products with associations of the English language. The observation that fewer advertisements are bilingual is also supported by the findings of the questionnaire, where one third of the respondents state that bilingual advertisements are old-fashioned as today, German and English are not mixed any more.

However, comparing the German edition of *20 Minuten* to the French and Italian one, it still contains a significantly higher amount of English than the other two. This can for example be seen in the fact that the German edition features almost twice as many monolingual English advertisements as the other two editions, namely 18 in contrast to 10 in each case.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Monolingual French advert.	48.4%	50.8%	46.1%	51.9%	40%
Bilingual advert.	19.8%	28.3%	37.4%	21.6%	20%
Advert. containing English-named companies/products	19.8%	17.5%	14.8%	16.7%	27.1%
Advert. containing English Slogans	6.4%	3.3%	0.9%	5.9%	12.9%
Monolingual English advert.	5.6%	0%	0%	3.9%	10%

Table 3. Diachronic developments in the French edition

Moreover, in the French edition, there are a lot more monolingual advertisements in the mother tongue than in the German one. Nevertheless, while the amount of monolingual German advertisements is rising, the number of monolingual French ones has been declining significantly from 2015 to 2016, namely from 51.9% to 40% in 2016. However, like in the German edition, the amount of advertisements featuring English named companies or products increased over the years from 19.8% in 2012 to 27.1% in 2016. Meanwhile, the proportion of bilingual advertisements rose from 19.8% in 2012 to 37.4% in 2014, only to decline to 20% in 2016. The amount of advertisements using English slogans, on the other hand, drops from 6.4% in 2012 to 0.9% in 2014 and then quickly increases to 5.9% in 2015 and 12.9% in 2016. Furthermore, also in the French sample, the amount of monolingual English advertisements is continually declining from 2012 onwards, namely from 5.6% to zero instances in 2016.

Hence, after having examined these percentages, it can be stated that the number of advertisements featuring English-named products and companies or English slogans is rising on the expense of monolingual French advertisements. Thus, in the French edition, an increasing preference for English can be observed. However, as in the German edition, the usage of English in advertisements seems to be increasingly limited to language display as the number of bilingual advertisements does not increase. One possible reason for this could again be language comprehension. This hypothesis is supported by one advertisement which contains an English slogan. This slogan is accompanied by an asterisk which refers to the bottom of the publicity where it is translated into French (*20 minutes*, 18 July 2016, p. 7). Thus, while the company apparently does not think that its target group is fluent in English, it nevertheless uses an English slogan in order to evoke associations with the language.

Finally, the diachronic development of the Italian edition differs significantly from the others. To begin with, it is the only one where bilingual advertisements are on the rise over the years as their amount increases from 16.1% in 2012 to 28.1% in 2016. This growth happens at the expense of the number of advertisements containing English-named products and companies as their number is declining from 2012 to 2016, namely from 32.1% to 26.6%. Moreover, while the percentage of bilingual advertisements is increasing, the amount of monolingual Italian promotions slightly decreased from 46% in 2012 to 45.2% in 2016. Before 2016, their percentage rose to 58.5% in 2013 and diminished again to 55% in 2015. Nevertheless, the Italian edition has the highest percentage of monolingual mother tongue advertisements in 2016 and it is also the only edition which features more monolingual Italian promotions than bilingual ones in a majority of the examined years. Hence, a clear preference for the Italian language can be found. It is also interesting to see that in 2016,

there are no advertisements which are only in English or which use any English slogans, while in 2012, 2.3% of all advertisements contain English slogans and 3.5% of all advertisements were monolingual English.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Monolingual Italian advert.	46%	58.5%	56.8%	55%	45.2%
Bilingual advert.	16.1%	11.7%	24.7%	15%	28.2%
Advert. containing English-named companies/products	32.1%	22.3%	18.5%	27.5%	26.6%
Advert. containing English Slogans	2.3%	1.1%	0%	2.5%	0%
Monolingual English advert.	3.5%	6.4%	0%	0%	10%

Table 4. Diachronic developments in the Italian edition

Thus, while the Italian edition has the highest amount of monolingual advertisements in the respective mother tongue, its advertisements are the only ones without a preference for English-named products or companies and English slogans. On the contrary, bilingual advertisements are favoured which means that English does not mainly serve as language display. One possible reason for this could be that, according to the questionnaire, two thirds of the participants are fluent in either French or German as a second language, but hardly any of them in Italian. Thus, it can be assumed that Italian speakers are often forced to use English as a *lingua franca* in their communication inside the country and are therefore used to the language.

To conclude, in the case of French- and Italian-speaking Switzerland, Heather Murray seems to be right to suggest a "growing appetite" for English in advertisements (2003: 106). However, regarding the Swiss German part, a contrary development can be examined. As the Swiss German part features the highest amount of advertisements containing English, it could be possible to assume that this "growing appetite" is satisfied at one point and that this decrease will also happen in the other

two regions. Hence, in a few years, maybe the contrary development will also be seen in the other two parts of Switzerland.

4.2 MADE IN SWITZERLAND

Surprisingly, several traditional Swiss brands like Swissmilk, Schweizer Fleisch and the airline Swiss are either named in English or use the English language in their advertisements. Often, the origin of the product is described in English, namely as *Swiss quality* or *made in Switzerland*. The following part will analyse the advertisements from the different editions in order to determine how many Swiss products are being advertised in English and present possible reasons for it.

Firstly, in the German edition, more than half of the advertisements for Swiss products contain English, namely 60.6% of Swiss products in 2012, 54% in 2013, 57.1% in 2014, 60.9% in 2015 and 58.4% in 2016. Thus, a majority of all promotions employ the English language to advertise traditional goods.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Advert. by Swiss companies containing English	60.6%	54%	57.1%	60.9%	58.4%
Advert. by Swiss companies in German	39.4%	46%	43.9%	39.1%	41.6%
Advert. by American/British companies in German	33%	10.5%	100%	20%	0%
Advert. by American/British companies containing English	77%	89.5%	0%	80%	100%

Table 5. Languages used in advertising products from American, British or Swiss companies in the German edition

However, the actuality that monolingual German promotions are not used in a majority of advertisements for Swiss products can be explained by the fact that the German-speaking part of Switzerland does not speak German as a mother tongue, but Swiss German. Therefore, it can be assumed that advertisers refrain from using too much German

in their promotions in order to avoid the connection to German and its associations as a language which is mainly used in formal circumstances. Nevertheless, advertisers use neither French nor Italian to promote Swiss products. Hence, as languages are mostly used in order to provide a product with the associations of the language and culture (Garrett 2010), this suggests that Swiss Germans associate their country more with qualities and associations from the English language and culture than with the ones from the other two main parts of the country.

Furthermore, also in the Italian part of Switzerland, a high number of advertisements for Swiss products contain English. In 2012, 53.7% of all promotions advertising Swiss products comprise English. This number then decreases to 50% in 2013 and 41.4% in 2014, only to rise to 48.5% in 2015 and to increase even further to 52% in 2016.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Advert. by Swiss companies containing English	54%	50%	41%	49%	52%
Advert. by Swiss companies in Italian	46%	50%	59%	51%	48%
Advert. by American/British companies in Italian	33%	29%	9%	0%	40%
Advert. by American/British companies containing English	67%	71%	91%	100%	60%

Table 6. Languages used in advertising products from American, British or Swiss companies in the Italian edition

The Italian part seems to associate the English language and culture with Switzerland as well, although not as abundantly as the Swiss German one; however, as the Italian language is their mother tongue, another explanation must be found for this high proportion of English. Thus, Cheshire and Moser claim that Switzerland, as a multicultural country, is not only mainly held together by conscious dissociation from their neighbouring countries, but is especially united "when under external threat" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 466). However, as currently, there are no imminent external threats, the Swiss population starts to focus on the internal divisions of the country. This concept is called the

'Helvetic malaise' (Cheshire and Moser 1994). The English language, on the other hand, allows the Swiss population to "construct a self-image that is consistent with the favourable image presented to tourists" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 466). Hence, the English language reflects a satisfying 'tourist' identity back to the Swiss which is why it is used in order to advertise Swiss products (Cheshire and Moser 1994).

The French edition shows a different situation as after 2012, more Swiss products are advertised in monolingual French than in English. While in 2012, 51.1% of all promotions presenting Swiss products contained English, this number keeps declining to 42.9% in 2016. Thus, in French-speaking Switzerland, the mother tongue seems to be more associated with Switzerland than the English language. Hence, the 'Helvetic malaise' seems to be less prevalent here.

However, also regarding British and American companies, advertisements contain comparatively little English in the French edition. At the beginning of this analysis, in 2012, 55.6% of all promotions for English products contained English while in 2013, this is the case for 76.9% of all promotions. In 2014, 100% of all promotions by British or American companies comprise English, while in 2015, this number drops to 70% to decrease even further to 50% in 2016. While still a majority of advertisements for British and American companies contain English, their proportions are the lowest in the French sample. Thus, a general preference for French in advertisements can be observed which could also explain the high percentage of monolingual French advertisements for Swiss products.

	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
Advert. by Swiss companies containing English	51.1%	41.3%	46.9%	48.7%	42.3%
Advert. by Swiss companies in French	48.9%	58.7%	53.1%	51.3%	57.7%
Advert. by American/British companies in French	44.4%	23.1%	0%	30%	50%
Advert. by American/British companies containing English	55.6%	76.9%	100%	70%	50%

Table 7. Languages used in advertising products from American, British or Swiss companies in the French edition

4.3 CATEGORISING ADVERTISEMENTS

The last part of the analysis is going to compare the findings from the societal treatment study to the ones of the questionnaire in order to determine if societal treatment studies are indeed not suitable for “generalisations to broader or specific populations” (Garrett 2010, 51). Differences in the usage of English and in associations with the language in the three main regions of Switzerland will be discussed.

The first category to be examined is “fashion and beauty”. In the case of the French and German-speaking part, a majority of the advertisements contain English, namely 75% and 71.4% respectively. The Italian-speaking part represents an exception with only 45.8% of advertisements in English. Thus, according to the societal treatment study, it can be assumed that in the French and Swiss German part of Switzerland, fashion and beauty are associated with the English language and culture. The Italian-speaking population, on the other hand, connects it with the Italian language. However, these findings are only partly supported by the questionnaire. There, 65% of all French speakers and 91% of all Swiss Germans associate fashion and beauty with the English language which is congruent with the findings of the societal treatment study. Regarding the Italian part, the findings are contradicted as 63% of all respondents associate fashion and beauty with English. Nevertheless, the results from the questionnaire are supported by Cheshire and Moser's societal treatment study and their observation that English is mostly associated with transient fashions.

This claim is also supported by the findings from the category “cars”, where 70% of all Italian advertisements, 89.5% of all German and 60% of all French ones comprise English. Thus, in all three regions, cars seem to be connected to the English language. However, this category shows one of the main problems in societal treatment studies. While it is possible to say that cars are a part of transient fashion, all other attitudes and associations which could be derived from this category necessitate either guesswork or an additional questionnaire in order to identify people's general associations with cars. For Cheshire and Moser (1994), the fact that cars are mainly advertised using the English language shows that English is the *lingua franca* of science and technology. While they do not justify the association of cars with technology, this observation is supported by the questionnaire as 55% of Swiss Germans, 82% of Italian-speaking participants and 65% of French speakers associate technology with the English language. Furthermore, for 89% of all Swiss German respondents, 95% of all Italian speakers and 88% of all French ones, modernity is also abundantly associated with the English language. In addition, the past is generally associated with the mother tongue of the respective respondents according to 77% of the Swiss German speakers, 89% of the

Italian ones and 80% of the French ones. Although these findings from the questionnaire second the ones from the societal treatment study, it is not clear if all these attributes are really connected to the category "cars". This shows a first instance where societal treatment studies are not suitable for "generalisations to broader or specific populations."

The association of the English language with technology can also be observed in the category "electronics" as 90.5% of all Italian advertisements for electronics, 88.9% of German ones and 76.3% of French ones contain English. This is mostly the case because of technical terms, as they mainly consist of internationally used Anglicisms (Steiner & Strobel 2006). This attribution of technology to the English language also supports the results from the following category, "telephone chatlines" as in all three editions, 100% of all advertisements contain English. The main reason for this high percentage is that the three major Swiss companies for telephone lines are labelled in English, namely Orange respectively Salt, Swisscom and Sunrise. While the attribute of communication is not explicitly mentioned in the questionnaire, almost half of the participants from all three regions stated the association of communication with the English language in the open-ended questions. Thus, the findings from the societal treatment study are consistent with the ones from the questionnaire.

In the case of "cigarettes", only the German edition features a majority of advertisements which comprise English, namely 69.6%, while the Italian edition contains 37.5% and the French one 46.7%. This is especially surprising as Cheshire and Moser claim in their societal treatment study that English is often used "in order to evoke connotations that have to do with the lifestyle of a particular country where English is a native language" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 463), citing cigarettes as an example. Again, while Cheshire and Moser claim that in advertisements, "smoking is generally associated with the USA" (Cheshire and Moser 1994, 462), it would be necessary to know which associations people have with cigarettes or English-speaking countries in order to be able to discuss the findings from the societal treatment study and compare them to the questionnaire. Furthermore, the fact that the findings from this study do not support the ones observed by Cheshire and Moser indicates another defect of societal treatment studies. As many of the analysed promotions advertise the brand *Parisiennes* which is a Swiss brand with clear connections to France, it is not surprising that they do not contain any English. Hence, the results from societal treatment studies are highly influenced by the companies and their advertised products. This also explains the fact that the German edition has a lot more advertisements for cigarettes which contain English as it is longer and more abundant in promotions. Thus, it does not only feature advertisements for *Parisiennes* but also for American brands. Therefore, this shows that societal treatment studies do not

necessarily lend themselves "to statistical analysis or generalisations to broader or specific populations" (Garrett 2010, 51).

"Health", on the other hand, is predominantly attributed to the respective mother tongue, thus only 12.5% of the Italian advertisements, 11.1% of the German ones and 36.4% of the French ones contain English. These findings are supported by the questionnaire where 63% of all French speakers, 65% of all Italian speakers and 86% of all Swiss German speakers associate health with their respective mother tongue. Thus, this could suggest that recreational activities damaging to health like cigarettes and smoking are connected to the English language. However, this hypothesis is not supported by the findings of the societal treatment study and it cannot be seconded by the questionnaire.

Meanwhile, the category "travel" is clearly associated with English as 80% of the advertisements in the Italian edition, 60% in the German one and 62.1% in the French one contain English. Thus, the English language is indeed seen as "the language of tourism and international travel", as claimed by Cheshire and Moser (1994, 461). This is also supported by the questionnaire, in the case of the open-ended questions where internationality, globalism and travelling were the most often listed attributes for the English language as well as in the case of the closed ones where 94% of all Swiss German speakers, 100% of all Italian ones and 70% of all French speakers associate travelling with English.

The same is also true in the case of "alcohol". English is featured in most advertisements, namely in 100% of the advertisements in the Italian and French edition and in 40% in the German one. The advertised products are mostly American, thus it can be assumed that the advertisements are supposed to transmit connotations with the country (Cheshire and Moser 1994). Hence, it is not surprising that 82% of all French speakers associate alcohol with their mother tongue as a majority of the participants connect their language to wine in the open-ended questions. This is less the case in the German and Italian-speaking part, where 60% and 80% of all respondents associate alcohol with the English language and thus only partly match the findings of the societal treatment study as there, alcohol is not connected to English in a majority of the advertisements in the German edition. Again, the advertised products play an important role in the outcome of the societal treatment study as the results rather mirror the campaigned products than the attitudes and associations of people.

Moreover, the attribution of English to alcohol is probably also connected to the category "entertainment" which also includes advertisements of night life. There, the societal treatment study shows a clear association with the English language as 64.8% of all advertisements

concerning entertainment in the Italian edition and 80.9% in the German one contain English. Meanwhile, only 42.9% of the advertisements in the French edition comprise English which means that the French speakers mainly associate entertainment with their mother tongue. These findings, however, are only partly supported by the questionnaire. While 75% of the Italian-speaking participants, 70% of French-speaking ones and 86% of the Swiss German speakers associate entertainment with the English language, it is different with night life, as there, 62% of all respondents from the Italian part and 68% of the Swiss German one attribute it to the English language while 75% of all French speakers associate night life with their mother tongue. Music, nevertheless, is widely assigned to the English language according to 83% of Swiss German respondents, 95% of French ones and 82% of Italian ones. Thus, while in the German- and Italian-speaking part of Switzerland, the findings from the societal treatment study and the questionnaire are congruent, this is not the case in the French-speaking one. However, the category "entertainment" proved to be a bit problematic as it is a conglomeration of different things like night life, concerts, music, theatre and leisure activities as each of them on its own would not have been enough to fill an own category. It is possible that most of the found promotions in the French edition advertised night life which could serve as an explanation for the fact that French speakers associate their mother tongue with night life but not with entertainment or music, while according to the societal treatment study, the conglomeration of them is mainly associated with French. Furthermore, this would also explain the differentness of the French edition in the societal treatment studies as advertisements for night life often campaign local events which would justify the main usage of the French language.

The category "banks" is an interesting case as well as 81.8% of all advertisements in the Italian edition, 77.4% in the German one and 76% in the French one contain English. As most of the advertised banks are Swiss, this is an astonishing result. This could again be a case of 'Helvetic malaise', so that Swiss companies try to reflect a satisfying 'tourist' identity back to the Swiss population (Cheshire and Moser 1994). Secondly, as Alessandra Franzen mentions in her analysis, it is often cheaper for Swiss companies to use English advertisements as they are deployable in all parts of Switzerland and the English proportion also has a recognition value (Franzen 2001). The English language could also be used as a sign of "international prestige", thus promoting the internationality of the bank (Haarmann 1984, 11). All these possibilities show another flaw of the societal treatment study as it is not clear which one of these reasons is the right one for the high amount of English in advertisements for banks. Nevertheless, each of these reasons reflects a different attitude towards the English language. Furthermore, comparing these results to the questionnaire has again been difficult as it would be necessary to

add another questionnaire in order to find specific associations which people have with banks. However, one possible attribute can be found in the questionnaire. Here, wealth is mainly associated with the respective mother tongue of the respondent for 53% of all Swiss German speakers, 82% of all Italian speakers and 67% of all French speakers. While this could be contrary to the findings of the societal treatment study, their answers also show a flaw regarding the questionnaire and the translations as it is possible that some respondents answered according to the richness of the language and not in the sense of monetary wealth.

Moreover, advertisements for "furniture" generally do not contain English as 75% of the Italian advertisements, 73.7% of the French ones and 57.7% of the German ones are in their respective mother tongue. While these proportions are comparatively low, especially in the German edition and considering that mainly German and Swiss companies advertised in the newspapers, these findings still second Cheshire and Moser's claim that everyday products are generally not advertised in English (Cheshire and Moser 1994). The findings are also supported by the questionnaire, as according to 60% of all respondents of the French-speaking part, 79% of the German-speaking one and 95% of the Italian-speaking one, home is associated with the respective mother tongue.

The results from the societal treatment study in the category of "comestible goods" also support the preceding findings as 21.9% of all Italian advertisements, 45.7% of all German ones and 40% of all French ones contain English. While these results still suggest a relatively high association of comestible goods with the English language in the German and the French-speaking part of Switzerland, the findings from the questionnaire second the general association of mundane products with the respective mother tongue, as 73% of all Swiss German respondents, 82% of all French ones and 95% of all Italian ones attribute food to their first language.

In the category "sports", on the other hand, the two approaches resulted in contradicting findings. In the Swiss German part, 85% of all advertisements contain English, while in the French edition, it is only 50%, and only 44.4% in the Italian one. According to Cheshire and Moser (1994), their examined advertisements suggest a clear connection between the USA and the concept of competition and winning, hence sports are generally associated with the English language. While the findings from the German edition clearly support this claim, the ones from the Italian- and French-speaking part do not. Their claim, however, is supported by the questionnaire as 58% of all Swiss Germans, 89% of all French speakers and 62% of all Italian ones associate sports with the English language. The contradicting findings from the societal treatment study could be explained

by the fact that many promotions for sports advertised local activities and thus, tried to campaign locally. Therefore, the findings from the societal treatment study are again influenced by the advertised products.

Regarding "charity", it is surprising to see that 12.8% of the advertisements in the Italian edition, 46.7% in the German one and 47.8% in the French one comprise English. While the results from the Italian-speaking part can clearly be supported by the questionnaire, where 94% of all respondents claim to associate generosity with the Italian language, the Swiss German and French findings are harder to second as a narrow majority of 52% of all French-speaking respondents associate generosity with their mother tongue, while 70% of the Swiss German respondents, however, attribute it to English. The high proportions of English in the German and French edition and the high number of Swiss German participants associating generosity with the English language could be explained by the consideration that most charity organisations act internationally and many of them are named in English. Thus, as internationality is highly associated with the English language, the attribution of charity and generosity to the English language is explainable as well. However, the findings from the societal treatment study again depend on the companies and products which are advertised as in the Italian edition, many local charity organisations promote, while in the German and French edition, there are more international ones.

Also, the category "education" is a really interesting case as 0% of all advertisements in *20 minuti*, 42.9% in *20 Minuten* and 27.3% in *20 minutes* contain English. Thus, according to the societal treatment study, the Italian-speaking members of Switzerland clearly do not associate education with the English language. Nevertheless, the questionnaire shows a different picture as there, 63% of all Swiss German speakers and 65% of all French-speakers associate education with their mother tongue while 79% of all Italian speakers attribute education to the English language. While these contradicting results are really striking, a possible explanation for the differences could be that most respondents are Italian-speaking students studying English at the University of Zurich, thus it is likely that they associate education with their degree. Hence, in order to clearly verify the results from the societal treatment study, it would be necessary to get a more diverse range of respondents.

Finally, the category "news and magazines" also shows differing results between the two approaches as in the Italian edition, 0% of the advertisements feature English while in the German one, it is 47.5%, and 48.3% in the French one. This is not only surprising regarding the questionnaire, as there, 78% of all Swiss Germans, 63% of all French speakers and 95% of all Italian speakers associate being up to date with

the English language, but also regarding the fact that news and magazines are often international and thus, according to Cheshire and Moser (1994), should be associated with the English language. The results from the societal treatment study seem to differ highly from reality, especially in the case of the Italian-speaking part of Switzerland. Therefore, it is again shown that this approach does not lend itself to "statistical analysis or generalisations to broader or specific populations" (Garrett 2010, 51).

5. CONCLUSION

To conclude, the societal treatment study is a useful approach in order to examine differences in the usage of English and diachronic developments in different language regions. It showed that in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, advertisements feature the highest amount of English, while the Italian-speaking one has the lowest. However, the German-speaking part is the only one where the number of monolingual advertisements in the respective mother tongue is rising, hence it could be assumed that while in the other two regions, the amount of English in advertisements is still increasing, the German-speaking part is ahead in the development and that the other two will follow the German example of a new decrease in a few years. In addition, in the Swiss German and French sample, an increasing use of English as 'language display' instead of as a medium of communication could have been examined.

Moreover, regarding advertisements from Swiss companies, especially in the German edition but also in the Italian one, a majority of the promotions contain English. One possible reason which could have been found for this in the German-speaking part could be that advertisers try to avoid the formal associations with German. Another possible reason is mentioned by Cheshire and Moser (1994), namely the 'Helvetic malaise' which means that by using the English language, a unifying tourist identity is mirrored back to the Swiss population. This 'Helvetic malaise', however, does not seem to exist as much in the French part of Switzerland, as there, most Swiss companies as well as a high amount of American and British ones advertise in French.

Hence, these observations show how societal treatment studies can lead to useful and unique results which already reveal a lot about attitudes towards English in the three main parts of Switzerland.

In the case of the examination of specific attitudes, however, societal treatment studies are indeed not necessarily the best choice. While in a majority of the analysed categories, the findings of the societal treatment study correlated to the ones from the questionnaire, the approach

nevertheless showed several flaws. Firstly, many of the categories which are analysed in this study are not clearly assignable to any of Cheshire and Moser's claims as the reason for the high amount of English in the category of banks, for example, could either be the 'Helvetic malaise' or international prestige but there could also be another reason like the reutilisation of slogans in all parts of Switzerland. The last possibility also leads to another problem in the applicability of the societal treatment study as the insertion of English parts in an advertisement can also have other reasons than associations with the English language as the length of an advertisement or a standardisation approach due to the globalisation of the market can also play an important role in these considerations (Gerritsen et al. 2010). These factors, however, are not considered by societal treatment studies. Secondly, not all of the categories illustrate any associations with the English language. This could have been seen in the case of "cars", "banks" and "cigarettes" where a second questionnaire would be necessary so as to determine general associations with the products as everyone attributes different traits to them. Furthermore, while Cheshire and Moser have been able to identify general claims about the usage of the English language, their observations do not always correlate with the ones in this study. According to them, the English language is mostly used as a *lingua franca* in science and technology, for transient fashions and in order to provide products with associations with international prestige or with the country of origin. However, the findings of this study, for example in the category "sports", "cigarettes" and "food" do not support their claims. One reason for this is that the findings from the societal treatment study are often heavily influenced by the advertising companies and the promoted products. This represents another flaw of societal treatment studies.

Thus, while societal treatment studies are a good approach for diachronic analyses, the statement that societal treatment studies do not lend themselves "to statistical analysis or generalisations to broader or specific populations" (Garrett 2010, 51) proved to be true.

Concerning the differences of attitudes in the three linguistic regions of Switzerland, it has been possible to observe that in many instances, the three regions share the same associations with the English language. However, in the case of deviations in attitudes between the three parts, it could have been examined that either the French or Italian speakers chose their mother tongue instead of the English language or the Swiss German speakers opt for the English language instead of their mother tongue. Thus, a high acceptance and identification with the English language could have been observed in the German part of Switzerland.

Regarding further research, it would be interesting to focus on the questionnaire in more detail as many associations and thoughts which are

mentioned in there could not have been examined in this study. Moreover, in order to have a more reliable sample for each linguistic region, more participants from the Italian and French-speaking part and respondents from different age groups and educational backgrounds should be consulted. Thus, it would be possible to compare attitudinal differences in people from varying age groups and with diverse educational backgrounds. Concerning the societal treatment study, it would be interesting to combine it with theories from marketing or customer psychology in order to study the reasons for the insertion of English parts in advertisements not only from a linguistical point of view, but also from an economic one.

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**The Concept of Time in
Don DeLillo's *Point Omega***

The Concept of Time in Don DeLillo's *Point Omega*

Temporality is one of the key aspects that contribute to the reshaping of the narrative tendencies of literary modernism, thus leading to the emergence of new narrative strategies associated with postmodern literature. The aim of this paper is to scrutinize its representation in postmodern literature and theory, focusing on one of the notable works that illustrate this phenomenon. Influenced by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin's theory of the final aim of evolution, defined as the omega point, Don DeLillo's novel of the same name explores, in Peter Boxall's words, the formal balance between cinematic time, urban time, and desert time. In that sense, the paper is particularly concerned with the plurality of time, prevalent in literary postmodernism. In order to provide insight into this matter, it is also essential to shed light on how it is represented in the works of Jorge Luis Borges, who exerted significant influence on DeLillo's depiction of the concept of time in the contemporary world.

KEYWORDS

DeLillo, Point Omega, time, postmodernism, Borges

The concept of time, no matter how prominent in contemporary literature, has rarely been so thoroughly explored as in *Point Omega*, a thought-provoking novel written by one of the most influential authors of the 20th and 21st century, Don DeLillo. Prior to the analysis of his novel, some questions about the aforementioned writer ought to be addressed. What is quite frequently asked when discussing DeLillo and his work is *Where does he belong?* and *Is he a modernist or a postmodernist?* Looking at his oeuvre, it is difficult to assign him one of the two labels. Despite his repeated interest in modernist writers and his description of *Underworld*, one of his most notable works, as 'the last modernist gasp,' his awareness and depiction of the problems of the present time give him a special place in the postmodern literary universe. With subtle irony, he covers in his novels virtually all the themes pertinent to postmodernism. His characters face struggles of the modern man and they live in a hyper-real, media-saturated, dread-imbued world where everything seems to have lost its true meaning.

As the contemporary world changes, so does DeLillo's tone – he enters the 21st century as a prophet of our dystopian, pessimistic future. With all that happens, most notably 9/11 attacks, there comes a new conceptualisation of the world and also a new conceptualisation of time. As Peter Boxall (2012, 691), in his study *Late: Fictional Time in the Twenty-First Century*, put it, "DeLillo's novels of the new century forge a new style in which to express 21st century time, a new and different kind of sentence."

This is clearly seen in his latest novels such as *Cosmopolis*, *The Body Artist*, and the novel in question – *Point Omega*. What is needed in order to comprehend multiple functions of time in this book is to provide two theoretical perspectives from which this phenomenon can be observed. The first theoretical perspective concerns the representation of temporality in postmodern literature in general, while the second one is based on theories proposed by the author whose works open new possibilities of exploring the non-linear conceptualisation of time. The notions of circular time and the present as the only truly existing concept, which marked Jorge Luis Borges's oeuvre, are of utmost importance for analysing any postmodern novel that deals with this phenomenon. The analysis of *Point Omega* is thus divided into two parts, where the first one strives to illustrate the significance of cinematic time, while the second one explores the discrepancy between urban and desert time, providing a comparison to Borges's short story *The Garden of Forking Paths*.

One of the quotes that sums up the relation between postmodernism and time is Boxall's quote that says that the postmodern world is characterised by "historical completion or exhaustion that coexist with an experience of a present that is so young, so rapidly growing and changing, that it is difficult even to inhabit it (...)" (2012, 3). There is a sense of lateness; a sense of an ending which undeniably alters the understanding and representation of time in postmodern literature. We constantly feel that we are approaching finitude, a global endgame, the omega point, and it is in DeLillo's works that we see it most prominently. This is what Boxall (2006, 4) refers to in *Don DeLillo: The Possibility of Fiction*, an extensive analysis of DeLillo's oeuvre, while discussing 'the endedness', which appears like a shadow in DeLillo's novels: "Again and again in DeLillo's novels we are confronted with a predicament in which the future is already here, in which the post-apocalyptic future that is darkly massing behind the flimsy boundary of the second millennium comes flooding in, to arrive 'ahead of schedule'."

The so-called 'directionlessness of time' is often said to have started with Beckett and, despite the fact that one can find more differences than similarities between the two writers, this characteristic can be perceived in both the early and the late phase of DeLillo's writing, from *Americana* to *Point Omega* (Boxall 2006). What's more, at the end of the 20th century, we witness the merging of space and time, i.e. time being measured through space. One of the pioneers of postmodernist theory, Fredric Jameson, talks about the end of temporality by saying that its (postmodern) dominant is space and that it reaches its pinnacle in the experience of the city itself, i.e. the post-urban city (Jameson 2003). This is confirmed by one of the characters in *Players* who, talking about New York, states, "It's unbelievably late. I've never seen it so late. It's really late out there. You should see. (...) The district, outwardly, is like the end of organized time. (...) There's nothing out there" (DeLillo 2016, 71-72).

However, what happens in the 21st century is that this finitude turns into 'finality without end' or 'intensive present' (Boxall 2006, Boxall 2012), which is manifested in DeLillo's late works. In the opening sequence of *The Body Artist* (DeLillo 2001, 1) – "Time seems to pass" – lies all the uncertainty about the 21st century time: Is it passing, and, if it is, is it taking us anywhere? This is again related to the previously mentioned lack of direction. Its consequence, i.e. our inability to speak of time as a simple concept, is DeLillo's main concern in the novel previously mentioned, *The Body Artist*, but most explicitly in the more recent one, *Point Omega*.

Jorge Luis Borges, the ingenious author whose works are characterised by the exploration of multiple realities, provides a substantial theoretical background for analysing the concept that was previously described as 'intensive present,' since both his philosophical and fictional works are based on the idea of the present as the only existing concept. The theories concerning time and eternity exemplified in Borges' works offer two points of view from which we can observe these phenomena. The first one is, of course, the conventional passage of time as we know it, i.e. perceiving time in a linear manner from the past to the present to the future. The second perspective, on the other hand, stresses eternity as the ubiquity of time, thus leading to the conclusion that the past, the present and the future are virtually non-existent and that, therefore, everything that is happening, is happening 'right now', in one timeless moment. Hence, it is not hard to conclude that the whole Borges' oeuvre is based on the latter. The ideas concerning the complexity of time were thoroughly explored in his book *A History of Eternity*, where he states that time cannot be observed without the notion of eternity, which is "an image wrought in the substance of time" (Borges 1936, 123). Moreover, for Borges, the history of eternity is not one-dimensional: it is rather a history of two successive theories about eternity, where one seeks to determine 'still archetypes of all creatures', while the other denies the truth of archetypes and thus strives to gather up all the details of the universe in a single second (Borges 1936). By the same token, the term itself becomes ambiguous, and hence what we call 'eternal' in ordinary language in order to denote 'everlasting existence' is sometimes termed 'sempiternal' in philosophy, while the adjective 'eternal' denotes timelessness (Bossart 2003). It is exactly this concept of 'timeless present' that is in the core of Borges' oeuvre and also dominant in DeLillo's novel. Similar to Borges' stories, *Point Omega* represents the idea of the present moment as the only existing one, enveloping both the past and the future moments. Thus, the interpretation of DeLillo's novel, based on the perspectives proposed by Borges, can start from two statements that sum up his observations concerning the past and the future. When describing the notion of the past, Borges says that, "We gather up all the delights of a given past in a single image" (1936, 136), and describing the future he states that, "We perceive real events and image those that are possible" (1936, 134).

Borges goes even deeper into describing the aforementioned phenomena by adding the chapter on 'Circular Time', which represents the idea that the human history is repeating itself, having reached the final point. In a similar manner, DeLillo's novel was inspired by the theory about the Omega Point, which represents the final goal of evolution after which everything returns to its original source. Hence, these ideas support the theory of the present moment as the only temporal concept that

actually exists and manifests itself in a circular manner, thus leading to the denial of the existence of the past and future. Having researched the representation of this phenomenon in Western philosophy, Borges here relies on Schopenhauer's (1909, 360) statement that,

[Real] objects are only in the present; the past and the future contain only conceptions and fancies, therefore the present is the essential form of the phenomenon of the will, and inseparable from it. The present alone is that which always exists and remains immovable.

However, Schopenhauer is not the only philosopher in whose works Borges finds a suitable starting point for exploring and extending the complexity of the topic he tackles. Some ten years after *A History of Eternity*, Borges published the essay *A New Refutation of Time*, where he states that the ideas proposed by George Berkeley and David Hume can also be extended to the concept of time. As Berkeley denied matter by denying that there was an object behind the sense impressions, and Hume denied spirit by stating that there was no subject behind the perception of changes, Borges (1947, 329) is free to deny time.

However, with the continuities of matter and spirit denied, with space denied, I do not know by what right we retain that continuity which is time. Outside each perception (real or conjectural), matter does not exist; outside each mental state, spirit does not exist; neither then must time exist outside each present moment.

Conclusive as this excerpt might seem, it only represents one dimension of Borges's essay. As the reading of Borges's essay progresses, we encounter the sense of uncertainty the author is filled with, and that, as it is going to be shown, makes him even closer to DeLillo's depiction of useless efforts both to define the postmodern conceptualisation of time and to deny it. The final passage of *A New Refutation of Time* exemplifies the deepest, and, at the same time, the most humane description of what an individual feels like when confronted with the idea that they can neither accept nor refute temporal succession.

And yet, and yet... To deny temporal succession, to deny the self, to deny the astronomical universe, appear to be acts of desperation and are secret consolations. Our destiny (...) is not terrifying because it is unreal; it is terrifying because it is irreversible and iron-bound. Time is the substance of which I am made. Time is a river that sweeps me along, but I am the river; it is a tiger that mangles me, but I am the tiger; it is a fire that consumes me, but I am the fire. The world, unfortunately, is real; I, unfortunately, am Borges. (Borges 1947, 332)

4. ANALYSIS OF *POINT OMEGA*

4.1. CINEMATIC TIME

Keeping in mind that both the opening and the closing section of *Point Omega* focus on the screening of a film, it is apparent that cinematic time plays a significant role in the novel. In the Museum of Modern Art in New York, we see an anonymous man obsessively watching the film *24 Hour Psycho*, Douglas Gordon's experimental decelerated version of Hitchcock's 1960 classic film. What is shown to us through his eyes is a string of frames, of images, which extend the running time to 24 hours, thus making it very different from a normal flow of time. This corresponds to Bergson's theory, which says time is not perceived by spatial means, but that humans perceive it through pictures, although the whole picture is never fully discerned and understood due to the individual ability of perception (Ćurčić 2015, 511), "Real time, therefore, can only be experienced through intuition or imagination, which is why the observer finds cinema as the perfect medium to create an ideal world in his mind, in his inner-self."

The question that is frequently posed in analyses of cinematic time in the novel relates the purpose of deceleration and its significance to the story. This is probably best explained by DeLillo himself, who said in an interview that seeing this exhibition numerous times inspired him to write about "the idea of time and motion and what we see and what we miss seeing at normal speeds that we can see at much slower speeds" (BBC Radio 2010). Thus, watching the film at its slowed-down pace stirs contemplation, it makes the narrator think about space and time. In doing so, he concludes that "it takes close attention to see what is happening in front of you" and that "[i]t takes work, pious effort to see what you're looking at" (DeLillo 2010, 14). Slow pace requires him to stop, study it and ponder. What is actually implied by this is the fact that slowing down makes us focus on reality and thus allows us to see things which are imperceptible to us by mere seeing. Therefore, when temporality is altered, we are able to see what is real.

The less there was to see, the harder he looked, the more he saw. This was the point. To see what's here, finally to look and to know you're looking, to feel time passing, to be alive to what is happening in the smallest registers of motion. (DeLillo 2010, 10)

What the narrator realises is that the relationship between this decelerated version and the original film is the same as the one between the original film and real experience, which leads him to the conclusion that "the original movie [is] fiction" and that "this [is] real" (DeLillo 2010, 14). As Ćurčić

(2015, 518) points out, "What the observer sees on screen in *24 Hour Psycho* changes the temporal experience so deep that he achieves the mystical enlightenment that makes him question the observable reality." This takes us back to DeLillo's idea that slowing down provides insight into what is otherwise invisible to us and leads us to the main story of the book where time is given another, yet undoubtedly related, meaning.

4.2. DESERT TIME VS. URBAN TIME

The main story of the novel is set in a Californian desert far away from urban surroundings. The narrator is Jim Finley, a filmmaker who comes to an isolated desert property in order to make a film about his host Richard Elster, a 73-year-old academic and a former Pentagon adviser who participated in the conceptualisation of the Iraq war. The narration in this part of the novel is also characterised by a slowed-down pace and the surroundings also create an isolated atmosphere. However, while the first and the last part of the novel are focused on cinematic time, the middle part concerns the discrepancy between the urban environment, which represents the temporal reality as a social construct, and the desert, where time literally stops passing. This is best described in Elster's words, "It's all about time, dimwit time, inferior time, people checking watches and other devices, other reminders. This is time draining out of our lives. Cities were built to measure time, to remove time from nature. There's an endless counting down, he said" (DeLillo 2010, 28). Thus, it is this part of the novel that is reminiscent of Borges' theories concerning time. In order to illustrate those similarities, DeLillo's novel and Borges' famous short story *The Garden of Forking Paths* will be compared on three levels.

The first parallel relies on both characters' urge to leave everything in order to devote themselves to pure time, which can be felt only in isolated places far away from other people. In *The Garden of Forking Paths*, we follow the story of a Chinese professor and also a spy for the German Empire during The First World War, who, while running away from a military intelligence agent, visits the house of an eminent sinologist who tells him a story about his ancestor Ts'ui Pen. We soon realize that Ts'ui Pen left all the luxury that was offered to him in order to create a book and a labyrinth, which are both a representation of the multiplicity of temporal realities.

"A strange destiny," said Stephen Albert, "that of Ts'ui Pen – Governor of his native province, learned in astronomy, in astrology and tireless in the interpretation of the canonical books, a chess player, a famous poet and a calligrapher. Yet he abandoned all to make a book and a labyrinth." (Borges 1941, 5)

Later on, Stephen Albert explains that Ts'ui Pen's labyrinth of symbols is actually a book that attempts to envelop and portray all the possible outcomes of a single event, metaphorically represented as a garden whose paths multiply and fork ad *infinitum*. Similarly, Richard Elster is said to have exchanged his old life for time and space.

He sat at a table in a secure conference room with the strategic planners and military analysts. (...) He was cleared to read classified cables and restricted transcripts, he said, and he listened to the chatter of the resident experts, the metaphysicians in the intelligence agencies, the fantasists in the Pentagon. (...) He'd exchanged all that for space and time. These were things he seemed to absorb through his pores. There were the distances that enfolded every feature of the landscape and there was the force of geologic time, out there somewhere, the string grids of excavators searching for weathered bone. (DeLillo 2010, 16)

The second important parallel between the two stories is the aforementioned importance of the present moment. In *The Garden of Forking Paths*, this is best represented in the inner monologue of the protagonist, who reflects that, "[ALL] things happen, happen to one, precisely now. Century follows century, and things happen only in the present" (Borges 1941, 1). In a similar manner, the middle part of *Point Omega* starts as follows: "The true life takes place when we're alone, thinking, feeling, lost in memory, dreamingly selfaware, the submicroscopic moments" (DeLillo 2010, 15).

Finally, both works epitomize Borges' idea that we constantly imagine the possible futures and thus, everything that really happens, happens in the minds of their protagonists. Hence, Borges' protagonist, chased by an agent who was sent to kill him, considers himself an already dead man, thinking that, "Whosoever would undertake some atrocious enterprise should act as if it were already accomplished, should impose upon himself a future as irrevocable as the past" (Borges 1941, 3). In the same way, Jim Finley keeps trying to predict the future, especially in his interaction with Elster's daughter Jessie. This quote is one of the numerous examples:

If I said something, she would know I was standing. The source of the voice would indicate I was standing and she would wonder why and then turn and look at me. This would tell me what she wanted, the way she turned, the look on her face, or what I wanted. Because I had to be smart, be careful. (DeLillo 2010, 42)

This perspective also explains why Jim Finley never actually finishes his film about Elster: since it has already been finished in his head, the objective reality does not really matter to him.

Having analysed the complexity of time represented in Don DeLillo's novel *Point Omega*, we can conclude that the exploration of postmodern time requires multiple perspectives. Applying those perspectives to the novel has shown that it perfectly embodies the idea of intensive present, prominent both in postmodern literary theory and in Borges's works. From the decelerated version of the famous movie classic to the juxtaposition of the desert and the urban environment, every aspect of this novel points out to the fact that one can reach a better understanding of temporality only in complete isolation, far away from the city which was built "to remove time from nature" (DeLillo 2010, 28). Moreover, the strong connection with the works of Jorge Luis Borges suggests that, even though temporal succession cannot be refuted, there is a plethora of theories which open numerous possibilities for a more comprehensive perception of this intriguing phenomenon. Through Don DeLillo's novels, we can perceive that time in the new century seems to be flowing in a different way and thus requires that we stop for a moment in order to obtain a better understanding of its complexity. Every novel written by Don DeLillo shows, in a typically covert way, his preoccupation with time and its intricate nature. From present-to-past and past-to-present journeys in *Americana*, to the trespassing of future into present in *Body Artist*, time and temporality have been experimented with differently in DeLillo's novels, and yet, have remained a mystery. This leads us to the conclusion that the new century requires new approaches to the concept of time.

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14

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**Dominant Gender
Discourses and Boys' Interest
in Foreign Language Learning**

Dominant Gender Discourses and Boys' Interest in Foreign Language Learning

Language learning has long been regarded as a female domain in both commonsense notions about gender and academic research. In fact, there have been numerous studies on girls' superior performance in language education (Arnot et al. 1996; Burstall 1975; Boyle 1987) and the reasons behind this phenomenon, and more recently, boys have been painted as victims of feminized language learning in education politics (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 1998). According to poststructuralist research, however, gendered identities are continuously constructed in discourse, which links specific behavior to images of femininity or masculinity. Based on the assumption that these understandings of gender identities play a role in students' attitudes towards certain practices, this paper will examine the relationship between dominant gender discourses on language learning and boys' interest in Foreign Language Learning (FLL). For this purpose, poststructuralist gender theory will be applied to popular narratives based on dominant gender discourses, namely sex difference research and male underachievement in language education, in order to show that their perpetuation of the idea that language is a female domain is a possible factor in boys' lack of FLL interest. The paper aims to illustrate that dominant gender discourses should be problematized as a hindrance to boys' FLL interest rather than reinforced through educational politics and academic research.

KEYWORDS

Gender discourse, foreign language learning, masculinity

1. INTRODUCTION

Language learning has long been regarded as a female domain in both commonsense notions about gender and academic research. In fact, there have been numerous studies on girls' superior performance in language education and the reasons behind this phenomenon (Arnot et al. 1996; Burstall 1975; Boyle 1987), and more recently, boys have been painted as victims of feminized language learning in education politics (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 1998). According to poststructuralist research, however, gendered identities are continuously constructed in discourse, which links specific behavior to images of femininity or masculinity (Litosseliti 2006; Jule 2008). Based on the assumption that these understandings of gender identities play a role in students' attitudes towards certain practices, this paper will examine the relationship between dominant gender discourses on language learning and boys' interest in Foreign Language Learning (FLL) by consulting relevant literature. At the beginning, the main ideas of poststructuralist gender studies will be discussed in order to provide a theoretical background. Subsequently, two different narratives about language learning which are based on dominant gender discourses will be examined, namely sex difference research and male underachievement in FLL. Finally, gender discourse theory will be critically applied to these two narratives to support the argument that dominant gender discourses are a possible factor in boys' lack of FLL interest. The paper aims to illustrate that dominant gender discourses should be problematized as a hindrance to boys' FLL interest rather than reinforced through educational politics and academic research.

2. GENDER IDENTITY AND DISCOURSE: A POSTSTRUCTURALIST APPROACH

In postmodern gender studies, sex and gender have generally been distinguished as two different markers of male- and femaleness, referring to "sex" as the biological difference between men and women, and to "gender" as a social or cultural construct (Litosseliti 2006, 10). Theories about biological differences between men and women have been criticized by gender theorists, who argue that these traits are not inherent, but determined and learned through culture and society (Litosseliti 2006). Therefore, any perceived differences in gender characteristics cannot be regarded as natural and need to be examined in a cultural context.

In addition, gender theory has become increasingly complex in recent years. For instance, the plurality of gender identities has been emphasized in contemporary gender theory. Thereby, a number of possible

"femininities" and "masculinities" can exist within cultural contexts and individuals (Litosseliti 2006, 61). It is important to note, however, that gender is simply one dimension of identity and is interrelated with a variety of other factors, such as age, ethnicity or class. Furthermore, poststructuralist research has focused on the active role of individuals as agents in their own gendered identities. Instead of intrinsic categories which can be seen as either natural or constructed, gender identity is dynamic and practiced through ongoing (deliberate and unconscious) decisions (Litosseliti 2006), which are in turn informed by available discourses.

According to discourse theory, discourses establish possible knowledge about a specific field or group. For example, legislation discourse defines the legality or illegality of certain acts; likewise gender discourse produces certain "truths" about masculinity or femininity, such as beliefs about gender differences. However, these discursively constructed "truths" are not necessarily objectively true, and instead reflect power relationships and the boundaries of knowledge within a culture (Jule 2008, 51). Applied to gender theory, dominant gender discourses define what can be "known" about men and women and these discourses are created by linking specific behavior to images of masculinity and femininity. Gee (1991, 3) defines discourse as "[a] socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network'". For example, certain activities (such as FLL) might be associated with being more or less masculine. Consequently, these discourses exert powerful influence on identity formation.

Namely, gender discourses produce a number of acceptable "subject positions" from which individuals form their gendered identities (Simpson 1997, 202). These subject positions, which are not natural occurrences but represent normative social constructs (Pavlenko and Piller 2008), can be, for instance, "wife", or "father", and implicate the (in) appropriacy of specific behavior. Thus, individuals actively perform their gender identity by making choices from the different discourses and positions available to them (Litosseliti 2006), which influence the way they think and act. These gendered beliefs could arguably relate to boys' underperformance in FLL; in fact, languages may be presented as something that "boys don't do" (Carr and Pauwels 2006, 41) by dominant discourses about masculinity.

3. DOMINANT GENDER DISCOURSES IN LANGUAGE LEARNING

3.1. SEX DIFFERENCE RESEARCH

One of the most persistently prevalent gender discourses is the discourse on sex differences, which is reflected both in commonsense opinions about gender and academic research. This holds particularly true for the field of language learning. While the belief of female superiority in language learning is widely spread among laypeople, research concerned with links between gender and language (learning) has at large been preoccupied with looking at possible neurological and sociological differences between men and women (Schmenk 2007).

One of the most popular gendered language theories is the distinction between "cooperative" and "competitive" speaking styles, which have been associated with female and male speakers respectively. It has been argued that these styles implicate different ways of handling turn-taking, interruptions, backchannels, etc., which results in "women put[ting] far more effort than men into maintaining and facilitating conversation" due to their cooperative speaking style (Coates 1986, 154). With regards to the language classroom, this distinction in speaking styles has been linked to girls "learn[ing] the subject in an enjoyable and friendly manner, rather than in a competitive or individualistic way" (Litosseliti 2006, 80), which is associated with a masculine speaking style. Thus, female students supposedly have a linguistic advantage in FLL.

Furthermore, dualistic theories in language learning research have been applied to the male/female dichotomy in order to explain gender differences. For instance, Gardner's and Lambert's (1972) theory of "integrative" and "instrumental" orientation towards language learning has been linked to female and male learning motivation respectively (Schmenk 2007). Whereas integrative motivation, which implies the desire for social identification with the target language group, supposedly relates to feminine traits, instrumental motivation, i.e. learning a language for practical reasons such as career advancement, is linked to masculine traits (Oxford, Nyikos and Ehrman 1988, 326). Another theory which has been connected with gender differences is the dichotomy of field dependence and field independence, often called "globals" and "analytics", two different cognitive learning styles (Schmenk 2007, 126). According to Oxford (1994, 142), "[f]ield-independent L2 learners, often males, may have an advantage in analytical reasoning tasks", whereas "[f]ield-dependent individuals, often females, may have an edge in [...] sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence and strategic competence". In sum, these theories suggest that female learners of a foreign language have an advantage over their male peers due to various factors associated with their gender.

So far, a number of significant studies which oppose sex difference theories in language learning have been published. For instance, the empirical findings of Freed and Greenwood (1996) show that cooperative

speech was observed in both male and female same-sex friendly conversations, thus concluding that the responsible variable is not gender, but a particular type of talk. Furthermore, dualistic linguistic theories such as the models of integrative/instrumental motivation or field-(in)dependent learning style have often been criticized by contemporary researchers for being one-dimensional (Schmenk 2007), yet they continue being used uncritically in sex difference research because they fit their equally binary theories. In fact, the supposedly peculiar masculine and feminine traits which are fundamental to sex difference research have continuously been disproven by empirical and neuroscientific findings, which deny the existence of such clear-cut differences and imply a significantly more complex picture (Ehrlich 1997; Schmenk 2002; Sunderland 2000).

Despite these findings, sex difference research perseveres due to its legitimization through dominant gender discourses. Rather than on empirical research, these theories rely on the argument that differences between the sexes exist and reflect meanings which are determined by stereotypical notions about femininity and masculinity (Schmenk 2007). As was discussed above, these notions are created in discourse; however, sex difference research falsely presents their central argument (which is, in fact, sex difference) as a scientific fact. One possible reason for this contradictory behavior is that dominant discourses are insistently convincing and difficult to refuse due to their status as objective "truth" in society. Suitably, Cameron (1996, 49) argues about the field of gender and language that "[people's] desire to believe that 'women are thus and men are so' is strong enough to compensate for what, from a purely academic standpoint, are obvious short-comings or contradictions in the evidence presented." Notably, the repetition of discursive knowledge about sex differences further sustains dominant gender discourses, which will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.

3.2. BOYS AS UNDERACHIEVERS

Since the 1990s, the underperformance of boys has been a major concern of gender-related education debates (Epstein et al. 1998; Murphy and Elwood 1998). This lack of boys' engagement in school is attributed to a growing male culture which is disinterested in academic effort and has led to emotional reactions calling for support (Jule 2008). Significantly, it appears that FLL in particular has fallen out of favor with male students, being primarily pursued by girls. However, it is important to note that this lack of interest in foreign languages is a modern development.

During a time when education was a privilege reserved for upper- and middle-class boys, language learning was a decisively male domain.

Although little knowledge about these boys' attitudes towards language learning exists, it can be assumed that FLL was deemed an "appropriate" male activity due to its importance in the (English) curriculum of the 18th and 19th centuries. When girls were given access to education, which included foreign languages such as French or Italian, boys' engagement with FLL showed no significant change. In fact, this change could only be observed after education became universally accessible across the social classes and FLL was not limited to specific school types or age groups anymore (Carr and Pauwels 2006).

Nowadays, FLL's status as a valuable curriculum option has sharply decreased, a phenomenon which can be observed particularly among male students. While FLL has largely expanded as a field of study both in its accessibility and the number of available target languages, FLL is still primarily perceived as a "luxury" which is unnecessary for the majority of work areas, and therefore often dismissed for more "rewarding" subjects (Carr and Pauwels 2006, 7–8), particularly in our increasingly skill-focused society. According to a study by Carr (2002, 4–9), FLL has a low status among a number of both ambitious and less academically engaged students, who regard languages as either a "hard option" due to its difficulty, or as a "soft option" for its lack of career potential. Importantly, the majority of these students were male (Carr and Pauwels 2006, 42). In fact, statistics show that boys' participation in foreign language courses in English speaking countries significantly decreases from lower levels, which mostly include compulsory FLL study, to the final school years. For instance, the participation rate of boys in the United Kingdom dropped from a 47% at GSCE level to a mere 34% at A level in 2003, when the study of a foreign language was still mandatory up to GSCE level (Carr and Pauwels 2006, 11–12). When given a choice, it appears that the majority of male students discontinue their FLL studies in school.

With regards to academic achievement, boys' supposed underperformance has taken the central stage in the educational politics of many Western countries, particularly in the UK and Australia. For instance, GSCE results report that girls increasingly outperform their male peers (Swann 2005, 632). Furthermore, the National School English Literacy Survey conducted in Australia in 1996 showed that 41% of male students in Year 5 (in contrast to 26% of girls) did not meet the national standards for reading and writing in their L1 (Gilbert and Gilbert 1998, 19). The media reactions in both of these countries have been explosive and highly emotional (Swann 2005, 632–633; Carr and Pauwels 2006, 22–23), resulting in the publication of guides for teachers and parents (Swann 2005, 634; Jule 2008, 53) which advertise counter-actions supporting a more "boy-friendly" curriculum.

By appealing to a "male learning style", these narratives represent an essentialist sex-difference approach towards gender. This masculine style is supposedly "more physical, aggressive and competitive" than the current approach towards teaching (Jule 2008, 53). For instance, the British "Can do better" proposes that boys "may find it harder to acquire the more sedentary skills of reading and writing" and "work best when given tightly structured tasks" (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority 1998, 10), as is the case with mathematics. Evidently, this rhetoric focuses exclusively on a single type of masculinity, and is informed by dominant gender discourses. With this in mind, it is not surprising that the male underachievement narrative is frequently accompanied by anti-feminist men's rights discourses arguing for a "restoration of masculinity" in a "feminized" education culture (Carr and Pauwels 2006, 23).

Furthermore, the authenticity of the "boys' crisis" narrative has been called into question by many scholars. Supposed evidence found in research has been criticized for its lack of intersectionality with other significant variables such as socioeconomic factors, location or ethnicity (Carr and Pauwels 2006). Likewise, it ignores the continuing existence of the "glass ceiling" in employment, with women earning 80% less than their male peers with an equal educational background (Jule 2008, 52). Therefore, boys continue to achieve more later in life, regardless of their school experience. Finally, the essentialist ideas of the boys' crisis narrative are based on and further contribute to the perpetuation of gender stereotypes in a similar way to sex difference research, thus sustaining dominant gender discourses.

4. DOMINANT GENDER DISCOURSES AND BOYS' INTEREST IN A "FEMINIZED" FIELD OF STUDY

Both sex-difference research and the narrative of boys' underachievement largely reflect the belief that FLL is a female domain. In fact, this is one of the most wide-spread commonsense beliefs about gender in society. According to supporters of this discourse, particularly the emotional narratives on boys' underachievement described above, language learning is a "feminized" field both concerning teachers and learners. While "feminization" typically refers to a particular field which is mostly pursued by women (Schmenk 2007, 128), thus referring to statistics (e.g. the participation rates described above or the number of female FLL teachers in schools), Schmenk proposes a different approach.

Namely, she claims that numbers represent only one aspect of a larger and much more complex picture and thus looks at the feminization of language learning from a poststructuralist gender studies perspective.

According to Schmenk (2007, 129), "feminizations ought to be viewed as discursively produced genderizations that link images of femininity to particular behaviors, aspects, observations, etc." Therefore, she employs discourse theory in order to explain that the social reality of language learning being a female domain (its "feminization") did not merely occur by chance or because of sociolinguistic reasons theorized in sex difference language research, but instead because it was created in discourse. In fact, arguments in favor of dominant gender discourses (which include both the aforementioned research and the boys' crisis narrative) might actually contribute to the reinforcement of this reality. For instance, sex difference research effectively links stereotypically feminine traits to successful language learning, thus creating a feminized image of FLL and contributes to the creation of discursive knowledge which is perceived as a cultural "truth" (Schmenk 2004, 519). Since these acknowledged "truths" continuously influence the way individuals think and behave, they might directly relate to boys' lack of interest in FLL.

The available subject positions created in gender discourses suggest appropriate behavior for male students, which could influence their interest in FLL. In fact, the feminization of language learning may deny FLL as an appropriate activity for boys. Accordingly, Carr and Pauwels (2006, 28) argue that "one of the most powerful forces impacting upon young people's in-school behaviour continues to be the power of the normative, discursively protected, gendered [...] sense of self". These gendered identities reflect knowledge on how "real" boys should or should not behave, which, again, is regarded as a natural "truth" due to its continuous re-production in discourse. Thus, it has become a widely accepted perception shared by both students and teachers that FLL is an appropriate curriculum choice for girls, and less so for boys (Carr and Pauwels 2006, 42).

Additionally, dominant gender discourses are directly related to the concept of hegemonic masculinity, which distances itself from supposedly feminine activities such as FLL. According to Connell (2005), hegemonic masculinity represents the dominant variety of masculinities which legitimizes men's dominant position over women in society. Furthermore, men who have a claim in hegemonic masculinity must continuously reaffirm their opposition to femininity in order to confirm their sense of masculinity, thus distancing themselves from women and gay men (Johnson 1997). Since FLL in school entails exercises such as "[p]ersonal expression, [...] identification with literary characters, introspection [and] self-narration" (Carr and Pauwels 2006, 40), which are clearly linked to discursively created notions about femininity, it directly opposes expectations of hegemonic masculinity. To illustrate this tension, a boy questioned during a study undertaken in Western Australia high schools

argues: "English is more suited to girls because it's not the way guys think... I hope you aren't offended by this, but most guys who like English are faggots" (Martino 1995, 354). Clearly, he regards language learning as a feminine pastime unsuited for heterosexual males, thus feeling the need to distance himself from it to confirm to hegemonic masculinity. Interestingly, this phenomenon does not occur among exclusively male students. According to another study, boys in same-sex schools in the United Kingdom choose languages more frequently than their peers in mixed-gender schools (Sunderland 2004); arguably, the lack of girls who would otherwise take these courses causes FLL to become a more gender-neutral activity, as the boys do not feel the need to distance themselves from a feminized area of study.

5. CONCLUSION

Consequently, it can be argued that dominant gender discourses, as represented in sex-difference research and the boys' crisis narrative, negatively contribute to boys' interest in FLL. Indeed, these discourses support the stereotypical notion that language learning is a female activity, which discourages male students from pursuing language study in school, particularly if they have a stake in hegemonic masculinity. In fact, their sex difference approach towards gender increases the cultural gap between boys and girls by depicting them as individuals with naturally distinct interests and talents. The ideas that girls are superior at language learning and that boys need be educated in a more "masculine" way are based on dominant gender discourses instead of scientific facts, and further take part in the continuous reproduction of discursively established knowledge. As discourses play a significant role in the identity formation process, they may influence boys' decisions to partake and be interested in FLL. Hence, this paper critically looked at the problems of sex difference research and the current debate on boys' underachievement in FLL from a poststructuralist gender perspective. In order to escape the "vicious cycle" of problematic discourse reinforcement, future academic research and educational measures ought to adopt a similar approach and tackle the issue with all its complexities rather than falling back on binary stereotypes and maintaining the status quo. Based on these results, a follow-up study on the links between boys' FLL interest and their beliefs in stereotypical ideas about gender produced in dominant discourses may be conducted.

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15

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**English Prepositions:
A Non-Specific Contrastive
Perspective**

English Prepositions: A Non-Specific Contrastive Perspective

Most English today is used in communication not involving native speakers. This English is learned as a foreign language, but it differs significantly from Standard English in many areas, including prepositions. This paper is a step towards an incipient theory of prepositions as used by non-native speakers of English. The approach used is non-specific contrastive analysis, which is a methodology interested in predicting areas where learning English would prove difficult for speakers of any language. In this paper, existing research on the topic is surveyed and evaluated. The paper shows why a semasiological organization of prepositions is not an appropriate method of organization for a sublanguage, which English as an auxiliary language certainly is. A brief overview of the history of non-specific contrastive analysis of English is given, including but not limited to Charles Ogden's *Basic English* and the latest program, English as a Lingua Franca. The paper makes use of the findings of cognitive linguistics, especially the prototype theory and proto scenes, to create a better theoretical outline than the ones reviewed. A theoretical approach based on cognition and the onomasiological method of organization is put forth. The paper finishes with a discussion of several possible objections to the proposed methodology, as well as a critique of the misguided fusion of politics and linguistics typical of some proponents of non-specific contrastive analysis.

KEYWORDS

prepositions, non-specific contrastive analysis, proto scene, cognition, prototype

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper discusses non-specific contrastive analysis of the system of prepositions in English. Even though commitment to research on prepositions is relatively uncommon even in mainstream linguistics, let alone in applied linguistics of auxiliary languages, this is neither the first nor the only foray into the area. However, a disclaimer must be put in place: there has been no theorisation of prepositions in English as a Lingua Franca (henceforth: ELF) – instead, the same procedure has been applied to prepositions as to verbs and nouns when they are treated as a part of ELF vocabulary. As shown below, applying standard corpus analysis of actual ELF texts¹ to prepositions leaves us with a skewed perception of them and even more unhelpful pedagogical methods. The analysis in this paper should therefore be regarded as a careful experiment whose aim is to provide a better, more effective and more realistic conceptualisation of prepositions in non-specific contrastive analysis. The paper places a lot of focus on ELF, but other instances of non-specific contrastive analysis are not disregarded. It begins by explicating what is being researched. Next, there is a brief but important overview of the history of non-specific contrastive analysis and how it relates to the contemporary view of prepositions within this paradigm. The overview is followed by a discussion of the existing proposals, and the paper provides a solution which should help conceptualise prepositions within ELF in a better and more pedagogically appropriate way.

2. OBJECTS OF RESEARCH AND METHODOLOGY

Non-specific contrastive analysis (henceforth: NSCA) is a method within linguistics which, very basically, contrasts a specific language with all other languages in the world. Because this is practically impossible to do, the contrasted (i.e. all the languages in the world except the benchmark) is an abstraction of what linguists know about as many languages as possible. Conversely, the benchmark (i.e. that which is being contrasted with the abstraction) is a concrete, existing language. Obviously, in this case, the benchmark is English.

All research taken into account by this paper has some applicative motivation behind it. That is, aside from the theoretical side of NSCA, every author has an idea about how the results of his/her research should be used to help people learn the language. From this point of view, NSCA

¹ The term "texts" will be used throughout the paper for all bits of language performance, regardless of their being spoken or written.

does not differ dramatically from the more common "specific" contrastive analysis. What is special about NSCA is that its aim is to predict areas where speakers of *any* language in the world would have problems when learning English and provide a universal simplification of English with the view to rendering the learning process easier for them. Because this process strives for *universal* simplification – which differs from the sum-total of all specific simplifications (the result of a hypothetical specific contrastive analysis of English and every world language) – an abstraction must be used. The results of NSCA and different instances of specific contrastive analysis are then obviously also different. This will become important later in the discussion.

The question that quickly arises is "Why does NSCA of English exist?" There is no NSCA of Hungarian or Quechua. Is the number of speakers the factor? The answer seems to be no, since no NSCA of Mandarin exists either. The reason for NSCA of English is the fact that English has been widely used throughout the world as the language of communication between non-native speakers when they come into contact. The latest programme of NSCA, which is ELF, considers as its object of interest precisely the interactions between non-native speakers of English. Additionally, there are specific areas of communication where English is very widely used. David Graddol's (1997; 2006) research is especially interesting in this respect. In his first monograph on the topic, Graddol (1997) claims that the spreading use of English, coupled with globalisation and the spread of the Internet, would eradicate a large number of world languages since the benefits of using English would outweigh the benefits of using one's mother tongue. Nine years later, Graddol (2006) revises this position and realises that language use is not motivated purely by economic reasons, and this realisation, supplemented with new data, concedes that English is mainly used when speakers don't share a native tongue but need to communicate. It is still dominant in commerce, although its influence has been diminishing in favour of Mandarin and other languages (Graddol 2006). It is also still the dominant language of the content on the Internet (i.e. when users mainly decode a foreign language), where there seems to be no inclinations towards change, and the language of communication (i.e. when the users both encode and decode a foreign language), where the use of other languages, especially Chinese and, lately, Russian has been gaining ground (Graddol 2006; see also Internet World Stats n.d., "Internet World Users by Language").

Evident from Graddol's (2006) research is also the fact that different native speaker standards of English have ceased to be the most relevant factor in teaching English as a foreign language. While the goal used to be (and still remains, especially in Europe) to teach children to use English native-speaker-like, this goal was very rarely achieved. Instead, "English

is no longer being learned as a foreign language, [which was done] in recognition of the hegemonic power of the native speakers" (Graddol 2006, 19). This means that it is becoming less and less relevant to be able to speak, write, read and listen like the British or the Americans, but rather to be able to encode and decode in such a manner that everyone else can understand you. Native speakers are, according to Graddol, not given a privileged position in this system.

If English, as Graddol says, does not replace mother tongues, what, then, is its role in communication between non-native speakers? Sinclair (1996) describes a mode of communication corresponding well with such use, and calls it a 'sublanguage'. The idea is that speakers of a certain language voluntarily impose restrictions on the use of this language. They do so in order to achieve a better communicative effect than they could with the use unrestricted. Even though it seems paradoxical at first to limit the potential of a language to refer to meaningful concepts in order to communicate with more success, this is not inhibitory to communication. It is widely known that misuse of some characteristics of languages, such as clitics and redundancy, is perceived as a mistake even though renditions of those characteristics contribute nothing essentially new to the interchange. Since a misplaced clitic or a mismatched inflectional morpheme breaches language rules and therefore makes communication more difficult, this same communication would flow more easily if both interlocutors negotiated a code without clitics and redundancy – the speaker would not preoccupy themselves with encoding them and the addressee would not misinterpret the mistakes. We should therefore see a sublanguage with all of its restrictions as a method of communication "cleansed" of a large number of potential inhibitors to understanding. What is more, a sublanguage is not similar to any creole in that it replaces the language of communication that had been in place prior to its emergence. Instead, it always remains an ancillary mode of communication which is made use of only whenever it is necessary. English as a sublanguage is then used only when the two (or more) people involved in communication fail to communicate with their mother tongues or other modes of communication².

Finally, before outlining the history of NSCA of English, a quick word on the manner of its organisation is due. Sinclair (1996) also claims that no sublanguage is left free to develop on its own as it would become incomprehensible too quickly. How do authors address this? Graddol (1997, 63) calls for an "ethical framework" to help guide the polycentric

² To clarify: gesticulation, mimic, or even a language lexically closer to both interlocutors' mother tongues could be a more appropriate mode of communication.

map of English sublanguages, but he also places focus on non-native speakers as language creators, as can be seen above. Sinclair (1996) is more straightforward – for him, every sublanguage needs a central authority to prevent linguistic change from occurring too quickly for the users to follow. Since the ELF project (the contemporary authority) is using an abstraction which they themselves produce, they certainly need to take the onomasiological method into consideration. When it comes to prepositions, favouring the semasiological approach yields unconvincing and specific (as opposed to non-specific) results with very limited applicability that are sometimes in conflict with another person's research. I will return to this in section 4.

3. HISTORY OF THE NON-SPECIFIC CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF PREPOSITIONS

The first person to inquire into English as an auxiliary language was Charles Ogden in his 1930 work *Basic English*. Within his paradigm, prepositions are also given a significant amount of attention and a specific role (they are referred to as "directives" due to their function). Ogden predicted that 850 English words would suffice for basic communication while 2000 would suffice for proficiency. It is the 850 words that this paper focuses on. They are supposed to suffice for all practical purposes, which means that most salient categories in the speakers' outside world should all be nameable with this group of words. One of the more radical means Ogden used to trim the word list down to 850 was to drop the 'verb' category entirely, substituting verbs with 'operators'. Those are words used to describe operations, which are interactions between things (concrete, uncomplicated, stable objects). Unfortunately, Ogden is very vague when it comes to operators. He is more interested in the functional aspect than the theoretical aspect, which is why it is necessary to re-create certain thought processes he might have gone through.

It is not clear how operators differ from verbs in conceptualisation. Ogden simply claims that there are "objects which we wish to talk about, the operations which we perform on them and the directions in which we operate" (Ogden 1930, Introductory) and that the operators combined with directives describe all of those. He most likely created a rather arbitrary list of basic relations between things and concluded that 18 operators is all a speaker needs. These operators do in fact describe relations by combining with the directives. Whenever an operator-directive combination is not followed by an object, the meaning of the directive is adverbial. When the combination *is* followed by an object, the meaning of the combination is the combination of the meaning of the operator and the directive. Amazingly, Ogden pointed to conceptual blending half a century before it

was described in cognitive linguistics. Here are some of his examples:

- (1) Thoughts come into mind.
- (2) Come to tea. (for: *Have some tea.*)
- (3) Get at the details. (for: *Tell me the details.*)
- (4) Get ready at six. (for: *Be ready by six.*)

Here, the two operators are “come” and “get”, the first one describing the movement towards the speaker of the utterance and the second one describing a transition of state. To understand why certain directives are used with the operators to create meaningful utterances, one must actually know (not necessarily consciously) a significant number of typical metaphors in English. For thoughts to come *into* mind, one must be aware of the conduit metaphor (Radden 2008) combining the IDEAS ARE CONTENT and THOUGHTS ARE CONTAINERS metaphors. When one “comes to” tea, the tea is in the proximity of this person and the two interact (the person drinks the tea). Since “drink” is not among the operators, the proximity and relevance are combined in the PROXIMAL IS SAME metaphor, and the speaker can then interact with what is similar to their own body. The process is tedious to describe, but the metaphors are actually easy to grasp. The idea conveyed by the operator and the idea conveyed by the directive are blended, and the blend is understood by everyone. To understand these and other basic processes, Ogden claims people need only 18 operators and 20 directives. This, of course, means that every directive has a “root definition” (Ogden 1930, *Grammatical Principles*) or a core meaning it typically invokes in the speaker's mind. This will become crucial in the following chapter.

Much of Ogden's work is very insightful and still relevant today. Still, there remain several insurmountable problems with his theory. Aside from the vagueness which forces the reader into creativity, Ogden also distanced himself from idiomatic use. Phrases such as ‘fictional extensions’ describing any deviation from the ‘root definition’ (the core meaning) are perhaps indicative of his low opinion on non-transparent language. However, 88 years on, the fact that many idioms and set phrases make use of prepositions and that certain verbs collocate with certain prepositions cannot be overlooked. This paper proposes a division of prepositional meaning into three levels³. The first level is the dictionary

³ Originally, the idea for this division was passed to the author of this paper by Dušan Gabrovšek, PhD, Full Professor, during office hours

level, where prepositions are described as relations between a trajector and a landmark. This is also the standard form of a dictionary definition of a preposition: it is a lexicalisation of a certain relation between a static and immutable landmark and a less rigidly positioned trajector. The third level is the idiomatic level. Here, the meanings of prepositions are usually disregarded and preference is given to whole phraseological units as lexical items. The meaning of those is typically non-transparent or unidentifiable when compared to the dictionary-level meaning. The second level is the “middle ground” between the two extremes, and also the level of collocations. The meaning of the preposition here is neither completely opaque nor completely transparent. When conceptualising the meaning of the preposition, a sublanguage creator like Ogden should keep in mind all three levels and decide how to approach them. As evidence, the reader is invited to compare:

- (5) Donna sits by the lake.
- (6) She takes Donald by the hand.
- (7) The two don't play by the book.

Focus on the meaning of the preposition “by” in all three examples. In (5), its dictionary-level meaning related to proximity and circumstances comes to the fore. On the other hand, “by” in (7) cannot be analysed in the same manner. With a very liberal stretch of imagination, it is possible to connect proximity as the root meaning of “by” with the meaning of the idiom (“according to the rules”) by utilizing the PROXIMAL IS SAME metaphor, connecting sameness and relevance, and paraphrasing the metaphor as “what is in the book is relevant to me”. The book itself must be analysed in terms of metaphor, and the conduit metaphor must be taken into account again, before a clear-cut map of thought is laid before the navigator. This process includes a suspiciously complex system of metaphors for such a common idiom, but our knowledge is “procedural rather than declarative” (Langacker 2006, 44). Perhaps such a process was once in place, but when we use this metaphor, we do not go through this process again and again. Hence, the meaning of “by” is in fact not connected to the dictionary-level meaning here, not even via metaphor. Conversely, the “by” in (6) is still connected with proximity and circumstance – although the circumstance is closer to “instrument” than to “location”, like in (5) – but not as clearly as the dictionary-level meaning.

Ogden is by no means the only researcher of NSCA who omits the second and third levels of prepositional meaning, but there is plenty one can learn from his work. This overview will continue with the most contemporary project that involves NSCA of English, the ELF. ELF

researchers tend to compile their own corpora of actual ELF performance and draw conclusions based on the accumulated data. Unfortunately, the research seldom focuses specifically on prepositions. Still, the methodologies used by Önen (2015) and Kirsimäe (2017) will be adequate to provide some insight.

Önen (2015) compiled a spoken corpus of 54 different speech events between non-native speakers, namely exchange students at Istanbul University. She was after mistakes in the use of prepositions, and her findings can be divided into three categories. The first category can be called "grammatical mistakes" and it includes the uses of prepositions against collocational preferences of other words, as well as mistaken attribution of meaning to a preposition (e.g. using "above" instead of "over" when the trajector touches the landmark). The second category is more interesting. Önen herself names it "extending the use" and sometimes "overgeneralization". When confronted with two nearly synonymous options, one of which collocates with a preposition while the other does not, non-native speakers sometimes "extend" the collocation and behave as if the other synonym collocates with the preposition in question as well. Hence, because "having problems with sth" and "having difficulties with sth" are synonymous, as are "having problems *with* sth" and having problems *about* sth" too, the speakers in Önen's experiment sometimes used "having difficulties *about* sth". The final type of mistake is simply omitting the prepositions where the native speakers would typically use one (Önen 2015).

Kirsimäe (2017) comes up with the same groupings of mistakes in her sample of only nine texts, which are, however, comparable to Önen's sample in total length. She describes a lack of consistency in ELF users' use of the language as well.

Both Önen and Kirsimäe in fact come up with comparable tendencies of mistake-making in ELF use. The question everyone has to ask themselves now is: according to whom are these mistakes in fact mistakes? Evidently, they are mistakes in the eyes of both researchers because they themselves have been educated in English as a foreign language and both speak it flawlessly. If ELF is to be free of the influence of native-speaker English as the standard, then these deviations, especially patterns of deviations, should not be treated as mistakes but as trend-setting in ELF. It is hardly surprising that the two 'Englishes' would be driven apart through use over time.

However, there is a far more important problem concerning the methodology of this research. Önen claims to be working with a group of people containing speakers of twenty-four different mother tongues, seven of which are not Indo-European, and, curiously, of those seven,

three are listed as Cantonese, Chinese, and Mandarin. This is far from a representative sample. Kirsimäe is even less helpful in this respect, since her corpus includes only texts by native speakers of Estonian. Looking back at Section 2, it has already been explained why NSCA has to contrast a language and an abstraction. Taking into account twenty-five (or perhaps fewer) languages and claiming this to be an adequate sample for non-specific contrastive analysis is fruitless labour. People are right to claim that the emperor has no clothes on when a collection of specific languages are being used as *non-specific* anything. This conceptual problem was most likely formed out of necessity to create concepts based on actual use – on the persistent ideal of semasiology in dictionary making. Contrarily, as Sinclair (1996) and Ogden's story of relative success testify, it is vital to remain onomasiological when creating concepts for a sublanguage. Thus, the following discussion will build on cognitive linguistics and different aspects of what has been described above, and different papers that have already combined preposition use, language learning and cognitive linguistics. The final goal is formulating an incipient theoretical structure of preposition conceptualization in NSCA.

4. COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS AND PREPOSITION ACQUISITION

As far as native-speaker English is concerned, there are numerous reputable studies investigating the meanings of prepositions (Zelinsky-Wibbelt 1993; Lindstromberg 1996; Tyler and Evans 2003). Keeping in mind that prepositions are lexicalisations of different relationships between a trajector and a landmark, it seems wise to examine the possible relationships and compare the preposition-relationship pairs in order to see which preposition relates to, i.e. means, which relationship. Now, it is obvious that prepositions do not obtain their meanings from either the external world (there is no "thing" which a preposition would refer to) or the linguistic system (like anaphors do; they do not take up the meaning of a word that does refer to a "thing"). Instead, it is precisely the arrangement of "things" that gives prepositions their meaning. However, one finds oneself in an awkward position in cases when, on the one hand, two prepositions name the same arrangement of "things", as in

- (8) John pushed the stick towards Sonia.
- (9) John brought a stick for Sonia.
- (10) John gave the stick to Sonia.

or, what is even more common, when the same preposition, sometimes as part of a compound, describes seemingly unconnected arrangements:

- (11) The painting was hung over the fireplace.
- (12) John spilt milk all over the floor.
- (13) Jenna is an overachiever.

Authors such as Lindstromberg (1996), Lakoff (1987), and Johnson (1987) have all realized that there is an underlying schema to all prepositional meanings. There is a specific arrangement of the trajector and the landmark, something that will be referred to in this paper as a "proto scene" (Bratož 2014, after Lakoff 1987). Examples of those would be the "support schema" and the "containment schema". In the former, the trajector is stationary on a (usually two-dimensional) landmark which offers support to it. The most typical arrangement would include a smaller trajector on a larger, two-dimensional landmark, like "a vase on a table", but the support is more crucial than the size or the dimensionality. Therefore, an elephant may balance *on* a bike because the bike offers support, even though it is smaller and not a two-dimensional surface. Similarly, the containment schema is primarily about containment: here, the (usually three-dimensional) landmark prevents the escape of a trajector. Typically, a smaller trajector is located completely inside a bigger, three-dimensional space, as in "an apple in the basket", but one may still have a cigarette in one's mouth, even though it is never the whole cigarette, just the filter. The key feature here is that the landmark (the mouth) prevents the trajector from escaping.

Following Swanepoel (1998), all uses of a preposition require the knowledge of the schema this preposition is based on (Fillmore 1994). Since the preposition used to describe the containment schema is "in", every use of "in" therefore requires the knowledge of this schema, namely the notion of "containment" and its typical ancillaries "bigger landmark" and "three-dimensionality". Swanepoel also describes how the proto scenes are created and represented in the linguistic system: it is not merely so that children parrot their parents in describing arrangements resembling the proto scenes with the prepositions they hear being used. Instead, they see the arrangement itself in a basic form, and memorise the concept of the scene. These scenes are always spatial in nature because people have organs for the sensory perception of space, but not for other domains. In people's cognition, only spatial arrangement exists. However, on the linguistic-conceptual level, metaphorical extensions into other domains (primarily time, but also state, manner, circumstance, cause, reason, etc.) can be made. Lindstromberg (1996) describes one such process when he unveils the origin of the preposition "for": from a purely spatial arrangement, which is cognate to modern-day "before", new meanings of the preposition have been created through metaphor. "For"

primarily used to denote the trajector leaving its owner as a gift as it was placed in front of the recipient. This is the proto scene of "for". From that, meanings such as representation, intended destination, support, attitude etc. (Lindstromberg 1996) have developed.

Another important aspect of proto scenes and prepositions is the concept of prototypicality. Bratož (2014), following Geeraerts (2006), explains that certain uses of a particular preposition are more closely aligned with the proto scene than others. This has already been hinted at in this paper when it was claimed that "an apple in the basket" is more similar to the proto scene of containment than "a cigarette in her mouth". The ideal arrangement of the trajector and the landmark which is completely congruent with the proto scene is called the prototype. Those actual arrangements of a trajector and a landmark which are closer to the proto scene are more prototypical while those less so are less prototypical. Without going into too much detail, the boundaries between belonging and not belonging to a particular proto scene are not strictly defined, or are fuzzy. Fuzzy boundaries and non-sufficient belonging can cause confusion when it comes to the use of prepositions, but overall, learners most likely achieve better results at preposition use when they have been exposed to schema theory and prototype theory (with appropriate simplifications).

In fact, Bratož (2014) tested this method on 87 students and those exposed to the method described above performed better at encoding prepositions when learning English as a foreign language (Bratož 2014). Swanepoel (1998) also laments the lack of observance of cognitive linguistics, this time in lexicography. Their findings are in stark contrast with Paul Brians' (2009) in his *Common Errors in English Use*, where he claims in the paragraph titled "prepositions (wrong)" that users having problems acquiring prepositional meanings should immerse themselves in "good English" to remedy the issue (Brians 2009, 142). This is at best unhelpful and at worst reactionary to the idea that English does not belong to its native speakers.

The way forward for NSCA of prepositions seems to lie in the cognitive approach to language. This approach allows for a theoretically sound conceptualisation of the meaning of prepositions, which in turn allows the ELF project to be onomasiological without inhibiting the creative potential of non-native speakers. Additionally, it must not be forgotten that the main goal of ELF is still universal simplification of English so that non-native speakers may communicate easily and successfully.

To be able to teach the meanings of prepositions, then, the ELF project should, in my view, research the potential of very basic proto

schemes almost everyone in the world faces in their everyday life. Notions such as “support”, “containment”, “scattered” etc. seem ubiquitous, hence in need of a name. After these proto scenes are enumerated, they should be drawn in their spatial form so that the learners may see the arrangements in their most accessible forms. After that, the method may start to vary, depending on the preposition. Guidelines should be made to show the learners how less prototypical arrangements still resemble the proto scheme in various attributes. Especially important in this respect are the metaphorical extensions into abstract domains. Because of their identifiable ties to the proto scene of “from” (roughly described as a zero-dimensional ablative relation between the trajector and the landmark), strings such as “taking an apple from the table” (dictionary level), “working from 8 AM” (middle level, extension into the temporal domain), “speaking from experience” (middle level, extension into the circumstance domain) and “taking candy from a baby” (idiomatic level) may become more accessible to learners and possibly spontaneously standardised, while “in the picture” will either be freely interchangeable with “on the picture”, or the latter will prevail, simply because the presence of a character in art is metaphorically more difficult to access than the slight extension from the “support” proto scene.

5. DISCUSSION

Several questions need addressing before the conclusion. While the answers may prove to be obvious to some, there is a case to be made about the connection between understanding the idea of NSCA and predictable protests an inattentive reader might voice. One could, for example, have doubts about the benefits of proto scenes that linguists would create anew. Why not simply use the image schemata on which English native speakers' use of prepositions is based? After all, the native speakers of English are humans, sharing the same universal cognitive processes with other humans, and one could expect the proto scheme of the preposition “in” to be the same with all humans and all languages. This is, perhaps self-evidently, against the fundamental premise of NSCA. Although the brains of native speakers of English are not biologically different from the brains of native speakers of other languages, at least when it comes to the language-processing part (Jackendoff 1995), this does not mean that everybody conceptualises everything the same way. As implied above, cognition is based on bodily experiences (Johnson 1987). People most certainly do experience the world differently, especially in terms of categorisation. For European readers, the prototypical fruit would most likely resemble an apple, but this will not be the case for a person from Central America, where apples are not indigenous. Similarly, it is unreasonable to expect ubiquitous cognitive schemata. Some may

very well be, like the aforementioned support schema and containment schema (simply because support and containment are very basic notions) or the UP IS MORE metaphor, which is based on pouring liquids in containers, where more liquid results in higher levels of surface, hence MORE meaning UP. But this only means that some of the work to be carried out by ELF will be easier. The workload, on the other hand, must stay the same. Because the topic is *non-specific* contrastive analysis, self-evidence is to be consistently questioned.

Another possible afterthought for teachers concerns the collocation method by Bratož (2014). Since the first results were encouraging, should teachers then pursue the path of “proper” English instead of ELF? After all, what is considered “correct” for children is adjusted for the duration of their education every year, and universal simplification is not wholly incompatible with this idea. The complete answer to this challenge lies outside the field of NSCA, and this is not the place for an epistemological debate, but suffice it to say that awareness of existing (however limited) collocational patterns of native-speaker English does not facilitate easier communication between non-native speakers in the same way that an approach which moves the burden of language innovation from native speakers to non-native speakers does. Furthermore, collocations can be tricky. As Önen (2015) has shown, false analogy is a significantly productive process in non-native-speaker English. It is not unreasonable to expect extensions of collocability to near-synonyms if learning strings of words by heart is all that is expected from a learner. It is difficult to see how Bratož's approach is more favourable than NSCA, however idealistic the latter may be.

The main challenge to universally accessible English prepositions, however, lies in what Swanepoel (1998) verbalises as the failure of prepositions to overlap in their prototypical senses. This is connected to the question of universal proto scenes: he simply questions the extent to which meaning can be motivated (i.e. how well the speakers are able to draw connections between a proto scene and different arrangements of the trajector and the landmark lexicalized with the same preposition). Going back to examples (5–7), Swanepoel mentions the possibility that no matter how hard linguists try and describe the connections between the proto scene for “by” and its realizations as a preposition with a meaning on all three levels, the speakers will possibly never even passively be able to grasp its concept, let alone actively encode with such a concept in mind. How is it possible to avoid a system which is too complicated for non-linguists to understand, and still preserve motivated meanings on all three levels? For the sake of brevity, it is necessary to be rather opaque here. The preservation of all three levels is crucial. Any other type of theory of prepositions carries the unwelcome potential not to cover all

instances of their use. The key to success lies in the degree of simplicity: regardless of how the final product of contrastive work will ultimately look, it is absolutely necessary that the connection between the proto scene and the preposition is transparent enough that the speaker is able to draw connections between the two. Admittedly, what this boils down to is truly that the system will be simple enough to be usable because we will make it simple enough to be usable. However, it is through practical work alone that the desired level of transparency can be achieved. This is not in conflict with the previous insistence on an abstraction as that which is contrasted to authentic examples, because it is not the case that an abstraction is an immutable artefact. Different instantiations of trajectory-landmark arrangement in proto scenes are all abstractions, and it remains to be seen which one will work the best. For now, one can offer merely predictions. For example, we can suspect that the preposition "since" will become obsolete because it shares its proto scene with "from" (both are ablative and zero-dimensional). However, because "from" pertains to space, the basic domain of which the temporal domain is an extension, it would be much easier for the speakers to use "from" for both space and time since they metaphorically extend locative prepositions to the temporal domain as it is. The testing of hypotheses such as this one will eventually yield a picture of a workable system.

5.1. NON-SPECIFIC CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS – IDEALS VERSUS REALITY

Finally, there is the issue of separating the unstable fusion of linguistics and politics. As far as NSCA is concerned, linguists are working towards the common goal of facilitating effective communication. However, for different reasons more suited to a discussion in a journal of political science, very many authors attribute to this communication some other superior motive, such as increasing the democratic potential or legitimising the use of English as the language of an ex-empire.

How this is manifested differs from one piece of work to another. Ogden (1930) and Graddol (1997) (and to some extent Graddol 2006), for example, claim that English is the most appropriate language for a Lingua Franca for purely linguistic reasons. They independently cite a lack of an elaborate system of noun inflection, an almost complete absence of grammatical gender, a simple typical verbal paradigm, etc. On the other hand, Quirk (1981, 151) first calls international communication "an indisputable desideratum" and then proceeds to describe how self-evidently positive it supposedly is for symbolic and material exchange to spread throughout the world. Communication in English is for him a means to achieve some kind of a beneficial end for humanity. This *self-*

evidence is key here: none of these authors offer any argument as to why this should be so. It seems to be simply an element of common sense to them that the majority of the world speaking English would alleviate an unnamed existing issue. To offer an objection to this peculiar marriage: linguistics and politics seem to have been wedded by a reverend in whom nobody has vested the power to wed. Why would exchange (since communication is a manner of exchange) create a better world? Certainly, subjugated peoples from colonized lands would like to have a say in this. Furthermore, it is significant that the discussion on universal languages began in Britain. Apparently, this was because English speakers were notoriously terrible when it came to learning Latin, which is why they lobbied for another language to be used as a language of international communication (Eco 2003). If this is what Graddol and Ogden had in mind when they wrote "linguistic reasons", they failed to indicate a tongue-in-cheek, to put it mildly.

Eco (2003) compiled an entire history of the endeavours to find a language in which all necessary communication would be carried out with the least difficulty. Before English, there was French, which was considered linguistically the most appropriate language for global communication (Eco 2003). There is also a South American language called *Aymara*, which is renowned for readily accepting concepts into itself (although it lends itself less readily to translation into other languages). According to Eco, it is *Aymara* and not English that is linguistically the most appropriate language for cross-cultural communication (Eco 2003). It should therefore come as no surprise that English is considered to be the "most appropriate language" for NSCA for reasons which are most definitely beyond linguistics. Eco's (2003) conclusion is that German would be enjoying the status English now enjoys from the Netherlands to Hong Kong if the Third Reich had triumphed during World War II. Even though this is probably not entirely accurate, it does have a grain of truth in it, namely that English is the *Lingua Franca* today for political reasons, which does not necessarily relate to its features or how easily it lends itself to non-native speaker's needs. In order to facilitate communication around the world, it is not necessary for any NSCA to legitimize or dismiss English anyway: since non-native speakers of English already use English, it is a worthy objective to help them do so, no matter why this has come to be the case.

6. CONCLUSION

The primary objective of this paper was to devise an outline of a theory of prepositions in NSCA. Several different works pertaining to the topic were reviewed and several tenets extracted which are necessary for

such a theory to work. First and foremost, every kind of NSCA with universal simplification in mind should not cause asymmetrical intelligibility among speakers based on their mother tongue. Any conceptualisation which favours native speakers or any other group of speakers is therefore ruled out. Most researchers, including Önen (2015) and Kirsimäe (2017), only researched speakers of specific languages and lumped their results together, which is not a suitable methodology for a truly non-specific contrastive analysis. This issue is simply resolved by using abstractions and an educated onomasiological approach. This paper presents that the best variant for such an approach is the variant based on cognitive linguistics. Since this field has been especially productive when it comes to prepositions, NSCA is entitled to make use of its discoveries. By investigating the nature of concepts such as trajector, landmark, proto scene and prototype, and by understanding the principles of the bodily basis of cognition described in detail by Johnson (1987), this paper concluded that the most useful way of conceptualising a preposition would be to devise universally accessible proto scenes, which are very basic in terms of their gestalts, and use those as concepts to be given a name (the preposition). Such an approach would also be able to provide the potential learners with the ability to connect the core (prototypical) meaning of the preposition with all three levels – dictionary, middle ground, and idiomatic – of prepositional meaning. Since English is idiomatically very rich, and since the reason why English is in fact the Lingua Franca today is its near-ubiquity, the middle ground and the idiomatic level of meaning must not be disregarded since there is no reason for them to vanish and they will persist in communication between non-native speakers for the foreseeable future. Should this fact change eventually, this theory will need adjustments, but for now, a truly useful theory of prepositions should not fail the speakers of ELF when it comes to non-dictionary use. Finally, there remains an accusation that this theory could be ultimately prescriptive, even though ELF is supposed to help non-native speakers to be language creators, which ultimately means that there should be no authority governing the use of language and effectively disqualifies onomasiological approaches. Two counterarguments are offered to this. First, the use of language is never completely free. There is an inevitably limiting social dimension to language, which renders it impossible that a certain person or group is free to bend or police language to its will – the users combat this tendency by simply not complying to the imposed rules. On the other hand, the relative stability of the language system and the fact that meaning is a negotiable quality grounded in bodily experience is not limiting but *liberating* in terms of communication: people can convey anything they want precisely because words mean what they deem them to mean. This ties in with the second counterargument, which is that this theory does not prescribe usage, it prescribes the connection between the concept and the name. The concepts in question are so basic that

every language user in the world already knows them and has a name for them stored in their vocabulary. They already use a name for this concept when using ELF anyway, so the only change to the existing usage would be an improved rate of consistency. To cause every containment to be expressed with "in" and to cause the communicating world to pay more conscious attention to how they use prepositions – this is what this paper strives to help cause. And, all the while, one should remain completely aware of both the fact that easier communication may be correlated with but certainly does not cause amelioration of any sociopolitical problems, and that the decisive factor for the contemporary spread of English is not the number of monosyllabic function words, but the imperialistic tendencies of its speakers during the Early and Late Modern Age.

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