

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
FACULTY OF PHILOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF BELGRADE, SERBIA

**BELGRADE
ENGLISH
LANGUAGE &
LITERATURE
STUDIES**

VOLUME II
2010



Belgrade, 2010

Belgrade English Language and Literature Studies (Belgrade BELLS)
2010 – Volume II

Editor-in-Chief:

Jelisaveta Milojević (University of Belgrade)

Editorial Board:

Boris Hlebec (University of Belgrade)
Radojka Vukčević (University of Belgrade)
Zoran Paunović (University of Belgrade)
Gordana Korać (University of Belgrade)
Aleksandra V. Jovanović (University of Belgrade)
Katarina Rasulić (University of Belgrade)
Ivana Trbojević-Milošević (University of Belgrade)
Biljana Đorić-Francuski (University of Belgrade)
Jelena Vujić (University of Belgrade)
Geoffrey Leech (Lancaster University, UK)
Stephen Regan (Durham University, UK)

Reviewed by:

Marija Knežević (University of Montenegro)
Peter Preston (University of Nottingham)
Lee C. Mitchell (Princeton University)
Aleksandra Nikčević-Batričević (University of Montenegro)
Radojka Vukčević (University of Belgrade)
Zoran Paunović (University of Belgrade)
Ranko Bugarski (University of Belgrade)
Gordana Korać (University of Belgrade)
Katarina Rasulić (University of Belgrade)
Ivana Trbojević (University of Belgrade)
Radmila Popović (University of Belgrade)
Predrag Mutavdžić (University of Belgrade)
Jelena Erdeljan (University of Belgrade)

Proofread by:

Christine Prickett
Greta Goetz

Published by:

Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade

Graphic design:

Vladimir Radović

Printed by:

Čigoja štampa
Belgrade, Serbia
2010
ISSN 0354-3138 (Printed volume)
ISSN 1821-4827 (Online text)

CONTENTS

EDITORS' PREFACE	5
------------------------	---

THEORETICAL AND APPLIED LINGUISTICS

<i>Vyvyan Evans</i> ON THE NATURE OF LEXICAL CONCEPTS.....	11
---	----

<i>Alena Anishchanka, Dirk Speelman, Dirk Geeraerts</i> SOCIOLECTAL VARIATION IN THE LENGTH OF COLOR TERMS USED IN ADVERTISING	47
--	----

<i>Jelisaveta Milojević</i> NEO-CLASSICAL NEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE	81
---	----

<i>Maja Lubańska</i> GRAMMATICALISATION AND GENERATIVE THEORY: THE CASE OF EPISTEMIC <i>PROMISE</i>	93
---	----

<i>Maryam Farnia and Hiba Qusay Abdul Sattar</i> INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: MALAY AND THAI UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' REFUSALS TO REQUEST	113
---	-----

<i>Ivana Trbojević Milošević</i> LEARNING THROUGH CONTRASTING: STUDENTS' PROJECTS AT THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH, FACULTY OF PHILOLOGY IN BELGRADE	133
---	-----

<i>Milica Stojanović</i> HORTUS CONCLUSUS: A VISUAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS BASED ON A CRITICAL LITERACY APPROACH TO EDUCATION	147
---	-----

LITERARY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

<i>Jennifer Kilgore-Caradec</i> "OUT OF THE ACIDS OF RAGE": PHILIP LEVINE'S POEMS ABOUT DETROIT	167
<i>John R O Gery</i> "THE THOUGHT OF WHAT AMERICA": EZRA POUND'S STRANGE OPTIMISM.....	187
<i>Teresa Bruś</i> FATHOMING SNAPSHOTS AND POETRY	207
<i>Olga Glebova</i> LITERARY PARODY IN THE FIRST DECADE OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY.....	219
<i>Brian Willems</i> GROPING TOGETHER, AVOIDING SPEECH: ELIOT, GREENE, LACAN	235
<i>Elisabetta Zurru</i> A LINGUISTIC AND MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHARACTER OF ANTON CHIGURH IN <i>NO COUNTRY FOR OLD MEN</i>	251
<i>Rosemary Peters</i> THE NO. 1 PARISIAN DETECTIVE AGENCY: VIDOCQ AND THE "THIRD SPACE" OF THE PRIVATE POLICE.....	275
<i>Zorica Bečanović-Nikolić</i> POLITICAL ASPECTS OF SHAKESPEARE'S HISTORY PLAYS: MODERNIST AND POSTMODERNIST READINGS IN A 'CONFLICT OF INTERPRETATIONS'	307

BELGRADE BELLS INTERVIEW

GEOFFREY LEECH by <i>Jelisaveta Milojević</i>	321
LINDA HUTCHEON by <i>Radojka Vukčević</i>	335

EDITORS' PREFACE

We are pleased to present the second volume of *Belgrade English Language and Literature Studies (Belgrade BELLS)*, the academic journal issued by the Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, Serbia.

The aim of the editors of this volume of *Belgrade BELLS* was to add to the discussion on contemporary issues in the fields of theoretical and applied linguistics and literary and cultural studies by publishing some of the most recent research. As a result, the present collection comprises fifteen articles covering a broad range of topics. The contributors of the articles are scholars from Belgium, Croatia, France, Italy, Malaysia, Poland, Serbia, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America.

The *Theoretical and Applied Linguistics* section consists of seven articles addressing a variety of linguistic issues from different theoretical and methodological perspectives. **Vyvyan Evans** (Bangor University, UK) provides a comprehensive account of lexical concepts and a methodology for their identification within the framework of the Theory of Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models, the author's distinctive approach to the semantic structure of language developed over recent years. **Alena Anishchanka, Dirk Speelman and Dirk Geeraerts** (University of Leuven, Belgium) explore the intralingual variation in the length of colour terms used in advertising, addressing the complexity of discourse-specific colour naming and categorization through a quantitative corpus-based analysis situated in a cognitive sociolinguistic perspective. **Jelisaveta Milojević** (University of Belgrade, Serbia) analyzes English neologisms containing Greek and Latin elements from the point of view of their structure and word-formation patterns, highlighting the vitality and dynamism of classical

and neo-classical elements in neological formations in contemporary English. **Maja Lubańska** (University of Wrocław, Poland) examines the development of epistemic uses of the English verb *promise* from the point of view of grammaticalization theory and Chomsky's minimalist framework, highlighting the potential for the fruitful integration of insights from these two seemingly incompatible theoretical perspectives. **Maryam Farnia and Hiba Qusay Abdul Sattar** (USM – Science University of Malaysia) investigate the strategies that English-speaking Malay and Thai students in Malaysia use in the speech act of refusals and point out the significance of culturally laden speech acts for successful intercultural communication. **Ivana Trbojević Milošević** (University of Belgrade, Serbia) presents the results of a proactive approach to student engagement applied in the recently introduced contrastive and corpus linguistics course at the Department of English in Belgrade, focusing on the cross-curricular integration of theoretical and practical skills. **Milica Stojanović** (University of Belgrade, Serbia) discusses the issues of a visual discourse analysis based on a critical literacy approach to education.

The Literary and Cultural Studies section presents eight papers exploring different areas of literary and cultural research. Several papers on poetry provide analyses of distinguished yet thematically, ideologically and spatially distanced authors. **Jennifer Kilgore-Caradec** (Université de Caen Basse-Normandie, France) analyses Philip Levine's poems about Detroit in a broader historical and literary context, **John Gery** (University of New Orleans, USA) presents the genesis of Ezra Pound's thoughts on American culture and his keen anticipation of multiculturalism as a global necessity. **Teresa Bruś** (Wrocław University, Poland) explores the tension between text and photograph in terms of it being a creative impulse in the cognitive mapping of poetic vision. Essays move through various frameworks of literary genres, media, philosophies and social and literary archetypes to address issues of literary and cultural identity, authenticity, narrative voice, the creation of new spaces of discourse, textual and film production and conflicting views of critical readings. **Olga Glebova** (Jan Długosz University of Częstochowa, Poland) considers the literature of the beginning of the twentieth century to be epitomised by the revival of the parodic genre. While **Brian Willems** (University of Split, Croatia) considers various literary genres in an attempt to examine the possibilities of being in order to formulate a question about this world and communicate its (disruptive) vision through the symbolic language of poetry and fiction,

Elisabatta Zurru (University of Genoa, Italy) presents a case study of multimodal and linguistic analysis in the area of film production. **Rosemary Peters** (Louisiana State University, USA) traces the ambiguous if archetypal path of the criminal turned detective. **Zorica Bečanović-Nikolić** (Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, Serbia) explores the possibilities of modernist and postmodern readings of Shakespeare's history plays.

The *Belgrade BELLS Interview* section features interviews with two colossal academics: **Geoffrey Leech**, Emeritus Professor of English Linguistics at Lancaster University, a Fellow of the British Academy and a Member of Academia Europaea, who has honoured us by having joined the Bells Editorial Board at its inception; and **Linda Hutcheon**, Professor of English and Comparative Literature at the University of Toronto, a leading specialist in postmodernist culture and critical theory. They were interviewed by Jelisaveta Milojević and Radojka Vukčević, respectively.

We wish to thank the publisher, the Faculty of Philology (Belgrade University) for its academic and financial support.

We thank the authors wholeheartedly for trusting us with their invaluable contributions and also the reviewers whose insightful remarks helped us approximate the best we could hope for. Language editors were of much assistance and their efficiency and patience is highly appreciated.

We are more than happy to share the credit for all that is good about this issue of *Belgrade BELLS* with all the people, scholars and friends whose expertise, devotion, and commitment we have trusted and relied on throughout the years, and, needless to say, we are more than happy to reserve for ourselves full responsibility for any shortcomings.

We hope that *Belgrade BELLS* will continue to resonate with the academic audience world-wide and inspire further pursuits of the mind.

The Editors

Theoretical and Applied Linguistics

Vyvyan Evans
Bangor University, UK

ON THE NATURE OF LEXICAL CONCEPTS

Abstract

This paper addresses the nature of lexical concepts, a theoretical construct in LCCM Theory (Evans 2006, 2009b). The hallmark of LCCM Theory is its claim that linguistically-mediated communication relies on knowledge found in two distinct representational systems: the conceptual system and the linguistic system. The linguistic system is comprised of symbolic units, which involve a symbolic relation holding between a phonological pole and a semantic pole. Lexical concepts represent a means of modelling the semantic pole. This paper provides an overview of the main properties and characteristics of lexical concepts. It also provides a methodology for identifying and so distinguishing between lexical concepts. The latter is important when dealing with cases, such as polysemy, where a related form is paired with distinct lexical concepts.

Key words: lexical concept, LCCM Theory, linguistic content, conceptual content, lexical profile

1. Introduction

This article is concerned with providing an overview of the main properties and characteristics of lexical concepts. A *lexical concept* is a theoretical construct in LCCM Theory (Evans 2006, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, To appear), which models the semantic structure of language. LCCM Theory (or the Theory of Lexical Concepts and Cognitive Models), is an approach to lexical representation and semantic composition. Its major assumption is that linguistically-mediated meaning construction makes use of two

distinct representational systems. The first, the *conceptual system*, consists of non-linguistic knowledge structures, modelled in terms of the theoretical construct of the *cognitive model*. Cognitive models are coherent bodies of perceptual and subjective experience types. The second system, the *linguistic system*, consists of *symbolic units* (units made up of a phonological and a semantic pole). The linguistic system provides an executive control function, allowing cognitive models to become activated, in order to facilitate meaning construction. For full details see Evans (2009b). In this paper, I am concerned with detailing the nature of lexical concepts: the semantic pole of a linguistic unit.

This paper has three main sections. In the first, I outline a bifurcation in the nature of lexical concepts: only a subset of lexical concepts are specialised for activating cognitive models. In the subsequent section, I pull together the key attributes of the lexical concept based on previous research findings. Finally, I present a methodology for identifying lexical concepts based on usage data. Lexical concepts are units of semantic structure. Hence, they inhere in the mental grammar and so, strictly, do not arise in language use. Rather, they sanction specific instances of use (see Evans 2009b for discussion). Nevertheless, they leave a ‘footprint’ in usage data: their *lexical profile*, the selectional tendencies which form part of the linguistic content encoded by a lexical concept. As a lexical concept’s lexical profile is held to be unique, this provides a principled basis for employing actual instances of use, *utterances*, in order to identify the lexical concept involved in sanctioning a given instance of use. As such, the final substantive section of the paper is also concerned with harnessing the construct of the lexical profile as a methodological tool for identifying lexical concepts.

2. A bifurcation in lexical concepts

According to Talmy (2000) a central design feature of language is that the concepts expressed are divided into two subsystems. Talmy characterises this in terms of what he refers to as the grammatical subsystem and lexical subsystem. These two subsystems serve to express the experiential complex—what Talmy refers to as the *cognitive representation*—that a speaker attempts to evoke in the listener by virtue of deploying language. The range of concepts expressed by the grammatical subsystem is highly

restricted cross-linguistically, providing a basic framework for the structuring of the experiential complex that language users seek to evoke in their interlocutors. Put another way, the lexical concepts associated with the grammatical subsystem have *schematic content*, providing a structuring function. Lexical concepts provide a ‘scaffolding’, so to speak, across which the rich content associated with the lexical concepts of the lexical subsystem can be draped. In contradistinction to this, the lexical concepts associated with the so-called lexical subsystem provide *rich content*, giving rise to the details (rather than structural aspects) of the cognitive representation.

An important aspect of Talmy’s work is the claim that the distinction between rich versus schematic content corresponds to a bifurcation between form types: open-class versus closed-class forms. Closed-class forms are so-called because it is considered more difficult to add members to this set. This set of lexical items includes the so-called ‘grammatical’ or ‘functional’ words such as conjunctions, determiners, pronouns, prepositions, and so on. In contrast open-class forms include words belonging to the lexical classes: noun, verb, adjective and adverb.

While the concepts expressed by closed-class forms encode schematic content, they are nevertheless essential for the expression of the cognitive representation. To make this point clear, consider the following semantic analysis of the range of open- and closed-class elements which comprise the utterance in (1):

(1) *A rockstar smashed the guitars*

The forms in bold: **a**, **-ed**, **the** and **-s** are associated with the grammatical subsystem. Their semantic contribution relates to whether the participants (rockstar/guitars) in the experiential complex evoked by (1) can be easily identified by the hearer (the use of the indefinite article **a** versus the definite article **the**), that the event took place before now (the use of the past tense marker **-ed**), and how many participants were involved (the absence or presence of the plural marker **-s**).

In contrast, the forms in italics: *rockstar*, *smash* and *guitar* are associated with the lexical subsystem. That is, their semantic contribution relates to the nature of participants involved in the experiential complex, and the relationship holding between them, namely one involving smashing. In other words, while the closed-class forms encode content relating to structural aspects of the experiential complex evoked, the open-

class forms are associated with detailed information concerning the nature of the participants, scenes involving the participants, and the states and relationships that hold.

To make this point even clearer, consider the example in (2):

(2) **A waiter served the customers**

While the utterance in (2) involves exactly the same closed-class elements, and hence schematic content as (1), the cognitive representation evoked by (2) is radically different. According to Talmy, this is because the content evoked by the lexical subsystem—the example in (2) involves different open-class forms from the example in (1)—involves very different content than that associated with schematic content encoded by the closed-class forms. The lexical subsystem relates to things, people, places, events, properties of things and so on. The grammatical subsystem, on the other hand, relates to content having to do with topological aspects of space, time and number (discussed in further detail below), whether a piece of information is old or new, and whether the speaker is providing information or requesting information and so on, as illustrated by (3) in which information is being requested:

(3) **Which waiter served the customers?**

The closed-class forms I have discussed thus far have an overt phonetic realisation. However, each of the examples discussed also include closed-class forms that are phonetically implicit. Examples include lexical classes: e.g., NOUN, VERB; lexical subclasses: e.g., COUNT NOUN, MASS NOUN; grammatical relations: e.g., SUBJECT, OBJECT; declarative versus integrative forms, active voice versus, passive voice, and clause-level symbolic units such as the ditransitive construction, and so forth.

In order to capture the range of concepts associated with both overt and implicit closed-class forms, as well as those encoded by open-class forms, Tables 1 and 2 present a Talmy-style analysis in order to illustrate the distinction in schematic versus rich content. The tables are based on the example in (2).

Closed-class vehicles	Schematic semantic content
A	Introduces a referent which the hearer is held to be unable to readily identify (from context or preceding discourse)
A	Designates a unitary instantiation of the referent
The	Introduces a referent which the hearer is held to be able to readily identify (from context or preceding discourse)
-s	Designates multiple instantiations of a referent
-er	Designates performer of a particular action or activity
Lexical class: verb (for <i>serve</i>)	Designates entity as an event (as one possibility)
Lexical class: noun (for <i>waiter/customer</i>)	Designates entity as an object (as one possibility)
Grammatical relation: subject (for <i>waiter</i>)	Designates entity as being the primary or focal entity in a designated relationship
Grammatical relation: object (for <i>customers</i>)	Designates entity as less important or secondary entity in a designated relationship
Active voice (through verb form)	Designates point of view being situated at the agent
Declarative word order	Speaker knows the situation to be true and asserts it to the hearer

Table 1. Schematic content associated with closed-class vehicles

Open-class vehicles	Rich semantic content
Waiter	Person with a particular function, and sometimes appearance, who works in a particular setting
Serve	Particular mode of activity involving two or more people and, typically, an entity with which one of the participants is provided by the other
Customer	Person who is provided with a particular object or service (of various sorts) in exchange for, typically, money

Table 2. Rich content associated with open-class vehicles

As is evident from a comparison of Tables 1 and 2, there is a clear distinction between the nature of the content associated with closed versus open-class forms. While the number of closed-class forms required to evoke the

experiential complex designated by (2) is more numerous, the concepts associated with the forms relate to structural aspects of the scene, and serve to relate different aspects of the cognitive representation. In contrast, there are fewer open-class forms, but the level of detail associated with these is much greater, involving social, physical and interpersonal function, details of the nature of the relationship holding between participants, as well as rich perceptual details concerning substance, shape, size, and so forth. This distinction is summarised in Figure 1.

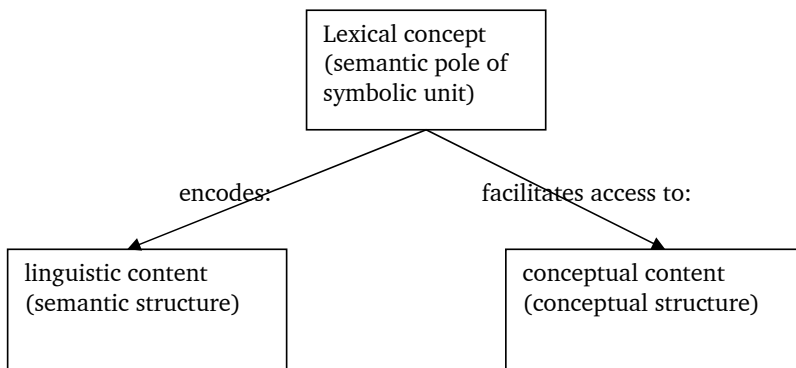


Figure 1. The bipartite structure of a lexical concept

LCCM Theory makes a principled distinction between *semantic structure* on one hand, and *conceptual structure* on the other. This distinction in the kind of knowledge—in present terms, *content*—evoked, is of two quite different kinds. While conceptual structure has to do with conceptual (i.e., non-linguistic) content, to which language, and specifically, lexical concepts, afford access, semantic structure has to do with *linguistic content*.

I argue that the distinction in content evoked by language, pointed to by Talmy, relates to the distinction between linguistic and *conceptual content*. The rich content evoked by open-class forms relates to conceptual content—a level of knowledge representation ‘above’ language. Information of this kind is multimodal in nature. As such, it derives from sensory-motor systems—those sensory systems that recruit information relating to the external environment and the human individuals’ interaction with the environment—as well as proprioception—the systems that recruit information relating to the motor aspects of the body’s own functioning—

and subjective experience—which includes experiences ranging from emotions, temporal and other cognitive states, to the visceral sense (see Barsalou 1999). Conceptual content provides records of perceptual states, in the sense just given. Accordingly, it is *analogue* in character. That is, conceptual content encodes information that parallels the multimodal body-based (perceptual, motoric, subjective, etc.) experience that it constitutes a representation of.¹ As such, conceptual structure is not suitable for being encoded in language. After all, language as a representational system consisting of symbolic units is simply not equipped to directly encode the rich, multimodal character of sense-perceptory and subjective experience. While lexical concepts do not encode multimodal information of this sort, they do provide access to content of this sort—or at least lexical concepts associated with open-class forms do, as I argue below.

In contrast, the schematic content discussed by Talmy is not an analogue representation of multimodal experience. Rather, it represents an abstraction over multimodal content of various sorts, provided in a form that can be directly encoded in language, i.e., by lexical concepts. Content of this kind constitutes what I refer to as linguistic content, and forms part of the information directly encoded by a lexical concept.

While the distinction between rich and schematic aspects of the cognitive representation provide evidence for the distinction in linguistic and conceptual content just outlined, the distinction in open-class and closed-class vehicles provides evidence for a closely related distinction in the nature of the associated lexical concepts.² The distinction in form types provides evidence that lexical concepts fall into two distinct categories. Closed-class forms are associated with lexical concepts which are specialised for encoding linguistic content. Lexical concepts of this sort I refer to as *closed-class lexical concepts*. Open-class forms, while also encoding linguistic content, are, in addition, specialised for serving as *access sites* to conceptual content. Lexical concepts of this sort I refer to as *open-class lexical concepts*.

In sum, the distinction between open-class lexical concepts versus closed-class lexical concepts embodies a bipartite organisation of lexical concepts, as captured in Figure 2. To reiterate, while both types of lexical

¹ Conceptual content is not an exact record of the multimodal states that are captured. Rather, it is somewhat attenuated. See Barsalou (1999) for discussion.

² Recall that symbolic units are made up of forms which serve as vehicles for the associated lexical concepts.

concepts *encode* linguistic content, I hypothesise that only open-class lexical concepts *afford access* to conceptual content. The distinction between ‘encode’ and ‘afford access’ is critical here. Linguistic content is encoded by lexical concepts precisely because this is the content which makes up lexical concepts.

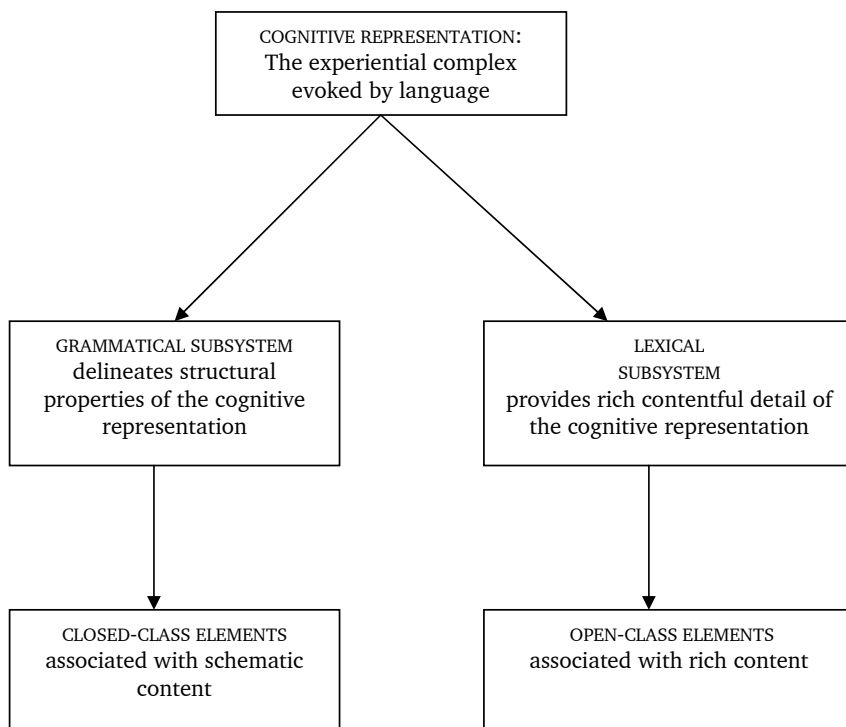


Figure 2. The bifurcation in the expression of the cognitive representation in language

3. The nature of lexical concepts

In this section I seek to briefly survey a number of the most notable properties of lexical concepts. These are as follows and are addressed in more detail below:

- i) lexical concepts are elements of mental grammar
- ii) lexical concepts sanction instances of language use
- iii) lexical concepts are vehicle-specific
- iv) lexical concepts are language-specific
- v) vehicles are not lexical concept-specific
- vi) lexical concepts are associated with different vehicle types
- vii) lexical concepts have bipartite structure
- viii) lexical concepts have an encapsulation function
- ix) lexical concepts have a lexical profile
- x) lexical concepts can be combined

i) LEXICAL CONCEPTS ARE ELEMENTS OF MENTAL GRAMMAR

Lexical concepts are units of semantic structure. That is, they provide the semantic pole of a bipolar symbolic assembly. LCCM Theory adheres to the symbolic thesis—the linguistic system is comprised of symbolic units, consisting of a semantic and phonological poles, which are held to be the fundamental units of grammar (Goldberg 1995, 2006; Langacker 1987, 2008; see also Evans and Green 2006). As such, lexical concepts are themselves units of mental grammar.

However, being units of mental grammar lexical concepts do not arise in language use. Rather, they are units of linguistic knowledge abstracted from across usage events (i.e., utterances) that encode linguistic content and facilitate access to conceptual (i.e., non-linguistic) knowledge. Thus, a lexical concept is a unit of linguistic knowledge that populates the ‘mental grammar’, deriving from commonalities in patterns of language use. By way of analogy, lexical concepts can be likened to phonemes in phonological theory. Like phonemes, lexical concepts are abstractions over multiple instances of language use.

ii) LEXICAL CONCEPTS SANCTION INSTANCES OF LANGUAGE USE

Lexical concepts sanction—which is to say licence—instances of language use (Langacker 1987). While the semantic contribution of any given form—word or linguistic expression—in a particular utterance is licensed by a given lexical concept, the nature of the semantic contribution associated with that expression will always be a function of the unique context in which it is embedded. In other words, any usage of a given form constitutes a unique instantiation of a lexical concept, and is thus subject to processes of

semantic composition—see Evans (2009b) for details—due to the specific of context, which, in part, determines the semantic contribution of the lexical concept in question.

Given that lexical concepts do not occur in language use, but rather sanction instances of use, it is often the case that more than one lexical concept may be sanctioning a particular use of a form. This state of affairs I refer to as *multiple sanction*. To illustrate, take the form *fast*. The way in which this form is used by language users often appears to assume a number of distinct lexical concepts, including those that can be glossed as [PERFORM SOME ACT(ION) QUICKLY]³, as evidenced by (4a), and [REQUIRE LITTLE TIME FOR COMPLETION], as evidenced by (4b):

- (4) a. She's a fast typist
- b. Which courier company would you recommend to get a package from Brighton to London fast?

Now consider the following example:

- (5) We need a fast garage for our car, as we leave the day after tomorrow

The example in (5) appears to be a 'blend' of both the lexical concepts which sanction the examples in (4). In other words, the semantic contribution of *fast* in (5) involves nuances relating to both these lexical concepts. A garage is required in which the mechanics can both perform the relevant repairs quickly, and in doing so take little time for completion of repairs, given that the car will be required the day after tomorrow.

iii) LEXICAL CONCEPTS ARE FORM-SPECIFIC

Lexical concepts are *form-specific*. That is, they are conventionally associated with specific linguistic expressions. While it is, perhaps, obvious that the forms *cat* and *car* would be associated with distinct lexical concepts, it is perhaps less obvious that the vehicles *sing* and *sang* would also be associated with distinct lexical concepts. Nevertheless, this is indeed the

³ Note that in LCCM Theory lexical concepts are glossed by employing the convention of small capitals in square brackets. A lexical concept is a bundle of different knowledge types. The purpose of the gloss is to provide a short-hand means of identifying this unit-like bundle of knowledge.

claim made by LCCM Theory, in keeping with constructional approaches to grammar. A distinction in form spells a distinct lexical concept.

Notwithstanding this claim, some approaches to lexical representation make the assumption that vehicles such as *run* and *ran*, and so forth, relate to essentially the same semantic representational unit, what is traditionally referred to as a lexeme. On this account, forms such as *run* and *ran* essentially provide equivalent semantic content—the lexeme *RUN*—and only differ in terms of the grammatical information they encode, which is held to be non-semantic in nature. In other words, the traditional view attempts to account for the intuition that the semantic units associated with forms such as these are closely related.

LCCM Theory accounts for the intuition that *run* and *ran* are associated with closely related semantic units in the following way. As we saw in the previous section, lexical concepts have bipartite organisation, encoding linguistic content and facilitating access to conceptual content. Hence, lexical concepts as units of semantic structure can differ in at least one of two ways. Firstly, lexical concepts may provide differential access to the cognitive models to which they facilitate access. That is, they may provide access at different points in conceptual structure.

The second way in which lexical concepts may differ relates to the nature of the linguistic content they encode. The difference between the lexical concepts associated with *run* and *ran* has to do not with a difference in terms of access to cognitive models. Rather, the difference relates to linguistic encoding, in particular, the nature of the *parameters* relating to Time-reference encoded by the respective lexical concepts. Hence, in LCCM Theory, *run* and *ran* are associated with distinct lexical concepts, which facilitate access to the same cognitive models but encode a different bundle of *linguistic content*. As such, their linguistic content is similar but not identical.

iv) LEXICAL CONCEPTS ARE LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC

An important corollary of the position that lexical concepts are form-specific is that lexical concepts are necessarily language-specific. Thus, each language, by virtue of comprising language-specific forms which populate the language, necessarily provides an inventory of language-specific lexical concepts. A difference in form results in a difference in the lexical concept associated with the form. In short, what might be dubbed the naïve view, which holds that a language represents an inventory of language-specific

forms for encoding cross-linguistically identical semantic units is rejected by LCCM Theory.

To illustrate this point, consider the way in which two unrelated languages, English and Korean, encode ostensibly the same spatial relationship. This discussion is based on the work of Choi and Bowerman (1991; Bowerman and Choi 2003). In order to prompt for the spatial scenes evoked by the utterances in (6), the English lexical concept that I gloss as [PLACEMENT OF ONE ENTITY ONTO ANOTHER] associated with the English vehicle *put on* can be deployed.

- (6) a. She put the cup on the table
b. She put the magnet on the refrigerator
c. She put the hat on
d. She put the ring on her finger
e. She put the top on the pen
f. She put the lego block on the lego stack

The lexical concept [PLACEMENT OF ONE ENTITY ONTO ANOTHER] encodes placement of the figure in contact with a surface of some kind. The reader familiar only with English might be forgiven for thinking that this is the only way these spatial scenes can be encoded by a linguistic system. However, the situation in Korean is very different. The English examples in (6) are categorised into lexical concepts of four different kinds in Korean. This is achieved using the four distinct symbolic units, as in (7):

- (7) a. vehicle: 'nohta'
lexical concept: [PLACEMENT ON HORIZONTAL SURFACE]
b. vehicle: 'pwuchita'
lexical concept: [JUXTAPOSITION OF SURFACES]
c. vehicle: 'ssuta'
lexical concept: [PLACEMENT OF APPAREL ON HEAD]
d. vehicle: 'kkita'
lexical concept: [FIT TWO ENTITIES TIGHTLY TOGETHER]

<i>Nohta</i> [PLACEMENT ON HORIZONTAL SURFACE]	Corresponds to...	[PLACEMENT OF ONE ENTITY ONTO ANOTHER] e.g., <i>put cup on table</i>
<i>Pwuchita</i> [JUXTAPOSITION OF SURFACES]	Corresponds to...	[PLACEMENT OF ONE ENTITY ONTO ANOTHER] e.g., <i>put magnet on refrigerator</i>
<i>ssuta</i> [PLACEMENT OF APPAREL ON HEAD]	Corresponds to...	[PLACEMENT OF ONE ENTITY ONTO ANOTHER] e.g., <i>put hat on</i>
<i>Kkita</i> [FIT TWO ENTITIES TIGHTLY TOGETHER]	Corresponds to...	[PLACEMENT OF ONE ENTITY ONTO ANOTHER] e.g., <i>put ring on finger/</i> <i>put top on pen/</i> <i>put lego block on lego stack</i>

Table 3. Korean lexical concepts and their correspondence to English spatial relations

While the situation just described makes the point clearly that lexical concepts, as well as forms, are language-specific, my claim is that more mundane examples, for instance, the lexical concept associated with the vehicle *cat* in English and *chat* in French are also distinct. This follows as lexical concepts have bipartite organisation, as discussed briefly above. Hence, even in cases where lexical concepts share similar linguistic content cross-linguistically, the nature of the conceptual structure to which lexical concepts afford access will always be distinct. This follows as the individuals that make up distinct linguistic communities have divergent bodies of knowledge based on experiences that are different due to linguistic, cultural and areal divergences.

V) FORMS ARE NOT LEXICAL CONCEPT-SPECIFIC

Although lexical concepts are form-specific, a single vehicle can be conventionally associated with a potentially large number of distinct lexical concepts, which may or may not be semantically related. Hence, forms are not lexical concept-specific. Lexical concepts that are related, either in terms of similar linguistic content, or in terms of facilitating access to related cognitive model profiles—by virtue of providing proximal

access sites to conceptual content—or both, are held to exhibit a *polysemy relationship*. For example, in the utterances below in (8), the form *flying* is associated with four distinct lexical concepts, each of which facilitates access to distinct, but closely related, cognitive model profiles:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (8) a. The plane/bird is flying (in the sky) | [SELF-PROPELLED
AERODYNAMIC MOTION] |
| b. The pilot is flying the plane (in the sky) | [OPERATION OF ENTITY
CAPABLE OF AERODYNAMIC
MOTION] |
| c. The child is flying the kite (in the breeze) | [CONTROL OF LIGHTWEIGHT
ENTITY] |
| d. The flag is flying (in the breeze) | [SUSPENSION OF
LIGHTWEIGHT OBJECT] |

vi) LEXICAL CONCEPTS ARE ASSOCIATED WITH DIFFERENT VEHICLE TYPES

As lexical concepts are conventionally associated with a given linguistic form, it follows that lexical concepts are conventionally associated with a wide range of form types. The range of forms with which lexical concepts are conventionally associated include phonetically overt forms, such as *cat*, and phonetically implicit forms, such as the ditransitive vehicle: (SUBJECT VERB OBJ1 OBJ2), e.g., *John baked Mary a cake; John gave Mary the cake; John refused Mary the cake*. Moreover, explicit forms that have distinct lexical concepts conventionally associated with them include bound morphemes, ‘simplex’ words, ‘complex’ or polymorphemic words, and idiomatic expressions and phrases.

vii) LEXICAL CONCEPTS HAVE BIPARTITE STRUCTURE

As already mentioned, lexical concepts are units of semantic structure with bipartite organisation. They encode linguistic content and facilitate access to conceptual structure. Linguistic content represents the form that conceptual structure takes for direct encoding in language. There are a large number of different properties encoded by linguistic content which serve to provide a schematic or skeletal representation that can be encoded in language. The various characteristics involved are detailed in Evans 2009a, and 2009b).

In addition, a subset of lexical concepts serve as access sites to conceptual structure. Conceptual structure relates to non-linguistic information to

which lexical concepts potentially afford access. The potential body of non-linguistic knowledge: a lexical concept's semantic potential, is modelled in terms of a set of cognitive models. In LCCM Theory, I refer to the body of cognitive models and their relationships, as accessed by a given lexical concept, as the *cognitive model profile*.

A design feature of language is that it involves a bifurcation of lexical concepts into two types: open-class lexical concepts and closed-class lexical concepts. While both encode linguistic content it is only open-class lexical concepts which facilitate access to a cognitive model profile.

viii) LEXICAL CONCEPTS HAVE AN ENCAPSULATION FUNCTION

Lexical concepts provide what I refer to as an *encapsulation function*. This is achieved by virtue of open-class lexical concepts providing an access site to conceptual knowledge which is often complex and informationally diffuse. This provides the illusion that words have semantic unity, and that it is language which is directly encoding the complex body of knowledge which I refer to as a cognitive model profile. Indeed, what I refer to as an access site is, in fact, made up, typically, of a large number of association areas which hold between a single open-class lexical concept and the conceptual system. Thus, the encapsulation function is a consequence of two distinct systems being related such that the linguistic system provides a means of interfacing at specific points with the knowledge 'matrix' that is conceptual structure.

An example of the encapsulation function of lexical concepts comes from the following culture-specific example from Korean which cannot be easily and/or simply expressed in another language. This is the lexical concept encoded by the vehicle *nunchi*, which might be translated into English as 'eye-measure'. This lexical concept relates to the idea that one should be able to judge how others are feeling, such as whether a guest in one's home is hungry or not, and thus be in a position to offer food so that the guest is not embarrassed by having to request it. Hence, the lexical concept facilitates access to complex ideas which are typically diffusely grounded in an intricate cultural web of ideas and information. But by virtue of providing a unique access site to this complex body of conceptual content the lexical concept provides an encapsulation function.

ix) LEXICAL CONCEPTS HAVE A LEXICAL PROFILE

Lexical concepts have a lexical profile. A lexical profile constitutes knowledge relating to the range of other lexical concepts and vehicles with which a particular lexical concept regularly co-occurs. This constitutes what we might refer to, informally, as its *use potential*.⁴ As such, as each lexical concept is unique, so too its lexical profile is unique. Moreover, the lexical profile relates to knowledge, stored as part of the linguistic content encoded by a lexical concept.

The sorts of other lexical concepts and forms with which a lexical concept can co-occur, and which thereby make up its lexical profile, I term *selectional tendencies*. A lexical profile's selectional tendencies can be *restricted* or *non-restricted*. For instance, the lexical profile of the lexical concept [KITH] is 'X and kin' where 'X' is the position occupied by the form *kith* which is paired with [KIN]. This is the only occurrence of [KITH] in the language. As such this restricted lexical profile I refer to as an instance of *extreme restriction*. In this case, the lexical concept is indissociable from the larger lexical concept, and hence the form with which it is associated.

Extreme restrictions of this kind in a lexical concept's selectional tendencies are in fact rare, as are selectional tendencies which are wholly non-restricted. The kind of restricted selectional tendencies which are somewhat less rare relate to what are otherwise known as *collocations*. For instance, the lexical concepts associated with the following lexical forms: *stale*, *rotten*, *sour* and *rancid*, as applied to particular foodstuffs exhibit the following restrictions in terms of their selectional tendencies:

- (9) a. stale bread/cake/cheese, etc.
- b. rotten fruit/eggs/vegetables, etc.
- c. sour milk/yoghurt, etc.
- d. rancid butter/oil, etc.

In terms of the examples in (9) we see that the lexical concepts associated with the forms *stale*, *rotten*, *sour* and *rancid* exhibit quite distinct selectional tendencies. The pattern associated with each can thus be said to be restricted.

A selectional tendency for any given lexical concept, for convenience, can be divided into *semantic selectional tendencies* and *formal selectional*

⁴ See Zlatev (1997, 2003) for a related, albeit distinct, notion of the use potential of words. See also Allwood (2003).

tendencies. Semantic selectional tendencies have to do with the (range of) lexical concepts with which a lexical concept co-occurs and in which it can be embedded. Formal selectional tendencies have to do with the (range of) forms with which a given lexical concept co-occurs, or in which it can be embedded. I illustrate each kind with an example adapted from Goldberg (2006: 56). Consider, first of all, the semantic selectional tendencies associated with the [PLACEMENT] lexical concept encoded by *put on*:

- (10) a. Jane put the butter on the table
 b. <actor> *put* <thing> <location>

The [PLACEMENT] lexical concept selects for semantic arguments that can be construed as, respectively, an ACTOR, a THING and a LOCATION. In other words, part of our knowledge concerning this lexical concept involves knowing what kinds of lexical concepts it can co-occur with. In terms of formal selectional tendencies, part of our knowledge of the same lexical concept is knowing the order in which the forms associated with the [ACTOR], [THING] and [LOCATION] lexical concepts occur, with respect to the form *put on*. That is, part of knowledge involves knowing where the ACTOR, THING and LOCATION slots are located relative to the vehicle. Together these two types of knowledge form the lexical profile for the [PLACEMENT] lexical concept.⁵

In addition, formal selection tendencies needn't be restricted to knowledge of word order. It can also include knowledge concerning the nature of the permissible forms that can co-occur with a given lexical concept. For instance, and again adapting an example from Goldberg (2006: 57), the [LOCATE] lexical concept associated with the lexical form *found* exhibits a distinct formal selectional tendency from the [REALISE] lexical concept exhibited by the same form:

- (11) a. Jane found the cat [LOCATE]
 b. Jane found that the cat was missing [REALISE]

The [LOCATE] lexical concept selects for a direct object, whilst the [REALISE] lexical concept selects for a sentential complement. Thus far I have primarily addressed the selectional tendencies associated with lexical concepts associated with forms that have overt phonetic

⁵ See Goldberg (2006) for discussion of how the item-based knowledge which comprises the lexical profiles of lexical concepts is acquired.

content. I now briefly consider the lexical profile associated with lexical concepts that are *internally open*. An internally open lexical concept is a lexical concept that is paired with forms which have implicit phonetic content. An example is the lexical concept [THING X CAUSES THING Y TO RECEIVE THING Z] conventionally paired with the ditransitive form.

The lexical profile of such lexical concepts relates to what I refer to as *internal selectional tendencies*. That is, as the lexical concept is internally open, it can be integrated with other less abstract lexical concepts: those paired with forms that do have phonetically explicit phonetic content. Yet, such lexical concepts are constrained in certain ways, as specified by the lexical profile that forms part of the linguistic content encoded by the [THING X CAUSES THING Y TO RECEIVE THING Z] lexical concept. In particular, part of the knowledge captured by lexical profiles for internally open lexical concepts involve which kind of lexically-closed lexical concepts can align with particular slots in the internally complex lexical form. For instance, in terms of the [THING X CAUSES THING Y TO RECEIVE THING Z] lexical concept, its lexical profile specifies that only animate entities capable of causing transfer can be integrated with the NP1 slot. Some of the internal selectional tendencies associated with this lexical concept are summarised in Table 4.

The English Ditransitive: X CAUSES Y TO RECEIVE Z
Contributes TRANSFER semantics that cannot be attributed to the lexical verb
The GOAL argument must be animate (RECIPIENT rather than PATIENT)
Two non-predicative NPs are licensed in post-verbal position
The construction links RECIPIENT role with OBJ function
The SUBJ role must be filled with a volitional AGENT, who intends TRANSFER

Table 4. Properties of the English symbolic unit: ditransitive construction (Goldberg 1995)

There is now well-established empirical evidence for the notion of a lexical profile associated with lexical concepts. Compelling evidence comes from work in corpus linguistics which reveals that part of the knowledge language users have of words, for instance, includes what I am referring to as a lexical profile. In particular, this notion has been empirically explored in the work of Atkins (1987) who uses the term ‘ID Tag’. Developing ideas from Hanks (1996), Gries and Divjak (2009) employ the term ‘behavioural profile’. Other empirical work that is consonant with the theoretical

construct of the lexical profile is represented in the work of Dąbrowska (2009) and her notion of ‘words as constructions’. Still other work that supports this perspective is discussed in Goldberg (2006).

Finally, some lexical concepts do not have a lexical profile associated with them. This is a feature of lexical concepts which constitute semantically well-formed utterances in their own right. Such lexical concepts I refer to as being *externally closed*. Lexical concepts of this kind include greetings such as *hello!*, *How do you do?*, *Hi!*, and exclamatives such as *Shit!*.

However, being externally-closed does not inevitably mean that a lexical concepts must lack a lexical profile. For instance, many lexical concepts, which I refer to, informally, as ‘clause-level’ lexical concepts—traditionally referred to as ‘independent clauses’, or alternatively ‘simple sentences’—such as the [THING X CAUSES THING Y TO RECEIVE THING Z] lexical concept, as observed above, do indeed have a lexical profile. If they didn’t, we wouldn’t know how such lexical concepts could be combined with other, more specific, symbolic units, in order to produce a well-formed utterance.

Finally, it is also important to observe that being externally-closed does not imply, however, that a given lexical concept cannot be combined with other lexical concepts above the level of the utterance. After all, the ditransitive symbolic unit can be combined with other lexical concepts to make more complex utterances:

(12) Fred gave Holly flowers, and she smelled them.

Traditionally an utterance of the sort provided in (12) is referred to as a ‘compound sentence’, involving two independent clauses related by a coordinator, which, in this case, is *and*.

In sum, a lexical profile constitutes a body of more or less restricted linguistic knowledge relating to its use potential that is specific to a given lexical concept. It expresses sets of tendencies: patterns of co-occurrence abstracted from usage events. Moreover, as the lexical profile is apparent in language use, it provides a ‘footprint’ that can serve in identifying the specific lexical concept that sanctions a given instance of use. As such, we might think of the lexical profile as providing a distinct ‘biometric’ identifier for each lexical concept. This is particularly useful in cases of polysemy, where a single form is associated with a number of semantically related lexical concepts. Polysemy provides an analytical challenge for the linguist, as it is not always clear where sense-boundaries begin (and end).

In the final substantive section of the paper I will illustrate how the lexical profile can be applied in adducing distinct polysemous lexical concepts.

X) LEXICAL CONCEPTS CAN BE COMBINED

One consequence of lexical concepts encoding a lexical profile as part of their linguistic knowledge bundle is that lexical concepts can be combined. While the lexical profile expresses schematic tendencies, lexical concept combination involves the integration of actual instances of specific lexical concepts in a way that serves to combine both the linguistic content encoded by lexical concepts and a subset of the cognitive model profiles that each open-class lexical concept facilitates access to. The general process of combination of both linguistic and conceptual content is referred to, in LCCM Theory, as *fusion*.

There are two mechanisms which relate to the different sorts of content associated with a lexical concept: linguistic content versus conceptual content. The mechanism which governs the combination of the various types of linguistic content encoded by lexical concepts is termed *lexical concept integration*. This involves a process termed *unpacking*, and results in a word (or other linguistic expression) receiving a *semantic value*. The mechanism which relates to the way in which conceptual content is then accessed via open-class lexical concepts, following lexical concept integration, is termed *interpretation*. This is guided by lexical concept integration, and results in the formation of an *informational characterisation*. The combination of lexical concepts resulting in the formation of a semantically well-formed utterance gives rise to a *conception*. The two types of mechanism that give rise to fusion are, in LCCM Theory, constraint-based, expressed in terms of a set of principles that facilitate and govern the combination of lexical concepts in the construction of meaning (see Evans 2009b for details).

Of course, lexical concepts are components of symbolic units. They can be combined precisely because symbolic units can be combined. One of the main claims of LCCM Theory, in keeping with constructional approaches such as Cognitive Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006) and Cognitive Grammar (Langacker 2008) is that symbolic units, and hence lexical concepts, are combined in nested fashion. By way of illustration, consider the following utterance:

(13) Max hid the mobile telephone

The basic insight is that there are (at least) three distinct levels of lexical concept apparent in this particular utterance. Proceeding from the most abstract level, there is a lexical concept that specifies an asymmetric relationship holding between two related entities. This corresponds to the intuition that many utterances in English (and indeed many other languages) assign focal prominence to one entity, rather than another in a *profiled relationship* (Langacker 1987). A profiled relationship involves a linguistically encoded relationship holding between two entities, the trajector (TR) and the landmark (LM). This corresponds to the intuition that there is a subject/object asymmetry encoded by sentence-level symbolic units (in English). The symbolic unit in question is provided in (14):

- (14) a. form: 'NP1 VERB PHRASE NP2'
b. lexical concept: [A PROFILED RELATIONSHIP HOLDS BETWEEN A TR
AND A LM]

At the next level, there is a lexical concept which establishes that the perspective from which the profiled relationship is viewed is that of the agent. Hence, this lexical concept encodes an asymmetric relationship between an agent and a patient, and in so doing serves to align the agent role with that of TR and the patient role with that of the LM in the lexical concept provided in (14b). That is, the lexical profile encoded by the lexical concept in (14b) stipulates that the internally closed lexical concept that is construed as agentive in a profiled relationship is integrated with the TR role. Hence, the lexical concept provided in (14b) relates to what is more commonly referred to as active voice:

- (15) a. form NP1 VERB+TNS NP2'
b. lexical concept [PROFILED RELATIONSHIP INVOLVING AGENT AND
PATIENT VIEWED FROM PERSPECTIVE OF AGENT]

The lexical profile for the lexical concept in (15b) stipulates that the agent role aligns with NP1 while the patient role aligns with NP2.

Finally, the third level of lexical concepts involves those which are internally closed, and are hence conventionally paired with forms that have overt phonetic content. For the utterance in (13) these relates to lexical concepts associated with the vehicles: *Max*, *hid*, *the*, and *mobile telephone*.

While asymmetric focal prominence, as captured by the lexical concept in (14b) is a feature of all linguistically overt (i.e., profiled) relationships, the ‘active’ lexical concept in (15b) need not be. That is, there are situations in which the agent is not associated with the TR. This happens in utterances involving what is commonly referred to as passive voice. Consider the utterance in (16):

(16) The mobile phone was hidden by Max

In this utterance, the internally closed lexical concept: [MOBILE PHONE] is aligned with NP1. This is a consequence of the lexical profile of the ‘passive’ lexical concept which determines that the lexical concept which is construed as being the patient receives focal prominence. Hence, the patient aligns with the NP1 slot associated with the symbolic unit provided in (14). I formalise the ‘passive’ symbolic unit as follows:

- (17) a. form: ‘NP1 BE VERB+PPT by NP2’
 b. lexical concept [PROFILED RELATIONSHIP INVOLVING AGENT AND PATIENT VIEWED FROM PERSPECTIVE OF PATIENT]

A summary of the various characteristics associated with lexical concepts is provided in Table 5.

Property	Details
Lexical concepts are elements of mental grammar	Lexical concepts are elements of linguistic knowledge: the semantic pole of a symbolic unit, abstracted from across usage events (i.e., utterances). They comprise a bundle of different knowledge types, collectively referred to as linguistic content.
Lexical concepts sanction instances of language use	Lexical concepts, <i>qua</i> mental knowledge structures, don’t appear in utterances, but rather are realised as contextualised semantic contributions. As such, they licence instances of language use.
Lexical concepts are vehicle-specific	Lexical concepts are conventionally associated with a specific vehicle.
Lexical concepts are language-specific	Each language, by virtue of comprising language-specific vehicles which populate the language, necessarily provides an inventory of language-specific lexical concepts

Lexical concepts are associated with different vehicle types	Lexical concepts are associated with vehicles of various kinds, including forms with overt phonetic content as well as those with implicit phonetic content
Vehicles are not lexical concept-specific	Lexical concepts are associated with a 'semantic network' of related lexical concepts, and thus exhibit polysemy
Lexical concepts have bipartite structure	Lexical concepts encode linguistic content and facilitate access to conceptual structure. Linguistic content represents the form that conceptual structure takes for direct encoding in language. Conceptual structure relates to non-linguistic information to which lexical concepts potentially afford access.
Lexical concepts have an encapsulation function	By virtue of lexical concepts facilitating access to conceptual structure they serve to encapsulate often complex and informationally diffuse ideas.
Lexical concepts have a lexical profile	A lexical profile constitutes a body of more or less restricted linguistic knowledge relating to its use potential that is specific to a given lexical. It expresses sets of tendencies: patterns of co-occurrence abstracted from usage events. Moreover, as the lexical profile is apparent in language use, it provides a 'footprint' that can serve in identifying the specific lexical concept that sanctions a given instance of use. As such, we might think of the lexical profile as providing a distinct 'biometric' identifier for each lexical concept.
Lexical concepts can be combined	Lexical concepts can be combined in various predictable ways in service of activating semantic potential and thus facilitating meaning construction. Combination of lexical concepts involves the integration of linguistic content—a process termed lexical concept integration—and the activation of a subset of the semantic potential accessed via the open-class lexical concepts in the utterance—a process termed interpretation. Lexical concept integration and interpretation—collectively termed fusion—are governed by various constraints modelled in terms of a set of principles.

Lexical concepts have relativistic consequences for non-linguistic Representation	As lexical concepts are language-specific, and contribute to simulations which can serve to modify conceptual structure, each language has relativistic effects on non-linguistic representation.
---	---

Table 5. Summary of the characteristics of lexical concepts

4. A methodology for identifying lexical concepts

We now return to one of the key characteristics of the linguistic content encoded by a lexical concept: its lexical profile. In this section I do two things. Firstly, I illustrate the procedure by which distinct selectional tendencies can be employed to identify distinct lexical concepts associated with particular lexical forms. And, secondly, as word forms typically have multiple lexical concepts conventionally associated with them, identifying the lexical profiles associated with instances of a given form across discrete utterances serves to disambiguate the range of lexical concepts associated with any given form.

As we saw above, the lexical profile is made up of selectional tendencies of two kinds: semantic selectional tendencies and formal selectional tendencies. I develop two criteria below, relating to the distinct types of knowledge that make up these two sorts of selectional tendencies.⁶ I then apply these criteria in order to identify a number of distinct lexical concepts associated with the open-class forms: *time*, and *flying*. I do so based on usage data. The two criteria are as follows:

i) The Semantic Selectional Criterion:

A distinct lexical profile—by definition encoded by a distinct lexical concept—provides unique or highly distinct patterns in terms of the nature and range of the lexical concepts with which

⁶ In previous work (Evans 2004, 2005), I formalised criteria for distinguishing between polysemous sense-units in somewhat different terms. These were the Meaning Criterion and the Formal Criterion developed as part of the refinement of the Principled Polysemy model presented in that work. The present criteria build on the insights developed in (Evans 2004), but operate within the new context of LCCM Theory.

a lexical concept can co-occur or in which it can be embedded, or in the case of an internally open lexical concept, which occur within it.

ii) The Formal Selectional Criterion:

A distinct lexical profile—by definition encoded by a distinct lexical concept—provides unique or highly distinct patterns in terms of the forms with which a lexical concept can co-occur or within which it can be embedded, or in the case of an internally open lexical concept, the nature of

the alignment between forms and the internally closed lexical concepts that lexically fill the internally open lexical concept.

While successful application of only one of the two criteria will normally be sufficient to point to the likelihood of a distinct lexical concept, in the final analysis, identifying the existence of a given lexical concept requires converging evidence employing a number of lines of support and deploying a complementary set of methodologies. Recent work in this regard, which can be used to support the evidence from linguistic analysis presented below, include techniques from psycholinguistic testing (see e.g., Cuyckens *et al.* 1997) as well as corpus-based tools and methodologies (Gries 2006)

4.1. Lexical concepts for ‘time’

Before being able to apply the two selectional criteria just introduced, it is first necessary to develop a hypothesis as to the nature of the distinct lexical concepts involved in particular utterances. That is, how many lexical concepts are involved across the utterances to be examined? To this end, consider the following examples which involve the form *time*:

- (18) Time flies when you’re having fun
- (19) The time for a decision is getting closer
- (20) The old man’s time [= death] is fast approaching
- (21) Time flows on (forever)

These instances of the lexical form *time* all appear in the ‘subject’ phrase. Moreover, the verb phrase which complements the subject phrase relates to a motion event. Thus, motion is being ascribed to the entities that *time* contributes in prompting for, in each example. In addition, the semantic

contribution associated with *time* appears to be distinct in each example. In the first example in (18), *time* appears to relate to an assessment of temporal magnitude. Thus, we might provisionally gloss the lexical concept which sanctions this instance of *time* as [DURATION]. In (19) the lexical concept sanctioning *time* might be glossed as [MOMENT]. This follows as the conception associated with the utterance as a whole relates to a specific temporal moment when a particular decision is to be taken. Thus, the contribution of *time* in this example appears not to relate to a durational elapse, but rather a discrete instant. In (20) the lexical concept which sanctions this use of *time* appears to relate to an event, which extra-linguistic context informs us is death. Thus, the lexical concept involved here might be glossed as [EVENT]. Finally, in (21), the lexical concept which sanctions this use of *time* appears to relate to an unending temporal elapse. In earlier work (Evans 2004) I described this as the ‘matrix’ lexical concept associated with *time*, in which we understand time to be *the* event within which all other events occur. Thus, the gloss we might apply to describe the lexical concept involved here is [MATRIX].

Indeed, this preliminary analysis suggests that distinct lexical concepts underpin the usages of *time* in each of these examples (see Evans 2004). In order to test this hypothesis, I apply the selectional criteria. For a distinct lexical profile (and hence a distinct lexical concept) to be confirmed, at least one of these two criteria must apply. In order to confirm whether the instances of *time* in (18) to (21) inclusive are sanctioned by distinct lexical concepts, I begin by applying the Formal Selectional Criterion. To do this, let’s consider the kind of noun phrase in which each use of *time* appears. I start by noting that the examples in (18) and (21), appear, on the face of it, to be similar. Neither is pre-modified by a determiner. However, further examples reveal that what I have hypothesised to be a distinct [DURATION] lexical concept of *time* as in (18) can be determined by the definite article when the assessment of temporal magnitude is specific rather than generic, while the use that I hypothesise to be sanctioned by the [MATRIX] lexical concept cannot be. To see that this is the case, consider the following instances of *time*, which are similar to those in (18) and (21):

- (22) During the dinner date, the time seemed to fly [DURATION]
(23) *The time flows on (forever) [MATRIX]

The asterisk in (23) here indicates that a usage that I hypothesise to be sanctioned by the [MATRIX] lexical concept cannot co-occur with the definite article. In contrast, an instance of *time* I hypothesise to be sanctioned by the [DURATION] lexical concept can be. Indeed, this formal patterning appears consistent with the linguistic content encoded by the [MATRIX] lexical concept. The [MATRIX] lexical concept is hypothesised to relate to a unique referent: the event which subsumes all others, and thus further specification which the lexical concept associated with the definite article would provide is superfluous.

The examples in (19) and (20) also exhibit unique patterns in terms of formal selectional tendencies: both from each other and from the examples in (18) and (21). The use of *time* hypothesised to be sanctioned by the [MOMENT] lexical concept appears to pattern straightforwardly as a count noun, allowing determination by the definite article, as in (19), or by the indefinite article, as in (24) below:

- (24) A time will come when we'll be forced
to make a decision [MOMENT]

In this, its behaviour is distinct from the use of *time* in (18), hypothesised to be sanctioned by the [DURATION] lexical concept, which cannot be pre-modified by the indefinite article:

- (25) *During the dinner date a time seemed to fly [DURATION]

The [EVENT] lexical concept, which I suggest sanctions the use of *time* in (20) appears to require a pre-modifying genitive noun phrase followed by the enclitic possessive '-s', or else an attributive pronoun, serving a similar function:

- (26) His time [=death] is fast approaching.

Thus, in subject position, these uses of *time* all appear to have quite distinct formal selectional tendencies.

Let's now turn to the semantic lexical concept selectional tendencies associated with these uses of *time*. I do so by applying the Semantic Selectional Criterion. The point here is that the nature of the motion event encoded by the lexical concept associated with the verb phrase form is distinct for each of the uses in a significant way. Moreover, the choice of motion event type is compatible with the nature of the various lexical concepts hypothesised to sanction the distinct uses of *time*.

For instance, the [DURATION] lexical concept which I suggest underpins the use of *time* in (18), and the particular variant—which in previous work I refer to as the [TEMPORAL COMPRESSION] lexical concept, as it relates to an assessment of temporal magnitude which proceeds more ‘quickly’ than usual (Evans 2004, 2009b)—co-occurs with lexical concepts that encode motion events which are rapid in nature, as evidenced by the example in (18).⁷ In contrast, what I hypothesise to be the [MOMENT] lexical concept appears to possess a lexical profile which allows a wider range of motion events to co-occur with it, including imperceptible motion as in (27), rapid motion, as in (28), and terminal motion, as in (29):

- (27) The time for a decision has gone/vanished/disappeared
- (28) The time for decision is racing towards us/fast approaching
- (29) The time for a decision is approaching/getting closer/has arrived

The [EVENT] lexical concept appears to possess a lexical profile which restricts the range of motion lexical concepts which can co-occur with it to terminal motion events, i.e., motion events which terminate ‘at’ the experiential locus, typically a human experiencer. Finally, the [MATRIX] lexical concept appears to possess a lexical profile which requires lexical concepts encoding motion events which are non-terminal in nature. That is, it requires motion events which are on-going, a paradigm example being the lexical concept associated with the form *flow*.

Thus, each of the examples of *time* in (18) to (21) inclusive, based on the Semantic Selectional Criterion and the Formal Selectional Criterion behave as if sanctioned by distinct lexical concepts with distinct lexical profiles. Table 6 summarises the semantic and formal selectional tendencies which comprise the lexical profiles for the lexical concepts considered.

⁷ The temporal compression variant of duration associated with *time* can also co-occur with lexical concepts that encode motion events which imply a lack of perceptual awareness, such as the following: *Where has the time gone? The time seemed to have vanished*, etc.

Gloss	Brief description of conceptual content	Nature of semantic selectional tendencies	Nature of formal selectional tendencies
[DURATION] two variants: [PROTRACTED DURATION] TEMPORAL COMPRESSION]	Assessment of magnitude of duration Duration “slower” than usual Duration “faster” than usual	Slow motion, e.g., <i>time drags</i> Fast motion, e.g., <i>time flies</i>	Mass noun; can appear with definite article and some quantifiers
[MOMENT]	A discrete temporal “point”	Ego-centred motion, e.g., <i>the time is approaching...</i>	Count noun; can appear with definite and indefinite articles
[EVENT]	A boundary-event of some kind	Ego-centred motion, e.g., <i>Her time is approaching...</i>	Count noun; cannot take articles, but can be preceded by pronouns and possessive noun phrases
[MATRIX]	An unbounded elapse conceived as the event subsuming all others	Non-terminal motion, e.g., <i>Time flows on forever</i>	Mass noun; cannot be preceded by definite or indefinite articles

Table 6. Lexical profiles associated with lexical concepts which sanction the uses of *time* considered

4.2. Lexical concepts for ‘flying’

While the lexical concepts associated with the lexical form *time* are nominal in nature, I now provide a further illustration, this time involving relational lexical concepts. Hence, I now consider the lexical profile relating to distinct lexical concepts associated with the verbal form: *flying*.

To do so, consider the examples in (8) presented earlier in the paper and reproduced below:

- | | |
|---|--|
| (8) a. The plane/bird is flying (in the sky) | [SELF-PROPELLED
AERODYNAMIC MOTION] |
| b. The pilot is flying the plane (in the sky) | [OPERATION OF
ENTITY APABLE OF
AERODYNAMIC MOTION] |
| c. The child is flying the kite (in the breeze) | [CONTROL OF
IGHTWEIGHT ENTITY] |
| d. The flag is flying (in the breeze) | [SUSPENSION OF
LIGHTWEIGHT OBJECT] |

For convenience I have provided the lexical concepts which I hypothesise to sanction each of the uses of *flying* alongside the examples. These data, and the glosses, suggest that each instance is sanctioned by a distinct lexical concept associated with the form: *flying*. If so, we should expect to be able to adduce a distinct lexical profile associated with each use. Unlike many (English) nominal lexical concepts, for which a salient grammatical feature is how they are determined, a salient grammatical feature for relational lexical concepts, associated with verb forms, is transitivity.

Hence, in terms of formal selectional tendencies, and hence the Formal Selectional Criterion, the hallmark of the lexical concepts which license the uses of *flying* in (8a) and (8d) is the lack of a direct object—what is traditionally referred to as an intransitive verb. This contrasts with the lexical concepts which sanction the examples in (8b) and (8c) which both require a direct object—making them transitive verbs. This distinction in transitivity fails to distinguish (8a) from (8d) and (8b) from (8c). For this we must rely on semantic selectional tendencies, and the Semantic Selectional Criterion.

The hallmark of each of these lexical concepts is that they stipulate distinct types of lexical concepts. For instance, the [SELF-PROPELLED AERODYNAMIC MOTION] lexical concept, which, I suggest, sanctions the use of *flying* in (8a), only applies to entities that are capable of self-propelled aerodynamic motion. Entities that are not self-propelled, such as tennis balls, cannot be used in this sense (**the tennis ball is flying in the sky*).

The lexical concept which underlies the use of *flying* in (8b): [OPERATION OF ENTITY CAPABLE OF AERODYNAMIC MOTION] is restricted to operation by an entity

which can be construed as an agent, and moreover, to entities that can undergo self-propelled aerodynamic motion. Further, the entity must be able to accommodate the agent and thereby serve as a means of transport. This explains why aeroplanes and hot air balloons are compatible with uses sanctioned by this lexical concept, but entities unable to accommodate an agent are not. This is illustrated by example (30).

(30) ??He flew the sparrow across the English Channel

Nevertheless, entities which can be construed as being guided, or at least susceptible to being trained, by a volitional agent, yet which cannot accommodate an agent, are partially sanctioned by this lexical concept, as the following example illustrates:

(31) He flew the homing pigeon across the English Channel

In the case of the use sanctioned by the [CONTROL OF LIGHTWEIGHT ENTITY] lexical concept, as evidenced by the use of *flying* in (8c), this lexical concept appears to be restricted to entities that are capable of becoming airborne by turbulence, and can be controlled by an agent on the ground. This lexical concept appears to be specialised for objects like kites and model/remote-controlled aeroplanes.

Interestingly, as we saw in our discussion of the lexical concepts associated with the vehicle *fast* in the example in (5) earlier, particular instances of *flying* appear to rely on multiple sanction. In the following example:

(32) The kite is flying (in the sky)

this use appears to be partly sanctioned by both the [SELF-PROPELLED AERODYNAMIC MOTION] and the [CONTROL OF LIGHTWEIGHT ENTITY] lexical concepts. It exhibits the formal selectional tendencies of the former lexical concept, but we understand that it must be controlled by an agent, rather than being self-propelled.

The final use of *flying*, sanctioned by the lexical concept which I gloss as [SUSPENSION OF LIGHTWEIGHT OBJECT], selects for entities that can be supported by virtue of air turbulence, but remain ‘connected to’ the ground. This lexical concept applies to flags as well as hair and scarves, which can ‘fly’ in the wind.

In sum, this discussion of lexical concepts which sanction distinct uses of *flying* can be identified by virtue of examining formal and semantic selectional tendencies, which relate to the Formal and Semantic Selectional Criteria. As each use of the vehicle patterns in a markedly different way across the utterances in (8), based on application of these criteria, we can conclude that a distinct lexical profile underpins each use and hence, each use is indeed sanctioned by a distinct lexical concept.

5. Summary

This paper has provided an overview of the main properties of lexical concepts, within the framework of LCCM Theory (Evans 2006, 2009a, 2009b, 2010, To appear). I argued that lexical concepts, by virtue of constituting units of semantic structure—the semantic pole of a symbolic unit—are thereby central elements of a language user’s mental grammar. As such, lexical concepts sanction instances of language and are conventionally associated with a lexical form. Accordingly, they are form-specific. A corollary of this is that lexical concepts are necessarily language-specific. While lexical concepts may encode related, and hence similar, linguistic content across languages, they will always facilitate access to a distinct body of conceptual structure: their semantic potential. This is a consequence of lexical concepts having bipartite structure: encoding linguistic content while facilitating access to the contents of the human conceptual system. One consequence of lexical concepts facilitating access to conceptual structure is that they provide an access site—consisting of multiple association areas in the conceptual system—for a diffuse body of non-linguistic knowledge. As such, they provide an encapsulation function. Another important aspect of the linguistic content encoded by a lexical concept is its lexical profile. This constitutes knowledge relating to the semantic and formal tendencies: the (types of) lexical concepts and forms with which a given lexical concept co-occurs. Moreover, as the lexical profile is abstracted from across usage events, it can be applied to usage data in order to provide evidence as to whether a given lexical concept is sanctioning a particular usage of a form. The procedure for employing the lexical profile in this way was formalised in terms of the Semantic and Formal Selectional Criteria. The application of these was illustrated by virtue of an analysis of nominal lexical concepts

associated with the form *time*, and relational lexical concepts associated with the verbal form *flying*.

References

- Allwood, Jens. (2003). Meaning potentials and context: Some consequences for the analysis of variation in meaning. In H. Cuyckens, R. Dirven and J. Taylor (eds.), *Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics* (pp. 29-66). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Atkins, B.T.S. (1987). Semantic-ID tags: corpus evidence for dictionary senses. In *The uses of large text databases: Proceedings of the third annual conference of the new OED centre* (pp. 17-36). University of Waterloo, Canada.
- Barsalou, Lawrence. (1999). Perceptual symbol systems. *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 22, (pp. 577–660).
- Bowerman, Melissa and Soonja Choi. (2003). Space under construction: Language- specific spatial categorization in first language acquisition. In D. Gentner & S. Goldin-Meadow (eds.), *Language in mind: Advances in the study of language and thought* (pp. 387-428). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Choi, Soonja and Melissa Bowerman. (1991). Learning to express motion events in English and Korean: The influence of language-specific lexicalization patterns. *Cognition*, 41 (pp. 83-121).
- Cuyckens, Hubert; Dominiek Sandra and Sally Rice. (1997). Towards an empirical lexical semantics. In B. Smieja and M. Tasch (eds.), *Human contact through language and linguistics* (pp. 35-54). Frankfurt: Peter Lang.
- Dąbrowska, Ewa. (2009). Words as constructions. In V. Evans & S. Pourcel (eds.), *New directions in cognitive linguistics* (pp. 201-224). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Evans, Vyvyan. (2004). *The structure of time: Language, meaning and cognition*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Evans, Vyvyan. (2005). The meaning of 'time': Polysemy, the Lexicon and Conceptual Structure. *Journal of Linguistics*, (pp. 41-1, 33-75).
- Evans, Vyvyan. (2006). Lexical concepts, cognitive models and meaning-construction. *Cognitive Linguistics* 17-4, (pp. 491-534).

- Evans, Vyvyan. (2009). *How words mean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Evans, Vyvyan. (2010). From the spatial to the non-spatial: The 'state' lexical concepts of *in*, *on* and *at*. In V. Evans & P. Chilton (eds.), *Language, cognition and space: The state of the art and new directions* (pp. 215-248). London: Equinox publishing.
- Evans, Vyvyan. (To appear). Figurative language understanding in LCCM Theory. *Cognitive Linguistics* 21-4.
- Evans, Vyvyan and Melanie Green. (2006). *Cognitive linguistics: An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. Press.
- Goldberg, Adele. (1995). *Constructions. A construction grammar approach to argument structure*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Goldberg, Adele. (2006). *Constructions at work: The nature of generalization in language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Gries, Stefan Th. (2006). Corpus-based methods and cognitive semantics: The many meanings of *to run*. In S. Th. Gries & A. Stefanowitsch (eds.), *Corpora in cognitive linguistics: Corpus-based approaches to syntax and lexis* (pp. 57-99). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gries, Stefan Th. and Dagmar Divjak. (2009). Behavioral profiles: A corpus-based approach to cognitive semantic analysis. *New directions in cognitive linguistics* (pp. 57-76). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hanks, Patrick. (1996). Contextual dependency and lexical sets. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics*, 1-1 (pp. 75-98).
- Langacker, Ronald W. (1987). *Foundations of cognitive grammar: Volume I Theoretical prerequisites*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Langacker, Ronald W. (2008). *Cognitive grammar: A basic introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. (2000). *Toward a cognitive semantics (2 volumes)*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Zlatev, Jordan. (1997). *Situated embodiment: Studies in the emergence of spatial meaning*. Stockholm: Gotab.
- Zlatev, Jordan. (2003). Polysemy or generality? Mu. In H. Cuyckens, R. Dirven & J. Taylor (eds.), *Cognitive Approaches to Lexical Semantics* (pp 447-494). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Accepted for publication on 1 October 2010.

Вивиан Еванс

Универзитет у Бангору, Велика Британија

О ПРИРОДИ ЛЕКСИЧКИХ ПОЈМОВА

Сажетак

У раду се разматра природа лексичких појмова. Лексички појам је један од теоријских конструката у оквиру теорије лексичких појмова и когнитивних модела (Еванс 2006, 20096). Кључна поставка ове теорије подразумева да се језички посредована комуникација ослања на знање које се налази у два различита репрезентациона система: појмовном и језичком. Језички систем састоји се од симболичких јединица, које укључују симболички однос између фонолошког и семантичког пола. Лексички појмови представљају средство моделирања семантичког пола. У раду се даје преглед главних својстава лексичких појмова. Такође, излаже се методологија за идентификовање лексичких појмова и утврђивање разлика међу њима, што је од значаја када се ради о случајевима попут полисемије, где се одређена форма упарује са различитим лексичким појмовима.

Кључне речи: лексички појам, теорија лексичких појмова и когнитивних модела, лингвистички садржај, појмовни садржај, лексички профил.

Alena Anishchanka, Dirk Speelman, Dirk Geeraerts
University of Leuven, Belgium

SOCIOLECTAL VARIATION IN THE LENGTH OF COLOR TERMS USED IN ADVERTISING

Abstract

In the article we explore the length of color terms used in advertising as one of the formal parameters of their lexical complexity. We report two case studies applying multiple linear regression to test the variation in the color term length relative to two sets of sociolinguistic parameters relevant for online marketing and purchase. The first case study reveals the most general variation patterns in four product categories (cars, clothing, women's makeup, house paints) involving the effects of such sociolinguistic factors as product category and the status of the brand. In the second case study, we propose a more fine-grained analysis of the product category of cars focusing on the product-specific sociolinguistic parameters (type of car, year of production, country of the parent company) and their interactions with the more general variables revealed by the first analysis.

Key words: color term length, sociolectal variation, color categorization, advertising, multivariate linear regression method

1. Introduction

Probably one of the first things that 'catches the eye' of a linguist or a layperson when faced with the color terms used in advertising is their sheer diversity and complexity. Ranging from quite innocent *burgundy*, *plum* and *orchid* to *Who the Shrek are you?* or *Teal the cows come home*, these names stretch the creative potential of a language to the extreme where they can hardly be recognized as color terms any more. Such words reveal the richness of associative meanings and metaphorical extensions

in color vocabulary that has been successfully exploited for commercial purposes and has served as an inspiration to artists like Peter van Eyck. In his exhibition “Elusive Colors”, inspired by color names in car catalogs, he compared color names such as *whisper green* or *virtual blue* to ‘industrial poetry’.

Going beyond the purely entertaining aspects of color terms, linguists have increasingly recognized advertising as an important cultural factor in the development of color vocabulary and color categorization (see, for instance, Kertulla 2002: 276-277). With advertising becoming an ever more present part of everyday life, color terms and color categories that were once exotic, rare or specialized, such as *teal*, *indigo*, *khaki*, or *vanilla* become more and more present in everyday purchasing situations. Thus the development of online marketing, advertising, and image technology can be seen as yet another step in the evolution of technology, whose impact on color categorization has been demonstrated in a number of studies (Casson 1992; MacLaury 1992, 1997).

At the same time the multiplicity and complexity of color terms in advertising, their arbitrary and open-ended character make analyzing them a challenging and even intimidating task. In her study of fashion color terms, Stoeva-Holm questions “if certain color terms which are used for fashion escape classification altogether, possibly on account of their being neologisms or ad-hoc formations?” (1996: 423). These characteristics of color terms set a number of constraints on the studies of color vocabulary in modern advertising, especially those using an introspective method. Firstly, the number of color terms included in the analyses remains quite limited, not exceeding several hundred tokens. For comparison, the online color naming experiment carried out by HP Lab yielded over 30 thousand color words, demonstrating the color naming potential of the English language (Moroney 2008). Secondly, introspective methodology limits the scope of the analysis in terms of covered domains. The studies known to us are limited to color names in one or at best two product categories, such as cars (Bergh 2007; Graumann 2007), fashion (Klaus 1989; Cencig 1990; Stoeva-Holm 1996, 2007), textiles and cosmetics (Whyler 2007). As a result, there always remains the question of how general the proposed generalizations and conclusions are and to what extent they are applicable to related domains, product categories or genres. These constraints in many ways also apply to corpus-based studies of color vocabulary, mostly due to the limited size of the existing corpora, which do not allow the

analysis of more than a few hundred most commonly used color words (Steinvall 2002). For instance, Kertulla points at the limitations of the traditional corpus / dictionary resources (such as OED) for studying color terminology when it comes to the 20th century, since the current color names are not adequately reflected, especially their current usage and development (2002: 273).

Considering all that, in our study we specifically address the issue of color term complexity and variation in advertising, which raises a number of questions. When we say color terms are complex, do we mean they have complex morpho-syntactic structure, like *dream a little dream of me* or *obsidian black pearl onyx metallic*? Do we mean they are complex in the subtlety of the conveyed color nuances, like *nocturne aubergine*, *creamy blueberry* or *baby's breath*? Or do we mean they are complex in the associative meanings they evoke, ranging from *pine apple upside down cake* to *ms.behave* or *fusion orange*? Narrowing down our research question, in this study we focus on one of the formal aspects in the complexity of color names, specifically, on the length of color terms, and analyze its variation relative to sociolectal factors relevant for an online purchasing situation. Other aspects of complexity in color names we intend to explore in separate studies.

The length of color terms and their frequency have been traditionally used as standard measurements in the studies of basic color terms and categories in the Berlin and Kay tradition (for a summary see Corbett and Davies 1997). Taking a typological perspective, these studies investigate the varying length of basic color terms across languages, using this parameter as one of the basicness criteria. In line with Zipf's law, the general argument suggests that basic color terms are more frequently used and are shorter than other color words. In our case studies, we address language-internal variation and take this measurement (far) beyond the basic color terms. We will try to demonstrate that the length of color terms as a formal parameter of lexical complexity is subject to variation across advertised products and is sensitive to contextual factors such as product category, brand status or country of parent company. This kind of categorization study continues the lines of research set in Geeraerts, Grondolaers, Bakema (1994) that explored different types of lexical variation using the domain of clothing as a starting point.

In our analyses, we seek to contribute to the study of color naming and categorization in two ways. At the theoretical level, we take a cognitive sociolinguistic perspective on color naming (Kristiansen, Dirven 2008;

Geeraerts, Kristiansen, Peirsman 2010). This implies that we take a usage-based approach in line with current tendencies of contemporary lexical semantics as described in Geeraerts (2010) and analyze color categories in context, taking into account the multiple parameters of a specific discourse situation. This approach requires the use of real-language data, in this case an extensive self-constructed corpus of online marketing materials including color words, color samples and sociolectal information present in online advertising.

At the methodological level, we propose a quantitative corpus-driven analysis based on multivariate (regression) statistical techniques. Our aim here is to develop a rigorous methodology that would allow testing the insights made in smaller scale descriptive studies of color names in advertising. Thus the chosen granularity of our analyses allows bringing together the perspectives from coarse-grained basic color categorization studies and very fine-grained studies of color naming in advertising (Bergh 2007; Graumann 2007, Cencig 1990, Klaus 1989; Stoeva-Holm 1996, 2007; Whyler 2007). We believe that this combined approach can give a better understanding of the lexicogenetic tendencies in color naming in modern advertising.

2. The study design

In the following sections, we report the results of two case studies exploring the effects of product-related sociolectal factors on the length of the color terms used in American advertising. The two analyses use the same method of multivariate linear regression, but are different in their scope. In the first study we explore the variation in the length of color terms across four product categories (cars, clothes, makeup, paints), and in the second analysis we zoom in on the product category of cars to include more product-specific factors. This allows us to look at different sets of sociolectal factors involved in linguistic variation.

We start with presenting a somewhat unusual type of corpus used as the material for the analyses. In section 3 we report on the first case study. After presenting the response variable and sociolectal parameters included as explanatory variable in the regression models, we discuss the results of the regression analysis measuring the length of color terms used in four product categories relative to the most general contextual factors,

such as product category, the prestige status of the brand, and diversity in product colors. In section 4, we report the second case study zooming in on the product category of cars, and focusing on additional product-related factors such as the country associated with the parent company, year of production, type of car. In the final section we compare the results of the analyses and suggest possible future extensions of the study.

2.1 Data

Our analyses are based on samples from an extensive self-constructed corpus including 70620 tokens of color term usage in online marketing materials. The data were collected manually and automatically (using Python scripts¹) from the websites developed by manufacturing and retail companies for advertising and sales in the US market. In the data collection, we specifically focused on the websites that provide three types of information related to color terms that can be used for the analysis of different aspects of color naming and categorization. Firstly, we obtained linguistic information including the actual color words accompanied in many cases by more specific non-hue features of the color in the product (for more details see section 3.2). Secondly, we gave preference to the websites that give visual representation of the color options in the form of color swatches for specific shades. These visual representations gave us a way to measure and model the referential range of color words and color categories independent of language. Thirdly, we retrieved contextual and sociolinguistic information related to the product, company, target consumer, which can be used for the analysis of constraints these sociolectal factors set on color naming and categorization. The three types of information allow us not only to compare the morpho-syntactic structure of the color terms like *wine*, *wine all mine*, *wine on ice* or *chilled wine*, *sparkling wine*, *wine barrel*, but also to literally ‘see’ and measure how similar these shades are using their RGB coordinates (128, 52, 65; 132, 67, 73; 235, 99, 115; 105, 66, 83; 236, 227, 207; 119, 77, 63). This means that we can explore the complex interactions between color naming and color categorization patterns and further analyze the effects of contextual and sociolectal factors

¹ We would like to especially thank Tom Ruetten whose expertise and help in automatic data retrieval and data processing provided us with additional data making it possible to apply quantitative methods in the study.

on these interactions, since we know that the first three colors are used for makeup (eyeshadows and lipsticks) and are designed for women and the next three are names of premium and budget paints.

However, we need to note the limited linguistic context in the use of color words in this type of material, which makes our analysis different from but complementary with the existing corpus studies. Unlike the traditional text corpora, marketing websites provide hardly any linguistic context for color words, i.e. color words are used as isolated items in their purely nominative function. This type of data has both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, the limited linguistic context makes it harder to analyze some linguistic aspects of color naming, for instance their function in a sentence or collocational patterns. On the other hand, the lack of syntactic constraints gives access to the lexical potential and creativity of color words such as *New York state of mind* or *kiss me coral* that can hardly be expected in a text corpus of any length.

2.2 Sampling

Four product categories were selected to be included in the analyses: cars, clothing, makeup, house paints. The selection and sampling procedures were based on two main considerations. On the one hand, we attempted to make the selection as diverse and representative as possible, and include different product categories from as many brands as possible. On the other hand, we had to take into account technical aspects of the data collection, such as machine readability of the data and data availability. For instance, the categories of electronic devices and household equipment originally considered for inclusion were discarded because of the limited visual representation of the color swatches for most products in these categories.

We used two sampling strategies in the data collection. *Retailer sampling* involved automatic extraction of all relevant data from retailer websites that sell products from numerous brands and companies. Specifically we used the following four websites:

- carsdirect.com - the oldest US website selling new and used cars from 60 car brands available in the US market;
- nordstrom.com - the website of the department store chain of the same name that was used for collecting data on makeup from 32 luxury brands;

- saksfifthavenue.com – another department store website that was selectively sampled for clothing from 114 high-end brands;
- clothingwarehouse.com - a retailer website selling clothes from 37 lower-end US brands.

Brand sampling involved manual collection of data from the websites of specific brands such as Avon, Maybelline, JCrew, Banana Republic, Benjamin Moore, Olympic Paints etc.

The two sampling approaches we used are different and complementary in their representativity. The retailer sampling provides data from a wider range of manufacturers but often only on a limited range of products sold by a specific retailer. This approach is more representative of the different brands. Brand sampling is limited to fewer manufacturers due to technical limitations of manual data collection, but it provides a more exhaustive range of products from a specific brand. This approach is more representative of the product range within a brand. The balanced combination of the two sampling strategies allows the advantages of both.

2.3 Method

In the two presented case studies, we applied the statistical method of multiple linear regression, which is a standard statistical technique best suited for measuring the effects of multiple factors on the value of a numeric response variable. Regression methods are based on using a statistical model in the form of a mathematical equation that includes one or more explanatory variables (predictors) whose effect on the studied phenomenon (response variable) we want to explore. A regression model can be seen as a way of reducing the complex reality represented in the data to a number of statistically significant parameters and their interactions whose effect on the studied phenomenon can then be measured and used for predicting the values of the response variable. The advantage of the multiple linear regression is, obviously, that it allows evaluating the effects of multiple predictors included in the model independently from each other as well as their combined effects (for more detail on regression models and their interpretation in linguistic research see Speelman and Geeraerts 2009, Geeraerts and Speelman 2010).

3. Case study 1: variation in the color term length in four product categories

3.1 The explanatory variables

Selecting sociolectal parameters and operationalising them as explanatory variables that could be applied across the four product categories proved to be a major challenge in our analysis that eventually led us to testing two series of linear models of different granularity. To give an example, gender and age of the target consumer are obvious factors to include in the analysis of the clothing domain, where we typically distinguish between collections for women, men, and children, sometimes also for teenagers. However, these consumer-related parameters are much less obvious in cars or house paints, and are biased in makeup, which is predominantly targeted at adult female consumers. In cars, on the other hand, it is common to distinguish between American, Asian and European brands, but this parameter is much less applicable to clothes and is irrelevant in house paints. Furthermore, in several cases the parameters that appear intuitively plausible for all products are in fact confined to individual categories in their values, making non-intersecting classes. For instance, all product categories involve some kind of subcategorization: in cars we can distinguish between passenger cars, SUVs, vans, etc.; in clothes we can speak about shirts, pants, skirts or coats, etc.; in makeup we have lipsticks, foundations and eye shadows, etc. But these subcategories remain limited to a specific product domain in their values and do not apply across all products, which makes them not very good predictors for other categories.

Taking all these considerations into account, in the first case study we have selected three sociolectal parameters to be tested as explanatory variables determining variation in the length of color terms in four product categories: product category, prestige status of the brand, the diversity of color choices in a product.

Product category

The variable ‘product category’ has four values in our sample of 48192 tokens: ‘cars’, ‘clothing’, ‘makeup’, ‘paints’. As has been mentioned, our main objective in choosing the categories was to make the selection as broad and as diverse as possible, and the main constraint was technical

accessibility and availability of the data. The number of tokens for each category is summarized in figure 1.

Our prediction for the impact of product category on the length of the color terms is based on the intuitive observation that the length of a color term and its complexity vary depending on the product category. The longest color terms are found in cars and in makeup, and the shortest in clothes, with paints somewhat in between.

Prestige status of the brand

The variable ‘status’ with its two values ‘premium’ and ‘standard’ captures the intuitive distinction between prestige (luxury, high-end) brands and products, on the one hand, and all the others that are not associated with these characteristics, on the other hand. This distinction can be made in every product category we have included in the analyses, even if to a different degree, which makes it a good candidate for an explanatory variable in the general model measuring the variation in the length of color terms across different products. Our intuitive expectation is that prestige brands might use more elaborate and complex color names that might be longer than those used by non-prestige brands. At the same time, closer observation of the data reveals an alternative tendency in the high-end clothing brands. They, in fact, often use very simple color names, and tend to rely more on the high quality image of the clothing item, rather than on verbose descriptions and color swatches. This is especially obvious when the item comes in only one color, which is often the case with luxury brands that offer designer collections of unique creations rather than mass produced clothes. Multivariate statistical modeling is especially useful in disambiguating this kind of alternative or conflicting tendencies.

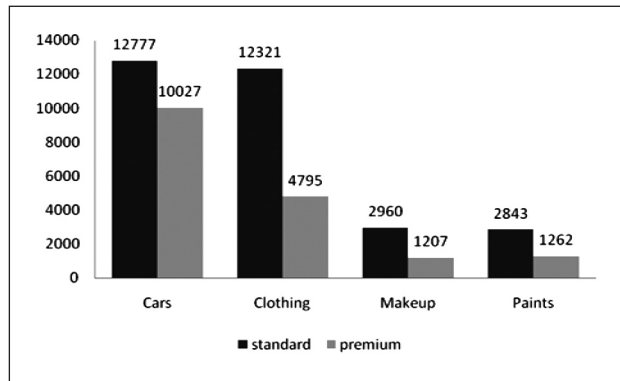
There were some additional difficulties involved in operationalizing and measuring the brand status. The most readily available status-related parameter we have considered was the price of the product. However, several considerations led us to discard price as a direct measurement of prestige status. Firstly, there is a great variation in retail prices for a number of lower-end products in makeup and clothes. For example, we have found that the price of a lip liner by Revlon can range from \$1 to \$30 depending on the retailer or even a specific shade, and blurring the distinction between luxury and budget cosmetics. Secondly, price variation is tied to the product internal subcategorization. For instance, a designer

T-shirt might be close in price to a winter coat from a budget brand, or an inconspicuous van might cost more than a luxury compact car. This made us more cautious about using absolute prices as a direct operationalization of a brand's prestige status. Finally, the concept of prestige or luxury status appears to be tied more closely with the consumer's attitude rather than the absolute price. It is well known that luxury brands often have cheaper entry-level products that allow them to compete with budget brands in price without losing their prestige status in the eyes of the consumer.

Considering all that, we focused on retailer-related parameters and used consumer-oriented resources like consumer guides that often distinguish between luxury and budget brands in a specific product category. For instance, Consumer Guide Auto website systematically distinguishes between premium and non-premium standard car models in their buying guides. This distinction is applied across all types of cars (compact cars, middle size and large cars and SUVs) except for more utilitarian vehicles like pickup trucks and vans, all of which were coded as 'standard'. This information was then generalized as a brand attribute. The brands that mainly produce non-premium models like Chevrolet, Nissan or Ford were coded as 'standard'. The brands whose models are mostly classified as premium were coded as 'premium' brands. This generalization was then verified against native speakers' intuitions. In makeup, we used the lists of luxury and budget makeup brands suggested by shopwiki.com, which were checked against the two partner sites, drugstore.com and beauty.com, that explicitly position themselves as budget and luxury brand retailers respectively. Retailer-related criteria were also used as status indicators in clothing and paints. Clothing brands sold at high-end department stores like Saks Fifth Avenue and Nordstrom, as well as the brands labeled as designer clothes and not sold wholesale (JCrew, Banana Republic), were coded as 'premium'. Brands sold at lower-end shopping centers like Kmart and Sears, or at wholesale websites like clothingwarehouse.com, were coded as having 'standard' status. In paints we also used the internal subdivision of brands within home improvement stores like Lowe's and Home Depot that offer a choice between more expensive premium brands and budget paints.

At the final stage, the coding was verified against the available prices averaged across the brands, and the intuitions of speakers of American English. The distribution of the data across the two status levels in the four product categories is summarized in figure 1.

Figure 1. Distribution of premium and non-premium brands in the four product categories



As a final remark, it should be noted that for the purposes of this analysis we have used the most coarse-grained subdivision into ‘premium’ and ‘standard’ brands, and regarded the premium brands as a marked category associated with special luxury or prestige status. ‘Standard’ brands were treated as a non-marked category including all the brands that do not have particular prestige associations or are regarded as budget products. (This distinction probably requires at least two refinements in further research. Firstly, more fine-grained subdivision of status might better represent the situation in such product categories as cars, clothing, and makeup. Secondly, there might be a within-brand distinction between more expensive luxury products and more affordable entry-level options.)

Diversity of color choices in the product

This parameter was operationalized as a numeric variable ‘number of shades’ and was intended to measure how the additional ‘pressure to name more colors’ might diversify or complicate the structure of color terms. Our expectation based on intuition is that the greater number of shades in a product might demand more diverse and more complex color names. It is reasonable to use a few short and simple terms when there are only a few shades to name, but the task becomes more challenging when you need to name 27 shades of red and pink lipsticks or 53 green paints.

3.2. Response variable

What's in a (color) name?

Working with real language use data creates an additional challenge for analysis, as the retrieved data the researcher has to deal with often do not fit the intuitive expectations very neatly. One of the first obstacles in the automatic processing and analysis of color terms in advertising we have faced was that the lexical units used as color names often contain other (non-color) information.

The additional information included by the marketers into color descriptions can be roughly subdivided into *numeric components*, *pattern words*, and *luster words*.

Numeric descriptions are used in several ways in color names. Firstly, in paints and very often in makeup a numeric code might be systematically added to the color name proper, e.g. *31 dark auburn*, *32 dark mahogany brown*, *33 dark soft brown*, *34 deep burgundy*. In these cases, numbers form a consistent system of oppositions and serve as a parallel identification system that can be used to distinguish all color shades in a specific product. In fact, automotive paints and textile color also have their unique numeric codes in technical specifications, but they are much less present in the purchase situation. Secondly, numbers can have distinctive function within a range of related shades. For instance, in makeup we can find *honey no.1*, *honey no. 2*, *honey no. 3* or *light 1*, *light 2*, *light 3* or even *bg (beige) 911*, *bg 935*, *bg 943*, *bg957*. But in these cases numbers are not added systematically to all products and cannot serve as unique identifiers without the color name. Thirdly, a numeric component can be added to a color name without obvious distinctive function. For instance, in cars we have *black II* and *super red 5* but no other numbers to distinguish from or to suggest a systematic opposition. Finally, numeric components can refer to the number of shades in the product. For instance, in makeup we find *bronze twist duo*, *ice shimmer trio* or *island breeze quad* referring to the number of shades in a compact eye shadow. Similarly, in cars we have *platinum ice tricoat*, describing the number of paint coats.

Pattern and *fabric descriptions* are particularly common in clothing, where the color word can refer to the main color of the clothing item, or include a component to describe the pattern or fabric, as in *peony stripe*, *pewter grey heather*, *charcoal plaid*, *cinnamon tweed*.

Luster and *shine* words are most characteristic of automotive paints and makeup, where they describe the shiny surface color and their different reflectance. We can roughly distinguish four semantic groups of words that are used in this function:

- metals: e.g. in *cream gold*, *blazing copper metallic*, *polished pewter metallic*, *darkest tungsten*, including the most exotic metals in the periodic table, like osmium, palladium, indium, etc.

- minerals and gems: e.g. in *oyster pearl*, *titanium mica*, *willow green opal*, *blue onyx*, etc.

- natural and especially atmospheric phenomena: e.g. in *graphite frost*, *bronze mist*, *starfire* and their derivatives like *gold firemist*, *red firemist metallic*, *steelmist metallic*.

- fabrics: e.g. in *green silk*, *silky beige* or *sterling blue satin glow*.

These ‘non-color’ components in the color terms present difficulties at both the theoretical and the methodological levels. Intuitively, names like *racing green pearl effect*, or *dark green satin clearcoat*, or even *olive silver metallic*, *camel pearl*, *pink promise frost* or *coral kisses creme*, etc. appear to be artificially constructed from a ‘color name proper’ and a luster term like *pearl* and *pearl effect*, *crème* or *frost* that is “asking” to be removed, especially as in many cases we find series of terms distinguished by the luster components alone, like *champagne*, *champagne mist metallic*, *champagne mist pearl*, *champagne pearl*, *champagne pearl clearcoat*, where *champagne* appears to be the ‘real’ color name. However, this intuitive perspective quickly runs into a problem when one is faced with names like *alpine frost* and *arctic frost*, or *inka gold*, *gold leaf* and *sparkling silver*, etc., where the luster referring component is hard to remove. Even names like *parchment gold*, *iridium silver metallic*, *cashmere silver metallic* on a second consideration are not so straightforwardly decomposable. Finally, we find color terms like *satin gold metallic* or *silver pearl metallic* that seem to consist only of luster components.

In other words, there is a continuum of luster components included in color terms to specify the dimension of ‘shininess’ or surface reflectance. This dimension can be compared to the brightness dimension that has been most often discussed in color categorization research among the parameters of color categorization alternative to hue categorization (MacLaury 1992, 1997; Saunders and van Brakel 1997; Lyons 1999; Kertulla 2002). The issue of non-hue aspects of color terms is probably best known from Conklin’s examples of Hanunóo color terms that distinguish wetness vs dryness or

freshness (succulence) vs desiccation rather than hues. Non-hue bases of color categorization have been extensively researched by MacLaury in Meso-American languages, as well as in a number of diachronic studies of English and other languages (Casson 1997, Kertulla 2002). These studies demonstrate that many English color terms developed from brightness words, shifting their meaning to describing hues.

Following a usage-based approach to linguistic research, i.e. exploring language as it is used by the speakers, at this stage of the analysis we retain all the non-hue referencing components in the color names, except for the numeric elements that are used as a parallel system of identification and can be removed without losing the distinction between shades. Our assumption is that we need to start with the most ‘complete’ color names including non-hue referencing components, as they were selected by a language user for this specific situation and type of discourse, in order to give a more complete account of the color naming strategies and speaker choices.

There is also an additional technical consideration in favor of the analysis of complete color words. Identifying non-hue components involves extensive manual coding which often becomes a bottleneck for semantic analysis. Manual data analysis gives more semantically refined results, but at the quantitative scale that we try to operate on, it makes them less applicable for developing automatic procedures and makes the results more vulnerable to the researcher’s subjective judgments.

How long is a color term?

The length of a word can be measured as a continuous variable in a number of different ways. In basic color term studies it is measured in phonemes or syllables (see Corbett and Davies 1997). However, for the purposes of our study these measurement units are not very practical since they would involve extensive manual coding. Instead, we used the measurements standard in the analyses of written corpora: word length measured as a number of lexical components and as a number of characters.

Measuring the length of a color term in lexical components might appear to be a more plausible approach from a linguistic point of view. For example, it is probably more intuitive to think of *very light ash blond* as consisting of four components rather than 17 characters. However, if we take into consideration the automatic language processing demands

of quantitative analysis, measuring the length of a color term in words becomes much less practical. One of the major obstacles is delimiting lexical components in a number of cases.

Firstly, geographical names used in such color terms as *Santa Fe red pearl* or *San Marino red* can be regarded as either one component from a semantic perspective or as two components from the graphical point of view. The decision is even less obvious in cases like *New York grey*, *Pikes Peak white*, *Rocky Mountains light brown*, where the geographical names are more semantically decomposable. Secondly, there is considerable variation in the spelling conventions used by different websites and even within one website. Closer inspection of the data has revealed alternative spellings for words like *rain forest* and *rainforest*, *gun metal* and *gunmetal*, *red fire* and *redfire*, etc. It was even more surprising to see words like *mountaintop* and *horseradish* spelt as one word. For the purposes of our analyses, we followed the original spelling of the color term as it was used by the website. Finally, there is the question of function words and possessive forms. Once we focus on semantic criteria in identifying the meaningful lexical components, the next question to answer is whether components like *from*, *a*, *up*, *'s* in *kiss from a rose*, *spice it up*, or *knight's armor* should be regarded as such.

Alternatively, using the character-version of color term length solves these problems or minimizes their effect. At the same time, the length of the word measured in characters allows more fine-grained measurement and is less distorted by the differences between longer and shorter words.

However, to be on the safe side, we performed a preliminary analysis comparing the linear models for the character-version and the lexical-component version of color term length as a response variable. Both models were constructed using stepwise forward regression. This automatic procedure selects the variables and their interactions in a sequence that significantly improves the statistical model. The models generated for the character-version and the lexical-component version of the color term length were identical in the selected predictors, their sequence and interactions. But at the same time, the adjusted R squared that indicates the unexplained variation in the data was higher for the character-version, which suggests that this model is better suited for describing the variation patterns for color term length in our data. All these considerations led us to opt for the character-version of measuring the response variable in both case studies.

3.3 Results of the statistical analysis

We have applied a multiple linear regression to test the statistical model with three explanatory variables - product category, brand status, and number of shades – and to measure their effects on the length of color terms as a response variable. Before discussing the results of the analysis, we need to make two comments on the diagnostics and initial testing of the model.

Firstly, the analysis of the data distribution has revealed a group of potentially influential observations with an abnormally high number of shades. They came from a paint retailer website, where the palette of 1337 shades was presented to the consumer as one block of color swatches without any subdivision into collections. These observations were removed from the tested dataset in order to avoid the distortions from the unusually high values for the number of shades in the product. This turned out to be a justified solution when the website made available their new redesigned palette, subdivided into more manageable categories of color shades.

Secondly, in the preliminary analysis we have explored the variable interactions selected by the forward stepwise regression to be included in the model. The interaction between the product category and the brand status showed a statistically significant, but very small effect on the value of the response variable. The effect of the interaction between these two variables was limited to 1-2 characters, which we found not practically significant for interpreting the regression output. As a result, we removed the interaction from the model and focused on the model with main effects only in the further analysis. The results of the regression test are summarized in table 1.

Table 1. The results of the multiple linear regression analysis of the color term length in four products

Coefficients:	Estimate	Std.	Error t value
Pr(> t)			
(Intercept)	7.762963	0.046941	165.377 < 2e-16

product.category.auto	9.936364	0.057127	173.935 < 2e-16

```

product.category.makeup 3.223410    0.099237  32.482  < 2e-16
***
product.category.paint  4.536503    0.144935  31.300  < 2e-16
***
status.premium          -0.518483  0.054621  -9.492  < 2e-16
***
number.shades           -0.010222  0.001623  -6.298  3.04e-10
***
---
Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 5.559 on 46589 degrees of freedom
Multiple R-squared:  0.4039,    Adjusted R-squared:  0.4038 
F-statistic:  6312 on 5 and 46589 DF,  p-value: < 2.2e-16
-----

```

The first column in the table lists the regressors (variables in a specific value) included in the model and the second column shows their estimated effect on the value of the response variable, i.e. the length of the color term. The last column shows the statistical significance of the specific effects. In the presented model the ‘***’ codes show high statistical significance of the effects. The first line (intercept) is the group of observations with reference (or baseline) values for the explanatory variables, i.e. values not listed in the names of the other regressors below. In principle, the reference values for non-numeric variables are selected arbitrarily (in alphabetical order), but for our model we have selected ‘standard clothes’ as the reference group of observations in order to facilitate interpreting the results.

The following lines show the main effects of the variables, i.e. the difference in the predicted length of a color term when the explanatory variable has a value other than the reference value and the effects of all other variables are controlled. By adding the estimate for a specific variable value to the intercept estimate, we can calculate the predicted length of a color term for different groups of observations in our dataset and analyze the effects each explanatory variable included in the model has on the response variable.

Thus the main effects in our model suggest that ‘product category’ is the strongest predictor for the variation in color term length. The category of clothes is characterized by the shortest color terms, with the average color term length approaching 8 characters, which probably suggests that color terms used for clothing tend to be simpler. This effect might

be 'inherited' by online advertising from marketing materials designed for brick and mortar clothing stores, where color terms are hardly ever present and might not be expected to affect the purchase decision as much as the color names for makeup or paints. Cars appear to have the longest color terms, with the average length close to 18 characters, which can be attributed to the wider use of non-hue referencing components in the names of automotive paints - mainly luster words like *pearl*, *mica*, *metallic* etc. Makeup and paints take the middle position, with the average length of 11 and 12 characters respectively.

Premium status has a slight negative effect on the response variable, i.e. premium status brands tend to use somewhat shorter color terms. However, it should be noted that a closer analysis of the variable interactions has revealed that the effect of the brand status might be either negative or positive, depending on the product category. This effect will be further explored in the second case study, focusing on one product category, where we can analyze the interaction of the status with other variables in more detail.

Increase in the number of shades also has a slight negative main effect across four product categories, i.e. color terms tend to become shorter when there are more color shades to be named. However, closer inspection of variable interactions has revealed that this effect might vary depending on the product category.

As a final remark we would like to point at one more statistical parameter of the model - adjusted R squared, which indicates how much data variation is explained by the model. In this case it is over 40 per cent, which shows that the model has quite good predictive power.

To sum up the results, the multiple linear regression analysis reveals significant variation in the length of color terms in four product categories. In general, the value of the response variable predicted by the model - length of the color term - is in line with our intuitive prediction based on the data observation, i.e. we find the shortest color names in clothes and the longest ones in cars. The product category itself is the strongest predictor for the response variable, whereas the brand status and diversity of colors in a product have a very slight negative effect, which, however, might be suggestive of different effects depending on the product category.

4. Case study 2: color term length in cars

In the second case study we zoom in on one product category, that of cars. We use the same statistical method of multiple linear regression, but we shift the focus to the product-internal variation in the length of color terms. In this case study we aim to explore additional sociolectal factors specific to a particular product category, and look closer at their interactions with the factors that were suggested in the first case study.

The regression model tested in this case study includes the same response variable operationalizing the length of color terms measured in characters, two explanatory variables analyzed in the previous case study (number of shades in the product and brand status) and three explanatory variables specific for cars as a product category: the country of the parent company, the year of manufacturing, and the type of car. These additional explanatory variables are presented in the next section, followed by a discussion of the results.

4.1 Explanatory variables specific for the product category of cars

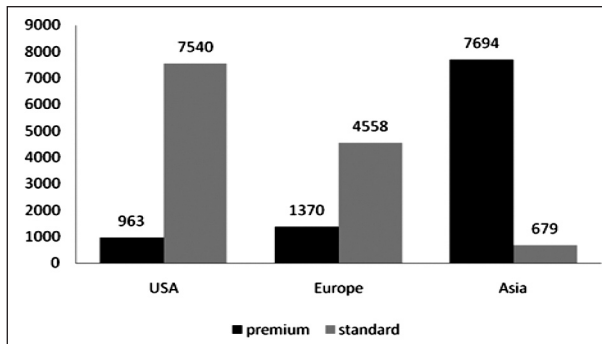
Country of the parent company

This variable operationalizes the intuitive distinction held between American, European and Asian car brands sold in the US market. In the age of transnational corporations, this distinction is becoming more and more blurred when, for instance, SAAB is still perceived as a European brand even though for several years it was owned by GM. Nevertheless, association of a brand with a specific country seems to be quite strongly present in American automotive culture, which was confirmed by our survey among five American native speakers. In the survey, the informants were asked to identify the country which they associate with the specific brands. In the analysis we used a more coarse-grained classification distinguishing between American, Asian and European manufacturers in order to simplify interpreting the regression model. The distribution of tokens in the dataset between different countries and country groups is summarized in table 2, and figure 2 shows the brand subcategorization in the cars from different countries.

Table 2. Distribution of tokens by country of parent company

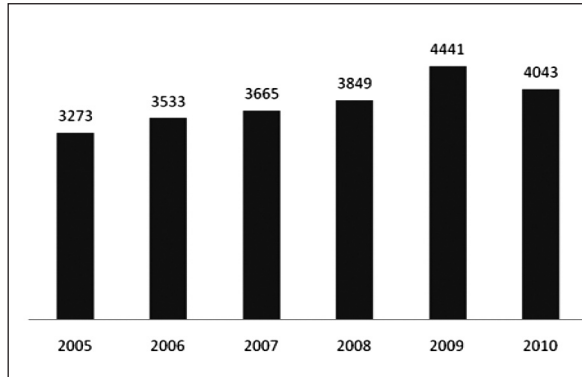
country	number of tokens	country group	number of tokens
American	8503	America (USA)	8503
British	2600	Europe	8373
French	200		
German	4362		
Italian	587		
Swedish	624		
Japanese	5026	Asia	5928
South Korean	902		

Figure 2. Distribution of premium and non-premium brands in cars



Year of manufacturing and age

These variables are quite straightforward, and are both connected to the year when the car was manufactured and sold. The sample used for the analysis includes observations for the years 2005-2010 as shown in figure 3. After testing a number of models, we also gave preference to a more coarse-grained classification using two categories for the age of cars: 2009-2010 models sold as new cars were coded as such, whereas 2005-2008 models sold as used cars were coded as 'older'.

Figure 3. Distribution of tokens by year of production

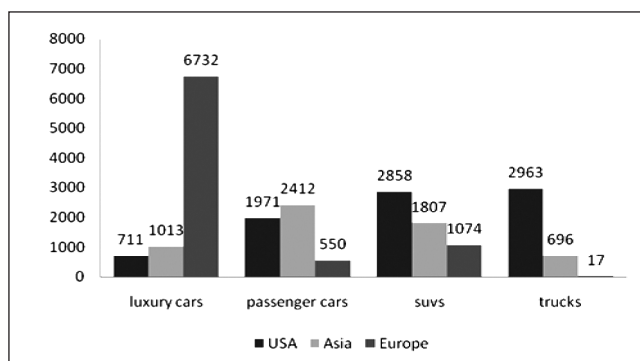
Type of car

This variable was used to operationalize the product-internal subcategorization of cars into different types of vehicles such as passenger cars, SUVs, pickup trucks, vans, sports cars, etc. These categories are quite complex and somewhat arbitrary, involving a number of criteria such as car design, function, price and a number of technical parameters. However, this classification appears to be quite consistently used across car dealer websites, in some cases with further subdivisions. In our sample, we used the most coarse-grained classification into four very broad types: ‘luxury cars’, ‘passenger cars’, ‘SUVs’ and ‘trucks’ (for the distribution of tokens see figure 4).

Two comments need to be made on the values in this variable. Firstly, the category of ‘trucks’ includes two types of vehicles - pickup trucks and vans. These two groups were conflated first of all because our dataset includes no tokens for vans manufactured by European brands, which would distort the interactions between the variables in the regression model. At the same time, these two categories are the least numerous and they are qualitatively most similar, namely trucks and vans are more utilitarian vehicles designed primarily to transport cargo and larger groups of people, rather than demonstrate the lifestyle of the owner, for instance. A second remark concerns the category of ‘luxury cars’. To a certain degree this category is close in its meaning to the category of premium cars. However, it applies to a different level of granularity. We used the category

of ‘status’ to capture the distinction between brands, whereas the category of ‘luxury cars’ applies to specific models. This way we can capture the distinctions made within brands and test the situation when a brand makes both ‘luxury cars’ and ‘passenger cars’, like Chrysler, whose Chrysler 300 is classified as a luxury car the same as Nissan’s gtr model whereas most models by these manufacturers are classified as non-luxury or ‘standard’. As a result, the brands themselves are not associated with luxury status and were coded as ‘standard’.

Figure 4. Distribution of different types of cars between the brands from different countries



4.2 Results of the statistical analysis

We applied the multiple regression test to the model, including color term length as a response variable and five explanatory variables: country of the parent company, prestige status of the brand, age of the car, type of the car and number of shades for the model. The abbreviations for the variables and their values are summarized in table 3. The values in boldface were selected as reference levels.

Table 3. Variables included in the multiple linear regression model for cars

variable	value	abbreviation
country of the parent company	usa	
	asia	country.asia
	europe	country.europe
prestige status of the brand	standard	
	premium	status.premium
type of car	luxury cars	
	passenger cars	type.passenger.cars
	SUVs	type.suvs
	trucks	type.trucks
age	new	
	older	age.older
number of shades for a model		num.shades

In the preliminary analysis we have applied a forward stepwise regression which selected 8 variables and 8 interaction terms to be included in the model as statistically significant predictors. We have additionally tested the suggested interaction terms with anova and calculated the size of their effect for closer inspection. Although all the interactions showed statistically significant improvement of the model in the anova test, we removed four of them because they were of little practical significance for interpreting the results. The effects showed no cross-over patterns that would suggest a different effect depending on the product category, and their deviations from parallel lines were no more than two or three characters.

The results of the regression analysis of the final model including the main effects and three interaction terms are summarized in table 4.

Table 4. The results of the multiple linear regression analysis of the color term length in cars

Coefficients:			
	Estimate	Std. Error	t
value Pr(> t)			
(Intercept)	26.333796	0.486282	
54.153 < 2e-16 ***			
country.asia	-6.003821	0.420428	-
14.280 < 2e-16 ***			
country.europe	-5.171010	0.467574	-
11.059 < 2e-16 ***			
num.shades	-0.275536	0.039840	
-6.916 4.76e-12 ***			
status.premium	-6.230178	0.419211	-
14.862 < 2e-16 ***			
type.passenger.cars	-5.281482	0.529235	
-9.979 < 2e-16 ***			
type.suvs	-2.811461	0.491372	
-5.722 1.07e-08 ***			
type.trucks	-4.860632	0.575185	
-8.451 < 2e-16 ***			
age.older	-0.321916	0.092018	
-3.498 0.000469 ***			
country.asia:num.shades	0.201685	0.044216	
4.561 5.11e-06 ***			
country.europe:num.shades	0.117260	0.039796	
2.947 0.003217 **			
country.asia:status.premium	3.209118	0.318926	
10.062 < 2e-16 ***			
country.europe:status.premium	4.128487	0.371471	
11.114 < 2e-16 ***			
status.premium:type.passenger.cars	2.882776	1.054910	
2.733 0.006286 **			
status.premium:type.suvs	2.868544	0.408954	
7.014 2.37e-12 ***			
status.premium:type.trucks	5.056644	1.038008	
4.871 1.12e-06 ***			
num.shades:type.passenger.cars	0.186191	0.044803	
4.156 3.25e-05 ***			
num.shades:type.suvs	-0.006767	0.038683	
-0.175 0.861137			

```
num.shades:type.trucks          0.132176    0.045791
2.886 0.003899 **
---
Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1

Residual standard error: 6.634 on 22785 degrees of freedom
Multiple R-squared:  0.09636,    Adjusted R-squared:  0.09564 
F-statistic:  135 on 18 and 22785 DF,  p-value: < 2.2e-16
-----
```

The intercept characterizes the baseline group of observations, including new American luxury cars manufactured by non-prestige brands, and they have the average predicted color term length of 23 characters. The next two lines show the main effects of the variable ‘country of the parent company’, which suggests that American manufacturers tend to use somewhat longer names than foreign companies present in the US market.

The variable ‘brand status’ also has quite a strong negative effect. Specifically, the model suggests that premium brands tend to use shorter names for the colors in their models. This effect is much more pronounced in this product-specific model compared to the effect of this variable tested across four product categories. It is possible that the effect of this parameter in the more general model is confounded by the effects of the interaction terms which we did not include in the main effects only model. Below we will discuss the interactions of the brand status with other variables in more detail.

Product-internal subcategorization represented by the variable ‘type of car’ with its four values also has a relatively strong influence on the preferred length of color terms. The longest color terms are found in ‘luxury cars’, which are often associated with style, technological advancement and somewhat excessive prices. From this perspective a more complex color name can be seen as one more feature in the long list of extras offered in luxury cars. The colors of ‘less luxurious’ vehicles such as economy ‘passenger cars’ and ‘trucks’ (including vans) that are expected to have lower prices tend to receive somewhat shorter names. ‘SUVs’ take an intermediate position with color terms only three characters shorter than ‘luxury cars’, which might reflect their ‘more luxurious’ status and higher price, placing them closer to luxury vehicles.

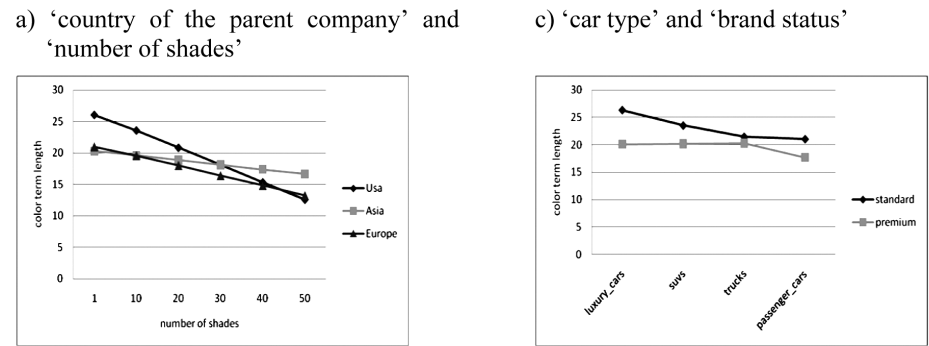
The ‘number of shades’ for a model and its ‘age’ have a very slight negative effect. However, it should be noted that the effect of the numeric

variable ‘number of shades’ is estimated per shade and with the average number of shades close to 13 it can be quite strong. This effect suggests that in the situations where a customer is offered more color choices, color names tend to become shorter, counter to our intuitive prediction. This might be explained by a higher processing load effect, i.e. handling longer names becomes more difficult as they become more numerous.

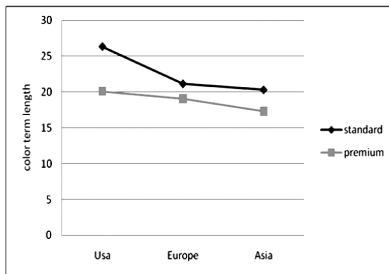
The effect of the car ‘age’ might also become stronger if we look at even older cars. In this analysis we only included cars sold in 2005-2010.

The lower half of the table shows the combined effect of the interactions between variables in the model. The whole idea of interaction terms is that the effect of a specific variable might depend on the value of another explanatory variable and vice versa. In other words, interaction terms can reveal, as has happened in our model, that the effect of a variable can be different depending on the values of another variable. In order to simplify the interpretation of the results, we have only included four pairwise interactions in the model that we found practically significant. Specifically, we discuss below how the country of the parent company and type of car interact with the brand status and number of shades for a specific model. The analysis is based on the calculated effects of the variable interactions that are represented in the plots (figure 5). The interactions are plotted in the sequence suggested by forward stepwise regression and indicative of their statistical significance.

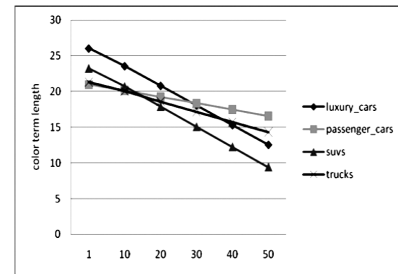
Figure 5. Interactions between variables in the linear regression model for cars



b) ‘country of the parent company’ and ‘brand status’



d) ‘car type’ and ‘number of shades’



Plot a) and plot b) show how the length of the color term changes relative to the ‘number of shades’ depending on the ‘country of the parent company’ or ‘type of car’. Both plots are similar in the general downward tendency in line with the main negative effect of the variable ‘number of shades’. However, closer inspection of the interactions reveals that different categories of cars are sensitive to this tendency to a different degree.

American cars show the steepest slope indicating more variation in the length of color names, i.e. color names used by American manufacturers become more than two times shorter with the increase in the number of shades. Asian cars, on the contrary, have the most gradual slope indicating their higher consistency in the preferred color term length, which only shorten by four characters. European cars take the middle position in the steepness of the slope. What is interesting is that European models with fewer colors appear to be similar to Asian cars, whereas models with more color options behave in a way similar to American ones.

Different types of cars show even more sensitivity to the increase in the ‘number of shades’. ‘Luxury cars’ and ‘SUVs’ are characterized by the highest variation in the preferred color term length, indicated by the steeper slopes. Starting from the longest color terms they drop to more than twice shorter length. This effect is in line with the two main effects we have discussed above. Specifically, these two types of cars associated with more diversity in all kinds of detail receive more complex color names, but at the same time with the increase in the number of shades, these extra-long names become too cumbersome to handle or get lost in the growing number of special designer features. On the other hand, ‘passenger cars’

and 'trucks' (+vans) once again appear more similar in their behavior and are more consistent in the preferred length of color terms. In fact, color names for 'passenger cars' only change by four characters, which does not make up even one word. With the most gradual slope 'passenger cars' create an interesting crossover pattern. Starting with the shortest color names in the models with fewer color options, they end up with essentially the same color names, which become longer than the color names used for 'luxury cars' and 'SUVs' with similarly diverse color choices.

The interactions of the 'brand status' with the different 'country groups' (plot b) and 'car types' (plot c) also have a similar general pattern, with the 'premium' brands in general using shorter color terms than non-premium brands. However, this distinction appears to be more relevant for some car categories than for others. Thus American 'premium' and 'standard' brands are apparently more distinct in the preferred color term length than foreign brands. This tendency probably reflects not only specific marketing strategies employed by premium and non-premium American car makers, but also the limited presence of non-premium foreign brands, especially European, in the US car market. Plot c) also reveals a more pronounced distinction between premium and non-premium brands in the 'luxury car' sector. This suggests that non-premium brands tend to use longer names even when they make luxury models. In 'passenger cars' and 'SUVs' the distinction between premium and non-premium brands is smaller, though the latter are consistently characterized by somewhat longer color names,. What is more interesting, in 'trucks' (+vans) this distinction becomes irrelevant. This can be attributed to the fact that few premium brands manufacture these car types, though the situation is changing in the pickup-truck sector.

To summarize the discussion, multiple linear regression analysis reveals significant variation in the preferred color term length in the category of cars. The test results indicate that color term length is determined both by more general factors potentially applicable to other product categories (like 'brand status') as well as product-specific factors (like 'type of car' or 'year of manufacturing'). The complex interactions between the variables suggest that these factors can have different effects depending on the group of cars.

5. Conclusions and future perspectives

In the two presented case studies we have explored the variation in color term length relative to several sociolectal factors relevant for the use of color terms in online marketing and sales. Unlike the mainstream basic color categorization studies that address typological or cross-cultural variation using the length of color terms correlated with frequency as a formal parameter of basicness, we focus on the language-internal variation in color naming. We view color term length as a formal feature that might indicate the semantic complexity of the color terms and that varies depending on the usage situation. In other words, we take a sociolinguistic context-based perspective on color naming and categorization.

In the first case study we looked at color names used in four product categories (cars, clothes, makeup, paints) and identified more general sociolectal factors that influence the length of a color term. In the second case study, we focused on the product category of cars, exploring the effects of product-specific parameters and their interaction with more general sociolectal factors.

The specific predictions we have tested can be summarized as follows:

1) There is significant variation in the length of color terms across four product categories.

2) The status of the brand as a sociolectal parameter influences the length of the color term and its complexity. Data inspection, in fact, shows conflicting tendencies with high-end clothing brands using simpler color names, where we could expect more complexity.

3) There is significant variation in color term length within one product category reflecting the product-internal subdivisions (for instance different types of cars or different countries associated with the brands).

4) Diversity of colors in a specific product measured as ‘number of shades’ might call for the use of more complex names to distinguish them.

Predictions 1 and 2 were tested in the first case study. The analysis confirmed prediction 1, revealing significant variation between four product categories included in the model. The shortest color terms were found in clothes and the longest in cars, in line with our expectations based on data inspection. Product category also proved to be the strongest explanatory variable for the studied variation. Furthermore, if we compare the amount

of explained variation in the two models indicated by adjusted R squared, we can conclude that the four-product model including 'product category' as a predictor explains a larger proportion of variation in the data than the model limited to one product.

Regarding prediction 2, both case studies have revealed a negative effect of the premium status on the length of the color term, suggesting that premium brands tend to use shorter color names. This result contradicted our intuitive assumption, but confirmed the tendency we observed in the data.

Predictions 3 and 4 were tested in the second case study. For prediction 3, the analysis revealed significant variation in the preferred color term length between different subcategories of cars, reflecting the distinction in marketing strategies developed for different types of cars and by brands from different countries. The highest variation was found in luxury cars manufactured by US brands. The close inspection of interactions between the variables has shown that the effects of the studied factors can vary for different groups of observations. In some cases, the effect of a predictor can be neutralized for a specific category, for instance the distinction between premium and non-premium brands in foreign cars and in the category of trucks.

Contrary to our prediction 4, a larger number of color shades in a product has a negative effect on the length and complexity of color terms. In other words, color names become shorter when they come in larger quantities. This effect also varies depending on the group of observations. For instance, American cars are more sensitive to the increase in the number of shades, the same as luxury cars and SUVs, whereas Asian cars and passenger cars are more consistent in the preferred color term length.

The positive results, revealing the significant effects of sociolectal factors on the length of color terms, make us optimistic about the future development of the study. As the next steps we see the following extensions:

- refining the coding schema for the sociolectal factors, including further product-specific and product-independent factors for more fine-grained analysis;
- exploring the effects of sociolectal factors on other formal and semantic aspects of linguistic variation in color naming strategies;
- disentangling the interactions between linguistic, sociolectal, and conceptual factors involved in the variation of color terms.

References

- Bergh, G. 2007. The semiosis of Swedish car color names: Descriptive and amplifying functions. In: MacLaury, R.E., Paramei, G.V., Dedrick, D. (eds.), *Anthropology of Color: Interdisciplinary Multilevel Modeling*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 337-345.
- Casson, R.W. 1997. Color shift: Evolution of English color terms from brightness to hue. In Hardin, C.L., Maffi, L. (eds.), *Colour Categories in Thought and Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 224-239.
- Cencig, E. 1990. United Colours: Colour terms in contemporary fashion trends. *Fachsprache*, 12. 3-4, pp. 114-128.
- Corbett, G. and I. R. L. Davies. 1997. Establishing Basic Color Terms: Measures and Techniques. In Hardin, C.L., Maffi, L. (eds.), *Colour Categories in Thought and Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 197-223.
- Geeraerts, D. 2010. *Theories of Lexical Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Geeraerts, D. and D. Speelman. 2010. Heterodox concept features and onomasiological heterogeneity in dialects. In Geeraerts, D., G. Kristiansen, Y. Peirsman (eds.), *Advances in Cognitive Sociolinguistics*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 23-41.
- Geeraerts, D., S. Grondolaers and P. Bakema. 1994. *The Structure of Lexical Variation. Meaning, Naming, and Context*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geeraerts, D., G. Kristiansen and Y. Peirsman (eds.). 2010. *Advances in Cognitive Sociolinguistics*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Graumann, A. 2007. Color names and dynamic imagery. In Plümacher, M., Holz, P. (eds.), *Speaking of Colors and Odors*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 129-140.
- Jameson, K.A. and N. Alvarado. 2003. The relational correspondence between category exemplars and names. *Philosophical Psychology*, 16, pp. 23-47.
- Kerttula, S. 2002. *English Colour Terms: Etymology, Chronology, and Relative Basicness*. Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, Vol. LX. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique.

- Klaus, H. 1989. Beobachtungen zu den Modefarbenwörtern in der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik*, 17, pp. 22-57.
- Kristiansen, G. and R. Dirven (eds.). 2008. *Cognitive Sociolinguistics: Language Variation, Cultural Models, Social Systems*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lyons, J. 1999. The vocabulary of color with particular reference to ancient Greek and classical Latin. In Borg, A. (ed.), *The Language of Color in the Mediterranean*. Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, pp. 38-75.
- MacLaury, R.E. 1992. From brightness to hue: An explanatory model of color-category evolution. *Current Anthropology*, 11:2, pp. 137-186.
- MacLaury, R.E. 1997. *Color and Cognition in Mesoamerica: Constructing Categories as Vantages*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Moroney, N. 2008. *The Color Thesaurus*. Hewlett-Packard Company, Magcloud.com digital publication.
- Plümacher, M. 2007. Color perception, color description and metaphor. In Plümacher, M., Holz, P. (eds.), *Speaking of Colors and Odors*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 61-84.
- Saunders, B.A.C. and J. van Brakel. 1997. Are there non-trivial constraints on colour categorization? *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 20, pp. 167-228.
- Speelman, D. and D. Geeraerts. 2009. Causes for causatives: The case of Dutch *doen* and *laten*. In Sanders, T., Sweetser, E. (eds.), *Causal Categories in Discourse and Cognition*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 173-203.
- Steinvall, A. 2002. *English Color Terms in Context*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Umeå University: Skrifter från moderna språk 3.
- Stoeva-Holm, D. 1996. *Farbbezeichnungen in deutschen Modetexten. Eine morphologisch-semantische Untersuchung*. Diss. [Studia Germanistica Upsaliensia, 34]. Uppsala: Universitetsförlag Almqvist & Wiksell.
- Stoeva-Holm, D. 2007. Color terms in fashion. In MacLaury, R.E., Paramei, G.V., Dedrick, D. (eds.), *Anthropology of Color: Interdisciplinary Multilevel Modeling*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 421-440.
- Wierzbicka, A. 1990. The meaning of color terms: semantics, culture, and cognition. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 1-1, pp. 99-150.
- Wyler, S. 2007. Color terms between elegance and beauty: The verbalization of color with textiles and cosmetics. In Plümacher, M., Holz, P. (eds.),

Speaking of Colors and Odors. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 113-128.

Accepted for publication on 1 October 2010.

Алена Анишчанка, Дирк Спелман, Дирк Херартс
Универзитет у Лувену, Белгија

СОЦИОЛЕКАТСКЕ ВАРИЈАЦИЈЕ У ДУЖИНИ НАЗИВА ЗА БОЈЕ У РЕКЛАМНИМ ОГЛАСИМА

Сажетак

У раду се испитује дужина назива за боје који се користе у рекламним огласима као један од формалних параметара лексичке сложености тих назива. Представљени су резултати два истраживања у којима се применом методе вишеструке линеарне регресије тестирају варијације у дужини назива за боје у односу на два скупа социолингвистичких параметара који су релевантни за оглашавање и куповину преко интернета. Прво истраживање открива најопштије обрасце варијација за четири категорије производа (аутомобили, одећа, женска шминка, боје за кућу) под дејством социолингвистичких фактора као што су категорија производа и статус робне марке. У другом истраживању излаже се детаљније нијансирана анализа једне категорије производа (аутомобила), у којој се фокусирају социолингвистички параметри специфични за дати производ (тип аутомобила, година производње, земља порекла матичне компаније) и њихова интеракција са општијим варијаблама установљеним у првом истраживању.

Кључне речи: дужина назива за боје, социолекатска варијација, категоризација боја, оглашавање, метод вишеструке линеарне регресије

Jelisaveta Milojević
University of Belgrade, Serbia

NEO-CLASSICAL NEOLOGICAL FORMATIONS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

*Dedicated to the memory of my
mother Veselinka Milojević*

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to analyze English neologisms focusing on the classical and neo-classical elements and patterns actively used in contemporary English word-formation. A comprehensive wordlist of English neologisms has been analyzed and active, ever-present use of classical and neo-classical formatives and patterns has been exemplified.

Key words: neologism, word-formation, assimilation, loan words, calque, neo-classical formations

As the saying goes, *'The Greeks had a word for it.'*

1. INTRODUCTION (CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY)

The **aim** of the paper is to focus on English neologisms containing neo-classical (i.e. Greek and Latin) elements. For that purpose, newly coined English words have been selected from the *Oxford Dictionary of New Words* (OUP, 1997). The words have been analyzed from the point of view of their structure and word-formation pattern. We have hoped to prove that the classical and neo-classical elements have been and continue to be the source of building new words in the English language.

Neologism is a new word or expression. New words can be formed according to the productive word-formation rules of English where the variety of morphological word-forming processes enables us to create countless new words, such as: *best-seller*, *VCR*, *rat-race*, *mouse potato*. This is the most frequent but certainly not the only way to form neologisms. Some neologisms are formed on the basis of the structural pattern of another language (*calques*, i.e. translation loans as a result of literal translation from another language, e.g. the word *gospel* comes from an Old English compound: *good* + *spell*, which is a direct translation of the elements of Latin *bona annuntiatio*, which itself is a translation of the old Greek *ευαγγέλιον* (adapted in Latin as *evangelium* or *evangelion*: ‘good message’); sometimes neologisms are simply borrowings from another language (e.g. some words that were once new imports from the Latin language: *street*, *pound*, *mint*, *wine*, *monger*, *cup*).

Calque (translation loan) is a word or expression that is a result of literal translation from another language. The input parts of a new word are English but the word-formation pattern is taken from another language (as in the example *gospel* already quoted). The English word *chain-smoker* is a literal translation of the German word *Kettenraucher* (but it is interesting that *chain-drinker* is not a loan, it is a word formed by analogy). Another example of a whole expression, which is translation loan is *it goes without saying* which is a literal translation of the French expression ‘*cela va sans dire*’.

Loan words or borrowed words are words taken over and modified in their sound shape, written form, morphological shape and meaning to the standards of the English language. This modification is referred to as **assimilation** (total or partial).

Up to 70% of the English vocabulary consists of loans and only 30% of the words are native. The explanation is that this process of borrowing and assimilation has been widespread over centuries, and the words which were once loans and felt as new are now felt as native (e.g. *wall*, *street*, *cheese*, *mutton*, *table*, *chair*, *facet*).

A distinction can be made between the **source of borrowing** and the **origin of borrowing**. For example, the word *moustache* is imported from French (source of borrowing), but can be traced via Italian and Spanish to Modern Greek *μουστάκι*, and ultimately Old Greek *μυστάξ* (origin of borrowing).

Assimilation is not always an imperative. There are words, which instead of being assimilated drop out of the language. Whether a word stays or disappears depends on a number of factors. These factors are predominantly pragmatic: **hypostatization**, i.e. requirement of existence (this means that a word will not be formed to denote a non-existing item, quality or action) and requirement that a word should denote not only something that is real but also namable (**namability requirement**); whether a new word stays or disappears also depends on the attitude of the speech community towards it. The forming of a new word can be **blocked** due to the existence of another form (e.g. we can not form the word **unbig* because of the existing form *small*). Beside these **pragmatic factors** there are some purely **linguistic ones** such as: phonological (e.g. the form **livelily* is blocked due to phonological reasons), **morphological** (e.g. **polynational* is blocked because of the rule which says that a Greek prefix is not to be combined with a Latin base, so only *multinational* is acceptable).

When they first come into language the words are felt as something new. This is how speakers see them, so this feeling of newness is vital for the definition of a neologism. However, this feeling of something 'new' may also suggest only a **new use of an existing word** (e.g. *terrific*, that comes from Latin *terrificus* meaning 'frightening' means 'super' in modern informal English).

There is a basic difference between neologisms and nonce words, these latter are coined *ad hoc* and *ex tempore* to meet some immediate need but are unlikely to stay in the language whereas neologisms are institutionalized and they become part of the vocabulary and are listed in a dictionary.

The **classical languages** have been a **rich source** of many words in English. Here are some examples from the oldest layer of Latin borrowings: *wall, street, mile, cheap, mint, kitchen, cup, dish, pepper, cherry, butter, plum, chalk, pitch, pipe, church, bishop*. Further examples of Latin loan words taken over in the period of Christianization are the following: *abbot, altar, anthem, candle, canon, disciple, hymn, martyr, mass, pope, priest, psalm, temple, balsam, school, master, verse, meter, notary*. A great flood of Latin and Greek words came with the Revival of Learning and in that period the classical element was major. It is said that 'for a time the whole Latin vocabulary became potentially English'. Many Latin words came via French, and many Greek words came through Latin into French and then into

English. Here are some examples of the classical borrowings: *specimen, focus, arena, album, minimum, complex, nucleus, alibi, ultimum, extra, insomnia, deficit, ego, opus, referendum, bacillus, formula*; Greek words expressed new ideas like: *philosophy, ethics, esthetics, epistemology, axiology, geometry, astronomy, zodiac, grammar, affix, syntax, logic, category, rhetoric, poetry, comedy, tragedy, prologue, dialogue, alphabet, drama, chorus, theory, orchestra, museum*. Here are some more Modern English words that come from the classical languages. One can say *athenaeum* instead of *library* (the Greek goddess of wisdom and arts gave to us the English word *athenaeum* meaning 'library, a reading room or a literary or scientific club'); also, the word *trochal* meaning 'resembling or revolving like a wheel' comes from Greek *trokhos* 'wheel', from *trekhein* 'to run'. The word *mantic* (adj.) meaning 'of or relating to divination' from Greek *mantikos*, from *mantis* 'prophet', from *mainesthai* 'to rage' has the root which ultimately goes back to Sanskrit and that is also the source of words such as: *mind, mental, mention, mantra, automatic, mania, money, praying mantis, monument, music, and amnesia*. The modern English word *threnody* (n.) meaning 'a song of lamentation for the dead' comes from Greek *threnoidia*, from *threnos* 'lament' + *oide* 'song'; the root of this word is also the forefather of such words as: *ode, tragedy, comedy, parody, melody, and rhapsody*. The modern English word *stratocracy* meaning 'government by the military' comes from Greek *stratos* 'army' + *-cracy* 'rule, government'; ultimately from IndoEuropean root *ster-* 'to spread' and it is the source of such words as: *structure, industry, destroy, street, and stratagem*. Further example of English words from Greek: *theanthropic* 'having the nature of both God and human' comes from Greek *theanthropos* 'god man', from *theo-* 'god' + *anthropos* 'man'.

Neo-classical formations are called neo-classical because they are created wholly out of stems existing in the classical languages and therefore could be taken for Latin or Greek, but they were unknown to ancient Greeks and Romans. Such formations can be found in many spheres of knowledge and human activities, and the coinage of scientific, technical, scholarly, commercial, and political terms is quite frequent in contemporary English (e.g. *cryptography, laryngograph, megazoo, technophobe, nanotechnology*). Here, as an example of a neo-classical formation analyzed, is the modern English word *alexia* (n.) 'a neurological disorder marked by the loss of ability to read words, also called 'word blindness' comes from Greek: *a-*

which is a Greek prefix for negation, 'not' + Greek *lexis* 'speech', from *legein* 'to speak', confused with Latin *legere* 'to read' + Latin *-ia* 'disease'; ultimately from Indo-European root *leg-* 'to collect' that resulted in other derivations such as: *lexicon*, *legal*, *dialogue*, *lecture*, *logic*, *legend*, *logarithm*, *intelligent*, *diligent*, *sacrilege*, *elect*, and *loyal*. One more example of a neo-classical formation: modern English word *synesthesia* or *synaesthesia* (n.) meaning: 1. 'a sensation felt in one part of the body when stimulus is applied to another part, e.g. visualization of a colour on hearing a sound', and 2. (in literature) 'using an unrelated sense to describe something e.g. warm sounds or fragrant words' comes from two Old Greek elements: prefix *syn-* (συν-) and the noun *aisthesis* (αἴσθησις) 'sensation or perception'; ultimately from the Indo-European root *au-* 'to perceive' from which other words such as: *audio*, *audience*, *audit*, *obey*, *auditorium*, *anesthesia*, and *aesthetic* are derived. The English word *anagnorisis* (n.) 'the moment of recognition or discovery' comes from Latin, from Greek *anagnorizein* 'to recognize or discover'; ultimately from the Indo-European root *gno-* 'to know' that is the ancestor of such words as: *know*, *can*, *notorious*, *notice*, *connaisseur*, *recognize*, *diagnosis*, *ignore*, *annotate*, *noble*, and *narrate*. Here are some more contemporary borrowings and coinages based on the Greek and Latin elements and model: *chroma*, *chromatic*, *cinematograph* (*kinematograph*), *kaleidoscope*, *microscope*, *horoscope*, *photography*, *telephone*, *bicycle*, *aeroplane*, *dynamo*, *euthanasia*, *post mortem*, *prima facie*, *prima vista*, *in vitro*, *in vivo*, *psychology*, *psyche*, *psychiatry*, *neuron*, *neurology*, *atom*, *nitrogen*, *hydrogen*, *aerosphere*, *hemisphere*, *economy*, *cosmetic*, *antiseptic*, *pedestrianism*. Also some Greek prefixes were adopted, e.g. *anti-* 'against', *hyper-* 'beyond', 'over', *hypo-* 'under', *arch-* 'chief', *dia-* 'through', *hemi-* 'half', *homo-* 'same', *mono-* 'single', *pan-* 'all', *poly-* 'many', *pseudo-* 'false', *syn-*, *sym-* 'with', *tele-* 'at a distance'; also some suffixes, e.g. *-ism* and *-ology*.

2. NEOLOGISMS (SOURCES FOR NEW WORDS)

As for neologisms, there are six basic sources for new words: creating, borrowing, combining, shortening, blending, and shifting. Each of these has important subtypes. **Creating** a word means to make it out of nothing, not exploiting already existing words or patterns; sometimes creating can take the shape of so called imitative, echoic, or onomatopoeic words (e.g. *KODAK*,

whiz, or *zoom*). **Borrowing** words from another language is another source for neologisms. English has borrowed words extensively over centuries and this tendency is ever present in contemporary English. **Combining** is the most productive source of new words. Combining proliferates compounds and derivatives. New formations exploit traditionally established prefixes and suffixes but new affixes and new senses of old ones often develop, e.g. the prefix *para-* is an element appearing in loan words from Greek, where it meant 'beside' (e.g. *paradigm*, *paragraph*); on this model it is also used with the meanings: 'near', 'beyond', 'aside', and sometimes implying 'alteration', 'modification' (e.g. *parapsychology*). *Strato-* has developed a new meaning: it refers not to clouds but to things used in the stratosphere (e.g. *strato-suit*, *stratocruiser*). *Tele-* in *teleprompter*, does not suggest 'distance' as in television but 'a device showing television performers what to say'. The suffix *-genic* has changed its meaning (it formerly meant 'produced by light') and now it means 'good as a subject for photography' as in: *mediagenic*, *photogenic*, *radiogenic*, *telegenic*. There are suffixes created by decomposing a word, like *-thon* (the ending from *marathon*) used in formations like: *jokethon*, *talkthon*, *walkathon*. Another type of combining to produce neologisms is **compounding** and its output are compounds (they are combinations of at least two potentially free word-parts), e.g. *antibody-positive*, *gyrohorizon*. There are suffix-like compounds, e.g. *megalomania*, *egomania*, *nyphomania*, *Leonardomania*. There are also prefix-like compounds, e.g. *teleshopping*, *telebanking*, *teleworker*, *tele-education*, *teledemocracy*, *telemarketing*, *telecentre*. Classical compounds also occur among neologisms, e.g. *chemosphere*, *magnetosphere*, *technophobia*. There are neologisms which are produced by **shortening**, e.g. *micro(wave)*, *disco(theque)*, *gyro(copter)*, *cyborg* (from *cybernetic organism*), *memo(randum)*, *psycho(path)*, *cinema(tograph)*, *A.M.* < *ante meridiem*. *P.M.* < *post meridiem*. **Blending** is another word-formation process which is quite prolific in forming neologisms, e.g. *thriathlete* < *thriath(on)* + *athlete*. Some of these formations are humorous: e.g. *foolosopher* < *fool* + *philosopher*, *sexpert* < *sex* + *expert*. There is blending with the clipped second element, e.g. *monokini* < *mono* + *(bi)kini*. Examples for blending with both elements clipped include the following: *avionics* < *avi(ation)* + *(electr)onics*, *globflation* < *glob(al)* + *(in)flation*, *soperatic* < *soap(opera)* + *(op)eratic*. Shifting or **conversion** is the process by which the English shifts the forms into new ones. Shifting refers to the shift in grammar or in meaning. Shift in grammar means that a word shifts

from one use to another, e.g. noun to verb: *veto* n. > *veto* v., *contact* n. > *to contact* v. The shift of meaning is also very common and it comprises a specialization of meaning, metonymy or metaphor (e.g. *virus* having the new meaning of a 'self-replicating computer program').

3. CLASSICAL ELEMENTS IN ENGLISH NEOLOGISMS: DATA ANALYSIS

The examples to be analyzed have been taken from *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words* (OUP, 1997). We have read the dictionary from cover to cover and here is a comprehensive list of the examples of neologisms involving classical and neo-classical elements. The examples are presented in alphabetical order. The information given comprises the part-of-speech meaning of the word, its denotative meaning, and its word-formation pattern; the origin of the word elements is also suggested.

adhocracy n. a flexible organizational system designed to be responsive to the needs of the moment; the word has been formed from the phrase *ad hoc* 'formed or arranged for a particular purpose; not planned in advance', ultimately from Latin meaning 'to this'; word-formation process applied is that of composition.

annus horribilis n. a dreadful year; a modern Latin phrase, modeled on the established *annus mirabilis* 'a remarkable or auspicious year'; analogical formation used as deliberate juxtaposition with *annus mirabilis* but also used alone.

antichaos n. another name for *complexity theory*; formed by prefixation from Greek 'chaos'; note some other neological formations using the 'chaos' element: *chaotic dynamics*, *chaoticist*, *quantum chaos*, *quantum chaology*.

kinesiology n. a therapeutic technique in which physical conditions are diagnosed using tests which identify imbalances in muscle strength, and treated using touch; compound word using Greek roots *kin(ein)* 'to move', set in motion + *logia* 'speech, discourse, thought'. There are also two other new formations related to this word: *applied kinesiology*, and *kinesiologist*.

aquacise n. and v. physical exercise carried out in shallow water; to practice aquacise; formed by blending (Latin *aqua* 'water' + *exercise*).

autostereogram n. an image, generated by a computer, consisting of a pattern of dots and lines which are perceived as three-dimensional;

compound word using: *auto* (from Greek *autos* 'self') + *stereo* (from Greek *stereos* 'solid') + *gram* (an element occurring in loan words from Greek where it meant 'something written, drawing').

bi-media (also written **bimedia**), adj. involving, or working in, two of the mass communication media (especially radio and television) at one time; the noun for this concept is **bi-medialism** or **bi-mediality**; rarely, the adverb **bi-medially** is also seen; *bi-* is learned borrowing from Latin meaning 'twice', 'two'; it is used in the formation of compound words (e.g. *bifacial*).

bio- a prefix meaning 'life' occurring in loan words from Greek (e.g. *biography*; in this model it is used in the formation of compound words, e.g. *bioluminescence*, *bio-diesel*, *bio-diversity*, *bioreactor*, *biosphere*, *biospherian* n., *biotech* (short for *biotechnology*), *biotechnician*, *bio-techniques*, *biotechnical*, *biotecture* (the word is the result of blending: *bio* + (*archi*)*tecture*).

cyber- (from Greek *kyber(net)es* 'steersman', *kybern(an)* 'to steer') the first element of a wide variety of terms relating to computer-mediated electronic communication, such as electronic mail and the Internet; here are some neologisms containing this element: *cyberspace*, *cyberspatial*, *cyberpunk*, *cyberpunkish*, *cybernaut*, *cyberart*, *cyberartist*, *cyberbrain*, *cyberculture*, *cybercafé*, *cyberdelia*, *cyberdelic*, *cyberfeminism*, *cyberfeminist*, *cyberhippies*, *cyberlawyer*, *cyberlaw*, *cyberphobia*, *cyberphobic*, *cybersurfer*, *cybersex*, *cybersuit*, *cyberworld*, *cyberish*.

dyspraxia n. a disorder marked particularly by impairment of the ability to co-ordinate motor movements, and now associated with difficulties in reading and spelling; from Greek *dys-* 'bad, difficult' and *-praxia* from Greek *praxis* 'action'; the people suffering from dyspraxia are described as **dyspraxic**.

Ecstasy n. (also written *Ecstasy*, *ecstasy*, or *ecstasy*) is a hallucinogenic drug; from Greek *ekstasis* 'displacement, trance'; this neological formation has been obtained through metaphoric transfer.

Euro-sceptic n. means a person who is sceptical about the value of closer connection with Europe and adj. of, pertaining to, or characteristic of *Euro-sceptics*; **Euro-scepticism** is another nominal derivative form; a compound word involving the element *sceptic* from Latin *scepticus*, from Greek *skeptikos* 'thoughtful, inquiring'.

heptathlon n. an athletic contest, usually for women, consisting of seven different events; a modification of **pentathlon**, in which the Greek

prefix *hepta*, 'seven' is substituted for the Greek prefix *pente*, 'five'; *athlon* is the Greek for 'contest'.

homophobia n. fear or dislike of homosexuals and homosexuality; formed by adding the Greek suffix *-phobia*, meaning 'fear' or 'dislike', to the first part of *homosexual*, the word-formation type being that of blending. The formation is objectionable since it is fully homonymous with *homophobia* meaning 'fear of men'.

hydrospeeding n. a sport in which participants, wearing helmet, flippers, and padded clothing, launch themselves down rapids holding on to a float; formed with the combining form *hydro-* (a learned borrowing from Greek meaning 'water' used in the formation of compound words, e.g. *hydroplane*, *hydrogen* 'having to do with water').

hyper- combining form from the Greek prefix *huper-* 'above, beyond'; there are the following neologisms involving the *hyper* element and used in reference with computing: **hypermedia**, **hypertext**, **hyperlinks**, **hypertextual**, **hypertextually**, **hyperlinked**, **hyperfiction**, **hyperfictional**, **hyperzine** (a blend of *hyper* + (*maga*)*zine*).

mega adj. very large or important, on a grand scale, great; from the Greek *mega* 'great'; the adjective was formed because the highly productive combining form *mega-* was sometimes written as a free-standing element as in *mega star*; the word forming process is that of conversion or functional shift; mega is the first element in a number of compounds and blends, e.g. **megapixel**, **megabase**, **megacells**, **megazoo**, **megabook**, **megahit**, **megarich**, **megasmash**, **megastardom**, **megabudget**, **megaevent**, **megamodel**, **megafirm**, **megamerger**, **megaproject**, **megamarket**, **megacarrier**, **megatrend**, **megastore**, **megachurch**, **megastate**, **megaplex**, **megadump**, **megadose**.

multiculti adj. (also written *multi-culti*) means multicultural or of or relating to *multiculturalism* or *multiculturalists*; n. **multiculturalism**; a *multiculturalist* – the word is an abbreviation and alteration of *multicultural*; there are other neological formations with *multi-* like **multigym**, **multimedia**, **multi-speed** adj.

mythopoetic adj. in the U.S. denotes an approach to self-understanding employing activities such as storytelling, poetry reading, and enactment of ritual; the word is a compound built of Greek elements; this usage represents a new development of sense of the established adjective *mythopoeic* 'myth-making'.

nano- combining form used as the first element in compounds relating to the building of devices or substances on a molecular scale; *nano* comes from the Greek *nanos*, 'dwarf', and it is used in English as a combining form in terms indicating measurement meaning 'reduced by a factor of one thousand million', as in *nanometer* or *nanosecond*; this combining form has acquired the looser sense of 'relating to molecular proportions'; here are some neological formations including *nano*: **nanotechnology**, **nanotechnologist**, **nanomachines**, **nanomachinery**, **nanofabrication**, **nanostructures**, **nano-technological**, **nanocomputers**, **nanotech**, **nanocrystal**, **nanotube**, **nanoscale**, **nanophase**, **nanocomposite**.

retro- n. a style or fashion that goes back to the past; a movement to revive past styles; adj. reviving the past, retrospective; *retro* has a long history in English word formation where it was used in combination with Latin roots (e.g. *retrograde*) and having the meaning 'backwards'; in the eighties and nineties compounds such as **retro-chic**, **retro-culture**, and **retro-rock** were coined.

techie n. an expert in or enthusiast for technology, especially computing; a diminutive form of *technician*.

techno adj. of popular music, making heavy use of technology; n. a style of popular music with a synthesized, technological sound; *techno* can appear as the second element of compounds: **ambient techno** and **raga-techno**; *techno*, used on its own is a shortening from such compounds as *techno-pop* and *techno-rock*.

techno- combining form used as the first element of many compounds relating to the use of advanced technology and computing; e.g. **technophobia**, **tecnophile**, **technofear**, **technobabble**, **technospeak**, **technostress**, **technofix**, **technoindustrial**, **technohippy**, **technojunkie**, **technowizard**, **technothriller**, **technoporn**, **technosex**, **techno-pop**, **techno-rock**, **techno-soul**, **technoshamanism**.

tele- prefix used as the first element of compounds relating to telecommunications, e.g. **telecomputer**, **telematics**, **teleshopping**, **telebanking**, **telecommute**, **telework**, **telecommuters**, **televillage**, **tele-education**; **teleputer** is a blend: *tele(vision)* + *com(puter)*.

transgenic adj. relating to an organism which contains inheritable genetic material which has been artificially introduced from another organism; Latin *trans-* is used here as a prefix.

The analysis of the neologisms presented shows that there are output words representing all kinds of word-formation processes: **composition** (e.g. *kinesiology*), **derivational composition** (e.g. *kinesiologist*), **prefixation** (e.g. *antichaos*), **suffixation** (e.g. *homophobia*), **blending** (e.g. *teleputer*), **shortening** (e.g. *multiculti*), **metaphoric transfer** (e.g. *Ecstasy*), **analogical formation** (e.g. *annus horribilis*). The analysis of English neologisms also shows abundant use of classical and neo-classical elements and patterns in contemporary English word-formation.

REFERENCES

- Algeo, J. (1991) *Fifty Years Among the New Words, A Dictionary of Neologisms 1941-1991*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bauer, L. (1983) *English Word-Formation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Bauer, L. (1988) *Introducing Linguistic Morphology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Crystal, D. (1985) *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell (sec. ed)
- Marchand, H. (1969) *Categories and Types of Present-Day English Word-Formation*. Munchen: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhanlung
- Miller, G. (1991) *The Science of Words*. New York: Scientific American Library
- Milojević, J. (2000) *Word and Words of English*. Belgrade: Papirus
- Milojević, J. (2003) *Essentials of English Morphology*. Belgrade: Papirus

Dictionaries:

- Fifty Years Among the New Words: A Dictionary of Neologisms* (1991), eds. J. Algeo and A. Algeo, New York: Cambridge University Press
- New New Words Dictionary* (1988), H. LeMay et al. New York: Ballantine
- Random House Dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1987), ed. S. Flexner, New York: Random House
- Rečnik novih i nezabeleženih reči* (1999), Beograd: Enigmatski savez Srbije
- Shorter Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (1933) ed. C. Onions, Oxford: Clarendon Press

Third Barnhart Dictionary of New English (1990), R. Barnhart et al. New York: H. W. Wilson

The Oxford Dictionary of New Words (1999), ed. E. Knowles, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The comments of Professor Predrag Mutavdžić of the University of Belgrade (Faculty of Philology, Department of Neo-Hellenic Studies) and Professor Katarina Rasulić of the University of Belgrade (Faculty of Philology, English Department) are highly appreciated.

Accepted for publication on 1 October 2010

Јелисавета Милојевић

Универзитет у Београду, Србија

НЕОКЛАСИЧНИ НЕОЛОГИЗМИ У САВРЕМЕНОМ ЕНГЛЕСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

Сажетак

Циљ рада је анализа енглеских неологизама, са фокусом на класичне и неокласичне елементе и обрасце који се активно користе у грађењу речи у савременом енглеском језику. Примери су анализирани у укупном броју, онако како су евидентирани у *Оксфордском речнику нових речи*, а приступ је системски. У раду се показује да су и данас класични језици, својом лексичком грађом, непресушни и активни извор нових речи у енглеском језику.

Кључне речи: неологизам, грађење речи, асимилација, позајмљенице, калк, неокласични неологизми

Maja Lubańska
University of Wrocław, Poland

GRAMMATICALISATION AND GENERATIVE THEORY: THE CASE OF EPISTEMIC *PROMISE*

Abstract

The grammaticalisation theory and the generative theory have been commonly perceived as rather incompatible in their background assumptions (cf. Van Kemenade 1999, Fisher and Rosenbach 2000). Accordingly, the process of grammaticalisation has been often seen as inapplicable to the generative account of language. The aim of this paper is to show the reverse. Following the line of reasoning presented in Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2005), I will analyse the development of epistemic *promise* in English to show that Chomskyan theory can account not only for abrupt, categorial changes, but also for gradual, and ongoing ones.

Key words: grammaticalisation, generative theory, modality, epistemic modality, semantic factors, cognitive factors, pragmatic factors, minimalist grammar, morphosyntactic change, language acquisition,

0. Introduction

The grammaticalisation theory and the generative theory have been commonly perceived as rather incompatible in their background assumptions (cf. van Kemenade 1999, Fisher and Rosenbach 2000). Grammaticalisation theorists (Traugott and Heine 1991, Hopper and Traugott 1993, Heine and Kuteva 2005, Heine 2003, to name but a few) see semantic/ cognitive / pragmatic factors as the driving force of grammaticalisation. From the generative perspective, syntactic change is autonomous (Lightfoot 1979, 1991), which means independent of semantic or pragmatic factors, as it

involves the interaction of morphology and syntax. However, the idea that grammaticalisation is not applicable to generative accounts of language has been recently challenged by Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2005), who successfully address the question of syntactic change in the context of Chomsky's (1995, 2000) minimalist framework. It is obvious that diachronic generative studies investigate the restructuring of the grammatical system that involves lexical to functional or functional to functional reanalysis. Since reanalysis, next to extension, semantic bleaching and phonetic reduction, is one of the main mechanisms of grammaticalisation, it seems that generative researchers explore only one aspect of grammaticalisation. This, however, should not be surprising at all. In grammaticalisation theory, reanalysis occurs after pragmatic and semantic factors have activated the process of grammaticalisation and have brought it to the morphosyntactic stage of change. And it is here that generative exploration starts.

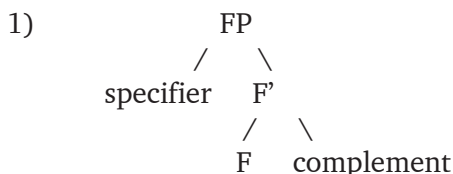
It has been also pointed out that the evidence from grammaticalisation is not compatible with the generative view on language change. The aim of this paper is to show the reverse: that grammaticalisation is compatible with Chomskyan theory. Following Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2005), I will analyse the development of epistemic *promise* in English, a change which has not received much attention in the generative literature.

1. Grammaticalisation and generative theory

The central claims that Roberts and Roussou (1999:1020, 2005:2) make is that grammaticalisation is a case of parameter setting, which does not differ from any other change. As a result, it is not a distinct process, but an epiphenomenon. In the process of language acquisition, parameter values associated with functional categories are fixed on the basis of trigger experience. Roberts and Roussou (2005:12) put forward the weakly deterministic view of language acquisition. To account for language change, they do not maintain the view that the final state of language acquisition converges with the target/adult grammar learners are exposed to. Instead they refine the assumption by claiming that "language acquisition is deterministic to the extent that all parameters have to be set" (2005:12). This licenses language change: a parameter may receive a value inconsistent with the trigger experience as the convergence with adult grammar is not required. A change takes place when the trigger

experience for a particular parameter setting becomes ambiguous. In this situation the learner relies on the learning device, which, as Roberts and Roussou (1999:1020, 2005:15) assume, prefers simpler representations as it is computationally conservative. Therefore if the parameter setting is not strongly triggered and thus the trigger experience is ambiguous, the learner will opt for the simpler representation, i.e. the one that does not involve a movement operation.

Another assumption underlying Roberts and Roussou's (1999, 2005) approach is that grammatical features can function as heads which project a phrasal category, following the X'-format in (1).



Roberts and Roussou strongly argue that functional (grammatical) elements are syntactic entities since they affect syntactic relations and are visible to syntactic operations, such as Merge or Agree. Furthermore, they argue for a greater availability of a number of functional heads, contra Chomsky (1995, 2000, 2001), who limits the number of available functional heads considerably. Yet another point where Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2005) are at variance with Chomsky is the interpretability of functional categories or features. They assume that functional features are LF-interpretable but they may or may not be PF-interpretable. If the latter is the case, the feature is either left unrealized at PF or it is realized by Move, i.e. by attracting another morpheme, or by Merge, i.e. by lexical insertion. As it is always the most economical option that is preferred, Merge is preferred over Move. Accordingly, parametric variation results from the way features are realized. This approach has major implications for grammaticalisation, which is now viewed as change from Move to Merge (Roberts and Roussou 1999, 2005)¹.

¹ In later Minimalism (Chomsky 2004, 2005), Move is reformulated as Internal Merge, relevant for scope and discourse phenomena, and it is not considered less economical than regular Merge (now named External Merge), which is relevant to the argument structure. Van Gelderen (2008) argues for a reformulation of the account of grammaticalisation phenomena, which focuses on lexical instead of derivational characteristics. This reformulation results in the Feature Economy Principle, which requires that the semantic

One of the linchpins of Roberts and Roussou's analysis is the idea that grammaticalisation involves reanalysis of functional categories, which results in the creation of new morphophonological realizations of functional features. In other words, a lexical item is reanalyzed as a functional item, and a functional item is realized as another functional item. This, however, is not a structural change since it is only the realization of features associated with functional heads that changes. The functional structure stays the same.

2. Lexical verb ▶ auxiliary analysis (Roberts and Roussou 1999, 2005)

The development of English modal auxiliaries is a classic case of grammaticalisation whereby lexical verbs underwent a category change and became auxiliaries. Modern English auxiliaries are clearly distinguished from lexical verbs by their syntactic properties: they do not have non-finite forms, they do not allow iteration, they allow only bare infinitives as their complements, they do not allow *do*-support and always precede *not*, they can license VP fronting and can phonologically contract. To account for all these properties, Roberts and Roussou (1999: 1022-25, 2005: 36-48) claim that Modern English modal and auxiliary verbs merge directly in T, a position inaccessible to lexical verbs. Being members of T, modals are affected by the properties of T such as finiteness or the lack of iteration. As Roberts and Roussou (1999:1023, 2005:37) explain, finiteness is a natural property of T, and as there is only one T, there cannot be more than one modal in a clause. Prior to the 16th century, modals had none of the above-mentioned characteristics. Like lexical verbs, they were merged in V and then moved to T, which is illustrated by a biclausal structure in (2a). In the 16th century, modals were reanalyzed from V to T, which resulted in monoclausal structures, as in (2b), where there is no evidence for a biclausal structure (Roberts and Roussou 2005:40-41).

and interpretable features in the derivation are minimised. In accordance with the principle, the grammaticalisation from a main verb to an auxiliary is seen as a reanalysis of the initially semantic features as interpretable ones, and then as uninterpretable ones. For details see van Gelderen (2008).

- 2) a. [_{TP} Sone [_{TP} hit mæi [_{VP} t_{mæi} [_{TP} T [_{VP} ilimpen]]]]]
 b. [_{TP} Soon [_{TP} it may [_{VP} happen]]]

As can be seen in (2b), V-to-T movement of the modal was lost, which gave rise to grammaticalisation: modals were reanalyzed from V to T. This, in consequence, resulted in the reanalysis of the biclausal structure as the monoclausal one. This reanalysis was caused by the loss of infinitival morphology *-en*. Previously T attracted V with relevant morphology. When the infinitive ending was lost, *for NP to VP* constructions appeared, which is generally taken to provide evidence for T* merge, with *to* in T. As Roberts and Roussou (1999:1022-25, 2005:41-42) explain, the presence of infinitival ending was strong evidence for the lower T. Since modals were tensed, they were the higher T, and the infinitival ending was the lower T. When the infinitival ending was lost, (2a) was reanalyzed as (2b) due to the fact that there was no other evidence for the lower T, and consequently for two Ts. As a result, modals became monoclausal, and there was no longer a need for V-to-T movement. Having been grammaticalised as elements of T, modals acquired the properties that distinguish them now from lexical verbs: they lost their argument structure, and consequently the ability to be complemented by an element other than a bare infinitive; they lost their non-finite forms; and they took on complementary distribution with supporting *do* (Roberts and Roussou 2005:42). Following Roberts (1985, 1999), Roberts and Roussou (1999:1025, 2005:43) point out that later in the 16th century (or even later) V-to-T movement of main verbs was lost. As a result, only members of T (auxiliaries) could precede the clausal *not* and invert. At that point English modals became a syntactically restricted class of verbs.

To sum up, Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2005) see the evolution of the English modals as consisting of three independent changes: first, some modals were reanalyzed; second, all modals were reanalyzed as a result of the loss of the infinitival morphology; third, the V-to-T movement was lost. The loss of infinitival morphology and the loss of V-to-T movement resulted in the reanalysis of the biclausal modal structures to the monoclausal ones. All these together gave rise to the development of modal verbs as a distinct class in English.

3. The development of epistemic promise

Traugott (1993, 1997) and Verhagen (1995, 2000) distinguish the performative and the epistemic meanings of *promise*, such as in (3a) and (3b) respectively (Verhagen 2000).

- 3) a. I promise to come to the party.
- b. Tomorrow promises to be a fine day.

The *promise* in (3a) describes an occurrence of the speech act of promising, giving information about the subject which is independent of the rest of the sentence. In (3b), *promise* expresses an evaluation on the part of the speaker of the validity of the proposition. As noted by Traugott (1993, 1997), *promise* was borrowed into Middle English in the early 15th century from French as an illocutionary and performative verb. It is future-oriented and serves as a declaration that one will or will not do something. As illustrated in (4a-c), *promise* has a full syntactic potential as it occurs with (a) finite, (b) non-finite, and (c) nominal complements (Traugott 1993, 1997). In all these cases the subject is animate as it must be an entity able to fulfil the promise.

- 4) a. and I beseech your Grace to promise to his Highnes for mee
 that I will not onely fill my pockets with papers... (1570-1640,
 Official Letters 2, p. 156-7)
- b. And promysed Kyng Herowde without delay / To come ageyn
 by hym – this is no nay (c. 1500 Digby Plays 97)
- c. and there asked hym a gyffte that he promised her whan she
 gaff hym the swerde (bef. 1470 Works of Thomas Malory 48)

In (4), as well as in (5), *promise* is a control verb coindexing the subjects of the matrix and the subordinate clause. Examples in (5), however, illustrate the change that took place in the 16th century: *promise* developed an epistemic meaning ‘to give preindication of X’, and can now be followed only by a nominal complement (Traugott 1993, 1997). The subject, in the majority of cases, is inanimate.

- 5) a. the Title of this Paper promising some Experiments about the Production of Electricity, I must not omit to recite... (1675-1676, Boyle, *Electricity and Magnetism* 20-21)
- b. As the morning promised a fair day we set out, but the storm coming up again we were obliged to come to. (1784 Muhl)

This is a transitional stage from a control verb to a raising verb, where *promise* is gradually losing the thematic control as it allows non-human subjects and epistemic meanings of the kind: “there is something about the subject that leads to an expectation of the proposition coming into being” (Traugott 1997:188). Next, in the 18th century *promise* developed raising uses with non-finite complements. This is illustrated in (6), where the meaning is clearly non-intentional and epistemic: the speaker indicates that there is evidence for a particular expectation, and evaluates it in a positive way. The subject is not the source of the promise and it does not control the event expressed by the predicate.

- 6) a. The Capitol promised to be a large and handsome building, judging from the part about two thirds above ground. (1795 Twin)
- b. The Pet Shop Boys’ tour promises to be orchestrated with an imagination and attention to detail that makes most of their competitors look positively pedestrian. (1992 *Guardian*)
- c. He promised to be stout when he grew up. (1722 Defoe)
- d. As poor Jane promises to be pretty, she may be married off my hands. (1832)

The general development of epistemic *promise* is summarized in Table 1^{2, 3}.

Stage	Verbal meaning	Complementation type	Subject
15 th c.	a commitment to do sthg (non-epistemic use)	finite complements non-finite complements nominal complements	animate, it controls the predicate, it is the source of the promise
16 th c.	to pre-indicate sthg (epistemic use)	nominal complements	animate/inanimate, it controls the predicate ⁴ , it is the source of the promise
18 th c.	to pre-indicate sthg (epistemic use)	non-finite complements	animate/inanimate, it does not control the predicate, it is not the source of the promise

Table 1. The development of epistemic *promise* in English
(based on Traugott 1997)

As Traugott (1993, 1997) claims, the changes that *promise* has undergone, which are characteristic of raising verbs in general, are evidence for incipient grammaticalisation from the main verb to a semi-auxiliary. This results from the loss of some of its categorial properties as the main verb.

² The sources describing the development of *promise* (Traugott 1993, 1997; Heine and Kuteva 2006) show it as one proceeding in stages. They differ in the number of stages listed and in the properties of the subject at a particular stage. For instance, Traugott (1993) distinguishes five stages, Traugott (1997) lists three stages and Heine and Kuteva (2006) describe four stages. Heine and Kuteva's and Traugott's stages differ as far as the [\pm animate]-property of the subject is concerned. For Heine and Kuteva stage-two *promise* occurs with inanimate subjects, while Traugott claims that it can be either animate or inanimate. In Heine and Kuteva's (2006) analysis, the difference between stage three and stage four lies in the property of the subject: stage-three *promise* occurs with non-finite complements and inanimate subjects (the subject does not control the predicate as it is not the source of the promise); stage four is an extension of stage-three *promise* to contexts involving human subjects. Since a general presentation of the development of epistemic *promise* is sufficient for the purposes of this paper, I will use the three-stage schema, as presented in Traugott (1997).

³ Note that the rise of a new stage does not result in the termination of the previous one, on the contrary, they continue to coexist.

⁴ Although inanimate subjects are frequently observed at this stage (and inanimate subjects generally do not control their predicates), there is a strong tendency still present to attribute an agentive function to the subject.

For example, epistemic *promise* cannot assign a theta-role to its subject and can be used in idiom chunks. Furthermore, epistemic (raising) *promise* cannot occur with the progressive aspect (Traugott 1993:355, 1997:194), which is illustrated in (7).

- 7) a. Marianne is promising to be a good president.
(locutionary and control only)
- b. Marianne promises to be a good president.
(locutionary or epistemic, control or raising)

As noted by Traugott, further evidence for *promise* losing its categorial properties comes from its co-occurrence patterns with modal verbs. Full lexical epistemic verbs, such as *insist* or *suggest*, and raising verbs, such as *seem* and *appear*, occur both with deontic and with epistemic modals, whereas epistemic *promise* occurs with epistemic modals only (1993:356, 1997:196-7). This is shown in (8) and (9) respectively.

- 8) a. The Dean may suggest that Daniel cheats
 - i) but that should be her decision. (deontic)
 - ii) and if so I will back her up. (epistemic)
- b. The confrontation may/must appear to escalate into war
 - i) so that we can persuade congress to declare war. (deontic)
 - ii) but it's actually not doing so. (epistemic)
- c. She might/must appear to be a good attorney
 - i) so that we can expose them. (a Portia-like situation; deontic)
 - ii) but I don't believe she is one. (epistemic)
- d. She may/must promise to be a good attorney
 - i) but that should be her decision. (deontic)
 - ii) but I don't believe her. (epistemic)
- 9) a. The conflict may promise to escalate into war
 - i) *so that we can distract the public's attention away from increased taxes. (deontic)
 - ii) but we have to make sure that it does not do so. (epistemic)

Traugott (1997:197) points out that the restriction on co-occurrence with modal auxiliaries shown by epistemic *promise* conforms to the constraint that a central modal preceding a quasi-modal must be epistemic.

As has been pointed out in a number of sources (Traugott 1993, 1997; Heine and Kuteva 2006, among others), the changes that *promise* has undergone are the outcome of a grammaticalisation process leading from the full lexical verb to the semi-auxiliary. *Promise* has lost its lexical semantics and is now used to express the epistemic modality of probability. What is more, *promise* has been decategorialised towards an auxiliary: its syntactic potential is considerably reduced and some of its categorial properties as a lexical verb are lost. The existing evidence demonstrates beyond doubt that *promise* has changed its categorial status.

Despite the significant changes in its syntactic behaviour, *promise*⁵ has retained most of its lexical verb characteristics. Table 2, based on the criteria for auxiliary verbs in Quirk et al. (1985:137), shows the auxiliary and the main verb properties of *promise*.

Auxiliary criteria	Auxiliary	Main verb	Epistemic <i>promise</i>
Operator in negation	YES He cannot go.	NO *He hopes not to go ⁶ .	NO
Negative contraction	YES can't	NO *hopen't	NO
Operator in inversion	YES Can we go?	NO *Hope we to go?	NO
Emphatic positive with <i>do</i>	NO *Yes, I DO can come.	YES Yes, I DO hope to come.	YES
Operator in reduced clause	YES I can come if you can.	NO I hope to come if you hope.	NO
Position of adverb	AUX + Adv We can always go early.	Adv + verb We always hope to go early.	Adv + verb ?verb+Adv ⁷

⁵ For the sake of simplicity I will refer to epistemic *promise* as *promise*, unless otherwise stated.

⁶ This sentence is correct in the sense 'He hopes that he will not go' when it is 'to go' that is negated.

⁷ Traugott (1997:195-6) notes that as far as the position of adverbs is concerned, for some speakers *promise* and *threaten* behave like *ought to* and *can*:

i. The conflict certainly threatens to erupt into war.
ii. The conflict threatens certainly to erupt into war.

Position of quantifier	AUX + quantifier They can all come. ?Quantifier + AUX ?They all can come.	Quantifier + verb They all hope to come. ? verb + quantifier ?They hope all to come.	Q + verb
Independence of subject	Ann can do it. ~ It can be done by Ann.	He hopes to do it. ~ *It hopes to be done by him.	*
Modal auxiliary criteria			
Bare infinitive	YES I can go.	NO *I hope go.	NO
Absence of non-finite forms	YES *to can/*canning/ * canned	NO to hope/hoping/hoped	YES (no epistemic interpretation with non-finite forms)
Absence of –s form	YES *She cans come.	NO She hopes to come.	NO
Abnormal time reference	YES You could leave this evening. [not past time]	NO You hoped to leave this evening. [past time]	NO

Table 2. Epistemic *promise* vs. auxiliaries and main verbs

Auxiliary criteria	Semi-auxiliary: <i>have to</i> ⁸	Semi-auxiliary: <i>be going to</i>	Epistemic <i>promise</i>
Operator in negation	NO	YES	NO
Negative contraction	NO ⁹	YES	NO

Traugott (1997), however, does not illustrate the order *promise* + adverb with an example.

⁸ The aim of this comparison is to show that semi-auxiliaries are not a homogenous class. I have chosen *have to* and *be going to* since they are both semi-auxiliaries, but they do not have the same characteristics. Aiming to show the contrast, I ignored the form *have got to*, which has more auxiliary characteristics than the semantically parallel *have to*.

⁹ According to Swan (2002:244), *have to* can be used like a main verb with operator in questions and negatives, or like an auxiliary verb. *Not* negation, however, has always been rare for *have to*. In his corpus-based study of modal verbs, Krug (2000:103-106) points out the virtual absence of *not* negation of *have to* in present-day written and spoken English.

Operator in inversion	NO	YES	NO
Emphatic positive with <i>do</i>	YES	NO	YES
Operator in reduced clause	YES	YES	NO
Position of adverb	Adv + have to have to + Adv	Adv + be be + Adv	Adv + promise ?promise + Adv
Position of quantifier	quantifier + have to	quantifier + be be + quantifier	Quantifier + promise
Independence of subject	It has to be done by John.	It's going to be done by John.	*
Modal auxiliary criteria			
Bare infinitive	NO	NO	NO
Absence of non-finite forms	NO	NO	YES
Absence of –s form	NO	NO	NO
Abnormal time reference	NO	NO	NO

Table 3. Epistemic *promise* vs. semi-auxiliaries

As can be seen from Table 2, *promise* has retained most of its main verb characteristics. In contrast, the data presented in the previous section show that it has undergone incipient grammaticalisation on the way to become a semi-auxiliary. Epistemic *promise* occurs only with non-finite complements, it cannot assign a subject theta-role, it cannot occur with the progressive aspect and deontic modal verbs. The change in its categorial status is noted when *promise* is compared to semi-auxiliaries. As the data in Table 3 show, *promise* and *have to* exhibit quite a similar syntactic behaviour: *promise* resembles *have to* in 8 out of 12 criteria. Both *have to* and *promise*, however,

The latest attestations are from 1955 and 1961. In the spoken British National Corpus, there are 12 attestations of *not* negation of *have to*, and 954 attestations of *do* negation. Krug (2004:104) also points out that *not* negation is found only in the language of older speakers. A similar observation is made by Collins (2009:66), who shows that *have to* takes only external negation. As far as question formation is concerned, the analysis presented by Krug (2000) confirms that *have to* occurs predominantly with *do* support.

The low productivity of *not* negation of *have to* is used by Krug (2000) to show the increased bonding between the two constituents: *have* and *to*. This bonding results in the emergence of a new form: *hafta*, where the morpheme *to* cliticises on the verbal host. This, of course, is not the case with *promise*.

meet fewer auxiliary criteria than *be going to*. *Be going to* obviously satisfies more of them as its first word is the primary verb *be*, which functions as the operator. As noted by Quirk et al. (1985:143), under a more strict interpretation of the operator criteria, *be going to* would have to add *not* to the second or third word to form negation (**is goingn't to* or **is going ton't*). *Be going to*, and other semi-auxiliaries introduced by *be*, such as *be able to*, *be about to*, or *be bound to*, require a special interpretation of the operator criteria to be classified as auxiliary-like. Considering this, *be going to*, *have to* and *promise* become less distant on the semi-auxiliariness scale. The data in Table 3 clearly show that the boundaries of semi-auxiliaries as a category are not clear, with the members not meeting all the criteria. Consequently, it seems plausible to conclude that these boundaries may be extended to include *promise*.

4. Epistemic promise in the generative paradigm¹⁰

Despite the apparent changes, *promise* has not acquired all properties of semi-auxiliaries. It is thus interesting if the generative paradigm, which seeks to identify discrete parametric changes, can account for epistemic (functional) *promise*. The generative paradigm (Roberts and Roussou 1999, 2005) sees grammaticalisation as the loss of movement: in the case of verbs, a grammaticalised element (modal verb) is merged directly into the functional system (T), while a lexical verb is a member of V. Roberts and Roussou (2005:47) adopt the structure in (10) and explain that lexical verbs are merged in V and then move to v and T.

$$10) [_{TP} T [_{vP} v [_{VP} V]]]$$

In the VP shell in (10), the lower VP determines the thematic role of objects, whereas the higher vP determines that of subjects. Under this approach, epistemic modals are merged in T, which makes the lower positions inaccessible to them and results in their lack of argument structure and non-finite forms. Dynamic modals, which are subject oriented and determine their argument structure as far as the subject is concerned, are merged in v and then moved to T. Being merged in v, the modal verb may determine

¹⁰ I thank professor Joanna Błaszczak (Wrocław University) for her comments on an earlier draft of this section.

the realization of the subject argument and show tense distinctions, yet it is not considered a lexical verb, which is merged in V (Roberts and Roussou 2005).

The fundamental question is where exactly epistemic *promise* merges into the structure. Lexical verbs do not raise into the functional system in modern English, but they are merged in the verbal functional system. They have their argument structure and impose restrictions on the interpretation of the subject, i.e. it must be [+animate]. Modal verbs, on the other hand, are elements of T, a functional projection which does not assign theta roles. As a result, they do not have their argument structure, which in turn leads to the restriction on their structural complement: it can be a VP only. As members of T, modals precede the clausal negation, move to C in inversion contexts and do not have non-finite forms. As can be seen from Table 2, epistemic *promise* still has a number of main verb properties. Nevertheless, it does not have a subject theta role to assign and does not restrict the subject (it can be either animate or inanimate), but it does impose restrictions on its complement, which can be only a non-finite clause. As its argument structure is clearly defective, which is characteristic of functional elements, *promise* may be merged in a functional position. It cannot be merged in T as, unlike modals, it never precedes the clausal negation and shows tense distinctions. However, it can be assumed that *promise*, similarly to dynamic modals, which exhibit the properties of both lexical and modal verbs (Roberts and Roussou 2005:47), is merged in v^{11} . This would legitimize its behaviour: a limited ability to participate in argument structure, and the manifestation of tense distinctions. This seems compatible with what Roberts and Roussou propose: “if we take the basic difference between lexical verbs and verbal functional heads to be the possession of argument structure, then we can think that merger directly into the functional system correlates with the absence of argument structure” (2005:44). This analysis accounts for the differences between epistemic/functional *promise* (merged in v), lexical verbs (merged in V) and modal verbs (merged in T), as it does not regard *promise* as either a lexical or a modal verb.

¹¹ This does not mean that functional *promise* is exactly like dynamic modals. Dynamic modals are merged in v , as in this position they can take an external argument, and are moved further to T (Roberts and Roussou 2005). Functional *promise*, unlike dynamic modals, does not impose a thematic restriction on its subject, and it is not moved to T. It is assumed here that the only property that they both share is the functional position in which they are merged (v).

There are two more properties that need to be accounted for: *promise*'s inability to impose a thematic restriction such as animacy or agentivity on the subject, and its epistemic interpretation. These properties are illustrated by the sentences in (11), in which *promise* occurs with both inanimate and animate subjects, and it has an epistemic meaning related to knowledge and belief (it indicates an evaluation by the producer of the utterance).

- 11)a. The notion of implicature promises to bridge the gap, by giving some account of how at least large portions of the italicized material in (3) are effectively conveyed. (S.C. Levinson, *Pragmatics*, 1987; BNC: J2K 903)
- b. Preparations are now well advanced for this year ride, which promises to be bigger and better. (*The Alton Herald*, 1992; BNC: C88 1449)
- c. Saturday promises to be a great day for the public and will give children a chance to see the cars which were made famous for them through the Back to the Future film. (*Belfast Telegraph*, 1992; BNC: K31 258)
- d. Stefan Schumacher Gerolsteiner ... is one of cycling's top up-and-coming stars. After bursting onto the scene and into the pink leader's jersey for a couple of days of the 2006 Tour of Italy, Schumacher powered his way to victory in this year's Amstel gold race. The versatile 25-year-old German promises to be a force in the opening week of racing. (*Bicycling* 48(7), 2007; COCA)

In sentences such as those in (11), *promise* is a raising verb¹². Raising verbs fail to impose selectional requirements on the subject of their clause, as originally observed by Burzio (1986). They belong to the class of unaccusatives, which means that they take one internal clausal argument and do not assign an external theta role to the subject position. The interpretation arising in the raising construction is an epistemic one. Therefore it may be assumed that functional *promise* is inherently

¹² Wurmbrand (2001:205-215) claims that raising verbs in German, including *versprechen* 'to promise', are epistemic modals occurring in the highest functional head of the modal domain. English raising verbs, however, differ from German ones in syntactic behaviour, thus the same type of analysis cannot be applied to English. For a detailed discussion of German raising constructions see Wurmbrand (2001).

epistemic: it acquires epistemic reading as a raising construction, similarly to predicates such as *seem* or *appear*.

5. Conclusion

At first sight it seems that the generative theory cannot account for developing constructions, which have not been reanalyzed into a positive parameter. Epistemic *promise*, for instance, does not fit into any category neatly: it shares some properties of main verbs and some of auxiliaries. Although the generative paradigm seeks to identify discrete parametric changes, it does provide tools for the analysis of less spectacular changes. Within this framework, grammaticalisation is seen as the loss of movement. As advocated by Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2005), when lexical categories become functional categories, movement is lost and a new exponent for the higher functional head, corresponding to the previous target of movement, is created. In other words, lexical categories undergo movement to a functional position in order to check relevant features. When they become functional categories, they are base-generated in the functional position. This idea can also be applied in the case of *promise*: as a lexical verb, it is generated in V and then moved to v; as a functional verb, it is base-generated in v. On the whole, this approach refutes the major argument underlying the claim that grammaticalisation is not applicable to generative accounts of language: that it does not account for a) the gradience of word-class membership; b) layering (the availability of two structures at the same time, for instance the lexical and the epistemic/functional *promise*); c) the identifiable directions of change. Upon closer scrutiny, there are no inconsistencies between the grammaticalisation theory and the generative paradigm. As the example of epistemic *promise* shows, the gradience of word-class membership is possible within the generative framework. So is layering: at present, there are two kinds of *promise* in English: the lexical one, merged in V and the functional one, base-generated in v. Finally, it has been claimed that grammaticalisation proceeds in identifiable directions, which is inexplicable in Chomskyan terms. This, as Roberts and Roussou (1999, 2005) show, is not true. The direction is identifiable since grammaticalisation changes follow a path structurally defined by the hierarchy of the functional categories.

All things considered, the grammaticalisation theory and the generative theory are compatible, yet they are not supposed to match as they investigate different matters. The grammaticalisation theory is performance-based, the generative model is competence-based. They are complementary if, ontologically, they are perceived as autonomous domains of inquiry.

References

- Burzio, L. (1986). *Italian syntax*. Dordrecht: Reidel.
- Chomsky, N. (1995). *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2000). Minimalist inquiries: The framework. In: R. Martin, D. Michaels, & J. Uriagereka (Eds.), *Step by step: Essays on minimalist syntax in honor of Howard Lasnik* (pp.98-155). Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2001). Derivation by phase. In M. Kenstowicz (Ed.) *Ken Hale: A life in language* (pp. 1-52). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chomsky, N. (2004). Beyond explanatory adequacy. In A. Belletti (Ed.) *Structures and beyond*. (pp.104-131). Oxford: Oxford UP
- Chomsky, N. (2005). Three factors in language design. *Linguistic Inquiry* 36(1): 1-22.
- Collins, P. (2009). *Modals and quasi-modals in English*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Fischer, O. & Rosenbach, A. (2000). Introduction. In O. Fischer, A. Rosenbach & D. Stein (Eds.), *Pathways of change. Grammaticalization in English* (pp. 1-37). Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Gelderen, E. van. (2008). Where did late Merge go? Grammaticalisation as feature economy. *Studia Linguistica* 62(3): 287-300.
- Heine, B. (2003). Grammaticalisation. In B. Joseph, & R. Janda (Eds.), *The handbook of historical linguistics* (pp.575-601). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Heine, B. & Kuteva, T. (2005). *Language contact and grammatical change*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP
- Heine, B. & Kuteva, T. (2006). *The changing languages of Europe*. Oxford: Oxford UP
- Hopper, P. & Traugott, E. (1993). *Grammaticalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP
- Kemenade, A van. (1999). Functional categories, morphosyntactic change, grammaticalisation. *Linguistics* 37-6: 997-1010.

- Krug, M. (2000). *Emerging English modals. A corpus-based study of grammaticalisation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lightfoot, D. (1979). *Principles of diachronic syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Lightfoot, D. (1991). *How to set parameters: Arguments from language change*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G. & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A comprehensive grammar of the English language*. London: Longman.
- Roberts, I. (1985). Agreement parameters and the development of English modal auxiliaries. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 3: 21-58.
- Roberts, I. (1999). Verb movement and markedness. In M. de Graff (Ed.), *Language change and language creation: Creolization, diachrony, and development* (pp. 287-327). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Roberts, I. & Roussou, A. (1999). A formal approach to 'grammaticalisation'. *Linguistics* 37: 1011-1041.
- Roberts, I. & Roussou, A. (2005). *Syntactic change. A minimalist approach to grammaticalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Swan, M. (2002). *Practical English usage*. Oxford: Oxford UP.
- Traugott, E. C. (1993). The conflict *promises/threatens* to escalate into war. In J. S. Guenter, B. A. Kaiser, & C. C. Zoll (Eds.), *Proceedings of the Nineteenth annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* (pp. 348-358). Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society.
- Traugott, E. C. (1997). Subjectification and the development of epistemic meaning: The case of *promise* and *threaten*. In T. Swan & O. J. Westvik (Eds.), *Modality in Germanic languages. Historical and comparative perspectives* (pp. 185-210). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Traugott, E. C. & Heine, B. (Eds.). (1991). *Approaches to grammaticalisation*. [Typological Studies in Language 19], 2 vols. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Verhagen, A. (1995). Subjectification, syntax, and communication. In D. Stein & S. Wright (Eds.), *Subjectivity and subjectivisation: Linguistic perspectives* (pp. 103-128). Cambridge: Cambridge UP.
- Verhagen, A. (2000). "The girl that promised to become something": An exploration into diachronic subjectification in Dutch. In T. F. Shannon & J. P. Snapper (Eds.), *The Berkeley conference on Dutch linguistics 1997: the Dutch language at the millennium* (pp. 197-208). Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Wurmbrand, S. (2001). *Infinitives. Restructuring and clause structure*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Internet sources

The British National Corpus (Online service). Managed by Oxford University Computing Services on behalf the BNC Consortium. URL: <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk>
Davies, M. (2008-). The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA): 400+ million words, 1990-present. Available online at <http://www.americancorpus.org>

Accepted for publication on 1 October 2010.

Маја Лубанска

Универзитет у Вроцлаву, Пољска

ГРАМАТИКАЛИЗАЦИЈА И ГЕНЕРАТИВНА ТЕОРИЈА: СЛУЧАЈ ЕПИСТЕМИЧКОГ *PROMISE*

Сажетак

На теорију граматикализације и генеративну теорију се устаљено гледа као на у знатној мери инкомпатибилне у њиховим исходишним претпоставкама (уп. Ван Кеменаде 1999, Фишер и Розенбах 2000). Сходно овоме, процес граматикализације се често схвата као неприменљив у генеративном објашњењу језика. Циљ овог рада је да покаже супротно. Следећи нит размишљања дат у раду Робертса и Руса (1999, 2005), у раду се анализира развој епистемичког *promise* у енглеском језику да би се показало да теорија Чомског не само да може да објасни нагле, категоријалне промене, већ и оне које су постепене и текуће.

Кључне речи: граматикализација, генеративна теорија, модалност, епистемичка модалност, семантички фактори, когнитивни фактори, прагматски фактори, минималистичка граматика, морфосинтаксичка промена, усвајање језика

Maryam Farnia and Hiba Qusay Abdul Sattar
Science University, Malaysia

INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: MALAY AND THAI UNIVERSITY STUDENTS' REFUSALS TO REQUEST

Abstract

This paper examines intercultural communication of the speech act of refusals between Malay and Thai undergraduates at Universiti Sains Malaysia, Malaysia. One question is addressed: what are the similarities and differences between Malays and Thais in the use of refusals strategies to requests. The corpus consists of responses to an open-ended questionnaire in the form of a Discourse Completion Test (DCT) including three different situations. The main aim is to outline the preferred linguistic realizations or strategies used when refusing a request to someone older, someone the same age, and someone younger. The corpus is analyzed and categorized according to the refusal taxonomy by Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz (1990) to determine the strategies used and the frequencies of their use. Results show variation in the frequency and the content of strategies used by the group in relation to age factor. Finally, this study supports the idea that speech acts are culturally laden and their understanding can hinder or encourage communication across cultures.

Key words: intercultural communication, speech act, speech act of refusal, discourse

Introduction

Intercultural communication is not a new concept. The need to study intercultural communication is increasingly important because people

constantly come into contact with each other, and therefore, there would be some need to communicate with people who speak a different language and organize their lives according to completely different norms and values (Pinto, 2000). However, what is new about intercultural communication is the systematic study of exactly what happens when cross-cultural contacts and interaction take place- when message producer and message receiver are from different cultures (Gao, 2006).

One of the challenges brought about by intercultural communication is the understanding of speech acts cross-culturally. Speech acts or the communicative acts (e.g. thanking, apology, request) vary cross-culturally and the appropriate use of a given speech act is subject to variation as the cultures differ. For example, in complimenting some one on her new dress, a positive acceptance of the compliment by appreciation, e.g. *Thank you*, is common in some cultures (e.g. the United States), while rejecting the compliment, e.g. *No, it's not new*, is more appropriate in some other cultures (e.g. India). Therefore, a successful intercultural communication requires the non-native speakers' knowledge of the meaning of a particular speech act in a given cultural setting. This present research is attempting this.

This study is an intercultural study of the speech act of refusal to request between Malay and Thai university students in Malaysia. The following sections will discuss a brief review of the literature on intercultural communication as well as the speech act of refusal, followed by methodology, data analysis and discussion and conclusion in sequence.

Review of literature

The review of the literature includes two parts: the first part will present a brief review on intercultural communication. The second part will discuss speech act theories.

Intercultural communication

There are different definitions of the concept. The word intercultural has been characterized by a certain terminological arbitrariness: 'intercultural',

‘interethnic’, interracial’, ‘and ‘cross-cultural’ often seem to be used in free variation. In ‘intercultural communication’, the notions ‘culture’ and ‘communication’ are very broad and vague (Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff, 1987, p.3). They might be regarded as everything that is a consequence of culture, and everything that communicates (ibid). This view is summarized in E.T. Hall’s (1959) dictum “communication is culture, culture is communication” (cited in Knapp and Knapp-Potthoff, 1987, p.3). However, as Spencer-Oatey (2006) put it,

“Intercultural communication is concerned with communication between people from different sociocultural groups. It focuses on the role played by cultural –level factors (in contrast to individual and universal factors), and explores their influence on the communication process” (p: 2537)

Studies in intercultural communication may have a great effect on speakers’ mutual understanding and their expectation especially in a new cultural setting. Sometimes speaker’s pragmatic incompetency leads into failure or breakdown into intercultural communication. According to Rintell and Mitchell (1989, cited in Lin, 2008), the misunderstanding and offence created was a result of intercultural communication which was due to the learner’s merely taking the literal meaning of the speaker’s words without being able to give them an appropriate interpretation. However, pragmatic failure not only results into miscommunication and hinders effective communication, but could also lead to misjudgment of the person in a cross-cultural interaction (Chen, 1996). Therefore, intercultural communication studies on a given speech act would give a good understanding of speakers across different culture of how pragmatically different or similarly they behave in a similar situation.

Speech act of refusal

The speech act of refusal is identified as a response to four other speech acts; request, invitation, offer and suggestion (Beebe, Takahashi and Uliss-Weltz , 1990; Chen, Ye, and Zhang,1995) rather than as a standing and initiating act by itself (Geyang, 2007). Refusal is characterized as an act by which a speaker declines to engage in an action proposed by the

interlocutor (Chen, Ye, and Zhang, 1995). For example, in refusing to an invitation to go out, one might say, "Sorry, I have an exam tomorrow".

According to Tanck (2002), refusal occurs "when a speaker directly or indirectly says no to a request or invitation" (p.2). Refusal is a complicated act since it is affected by several factors including gender, age, level of education, power, and social status (Fraser, 1990; Smith, 1998, cited in Wannaruk, 2008).

In politeness theory, refusal is a face-threatening act since it contradicts listener/ requester / inviters' expectation and is realized through indirect strategies (Tanck, 2002). In cross-linguistic or cross-cultural communication, people are different in terms of the language they employ in each speech community. In these communities, pragmatic failure sometimes occurs when the speaker uses a face-threatening speech act (e.g. request, apology, refusal). According to Takahashi and Beebe (1987, p.133), "the inability to say 'no' clearly and politely ...has led many non-native speakers to offend their interlocutors".

It can be concluded that research in intercultural communication would provide a good understanding of the differences and similarities of the pragmatic behaviour speakers of different languages use in speech acts.

Objective and significance of study

Although there are ample numbers of studies on the speech act of refusal, most of these studies targeted either Japanese or English (e.g. Morrow, 1995, Gass and Houck, 1999, cited in Yang, 2008) or Chinese (e.g. Liao, 1994; Chen, Lei Ye a, and Zhang, 1995, Chen, 1996, cited in Yang, 2008) populations, and the number of studies on Malaysian (e.g. Ching Hei, 2009) or Thai (e.g. Wannaruk, 2009) are rather lacking. Therefore, the significance of the present study is that no previous research was conducted on the intercultural communication between Malay and Thai students within this specific speech act. The objectives of this study are twofold: First to investigate the strategies used by Malay and Thai university students in their interaction to refuse the request. Second, it aims to examine the frequency of use of the strategies in refusing requests.

Methodology

Subjects

The subjects of this study were two groups of university students: twenty Malaysian university students at Universiti Sains Malaysia and twenty Thai university students at Multi Media Universiti and Universiti Sains Malaysia.

The demographic survey shows that the age of Malay respondents ranged from 20 to 25, 19 females and 1 male and all of them were undergraduate university students. Table 1 and 2 (see appendix C) displays the demographic survey of respondent's self-evaluation of their level of language proficiency. In the area of language difficulty, 15% of Malay respondents reported English as a difficult language while 45% found it of average difficulty. With regard to Malay respondents' perception of their English language proficiency, 10% found their English near-native while 55% report their English as being 'good' and 35% found their English as 'fair'.

The demographic survey of Thai respondents shows that four respondents were male and sixteen respondents were female. Their ages ranged from 20 to 35 where the majority were between 20 and 25. Moreover, 45% of the respondents reported to find English language of average difficulty while 30% said that they didn't find the English language difficult. In the area of the evaluation of their present knowledge of English 50% percent reported it as good and 30% fair.

Instrument

The data were elicited through an open-ended questionnaire in the form of a Discourse Completion Task (DCT). The questionnaire consisted of two parts: the first part required respondents' biodata including age, sex, nationality, language spoken at home, level of education and program of study. Since the language of the questionnaire was in English, a self-language proficiency assessment adopted from Barron (2003) was also administered. The respondents were asked of their perception on their own level of language proficiency as well as their attitude toward the use of English language. The second part of the instrument was an open ended

questionnaire in the form of a Discourse Completion Task (DCT). This part included three situations targeted the speech act of refusal to request. The respondents were asked to read the situations and write down the words they might use in refusing the interlocutor's request in the questionnaire.

Discourse Completion Task

The open-ended questionnaire consists of three questions which the respondents were instructed to read and respond to as if they were in the real situation. The questionnaire presumes that the respondents are in a home-stay family program and in three situations s/he is requested for something from a member of the host family. The requester's age differs in the three situation as they are older, the same age and younger than the respondent. The same questionnaire was given to the two groups. However, Malay students were assumed to be in a home-stay program with a Thai family and Thai students were told they were in a home-stay program with a Malay family (see the questionnaire in the appendix).

Coding scheme

After data collection, responses were codified based on a coding scheme (see appendix) of a refusal strategy adopted from Blum-Kulka, et al. (1990). This coding scheme has been used extensively in most refusal studies. However, based on the data elicited from the subjects of the study, the classification was modified and 3 more substrategies were added to the original classification.

Data analysis

The data were entered into SPSS for further descriptive and statistical analysis after they were collected and codified based on the classification of refusal strategies.

The descriptive analysis was conducted based on individual item responses on each participant's DCT. The following sections analyzed data for each situation.

Situation 1

Table 3 shows the results of the frequency of the number of strategies in situation 1. The strategies used by the two groups are as follows:

“On Sunday morning, your Thai-host mother comes and says to you the following:

Host mother: I'm going out with my friends today. I'll come back a little bit late tonight, so could you take care of my son for the day?”

1. Statement of Regret: The findings show that in situation 1 35.30% (n=18) of Malay respondents used a statement of regret while 27.45% (n=14) of the Thai respondents used a statement of regret. Some of the examples of the responses are as follows:

Malay responses:

e.g. *I'm sorry; I'm extremely sorry; I'm very sorry.*

Thai responses:

e.g. *I'm sorry; Sorry sis; Sorry brother.*

2. Non performative statement: Negative ability/willingness. 13.75% (n=7) of the Malay and Thai respondents used a strategy of negative willingness and ability in situation 1. Some of their responses are as follow:

Malay responses:

e.g. *I think I can't make it; I don't think I will be able to look after your child;*

Thai responses:

e.g. *I cannot take your son today; I can't manage to care of him.*

3. Excuse, reason, explanation: 37.25% (n=19) of Malay respondents used the strategy of presenting excuses, reasons and explanations to refuse the request while 35.30% (n=18) of their Thai counterparts used this strategy.

Malay responses:

e.g. *I have a group discussion with friends; I'm not really good at nursing a baby; I already have an appointment with a dentist.*

Thai responses:

e.g. *I have a lot of assignments I have to submit this week.*

4. Statement of Alternative / why don't you do X instead of Y: Among Thai respondents there was one instance of using a statement of Alternative by suggesting the "why don't you do X instead of Y" strategy..

Thai responses:

e.g. *Why don't you bring your son with you?*

5. Statement of Alternative/ solution, suggestion: This strategy was added to the original classification. Both Malay and Thai respondents showed one instance of the strategy of giving solutions and suggestions to refuse the request.

Malay responses:

e.g. *Why don't you take the child with you?*

Thai responses:

e.g. *If you don't think you can finish by tomorrow, I guess you'd better not go out with your friends.*

6. Promise of Future acceptance:

One Thai respondent used the strategy of promising future acceptance to refuse the request.

Thai responses:

e.g. *I will help you later.*

7. Alerters: This strategy was added to the original coding scheme. In situation 1 3.90% (n=2) of Malay respondents used alerters while 13.75% of their Thai counterparts used this strategy.

Malay responses:

e.g. *ma'am, dude*

Thai responses:

e.g. *Sis, mum, brother*

8. Adjunct to refusal: Statement of positive options, feelings or agreement: 7.85% (n=4) of Malay respondents used the strategy of statement of positive options, feelings or agreements in situation1 to refuse the request while Thai respondents used this strategy only twice.

Malay response:

e.g. *I would like to help, but I have an appointment with my supervisor.*

Thai response:

e.g. *Absolutely I really want to help you but.....*

Situation 2

Table 4 (see appendix C) shows the results of the strategies for the two groups of respondents.

“You are watching TV after school when your Thai-host sister (same age as you) comes in and asks you the following:

Host sister: I’m going out to see my friend but I have some homework that I don’t think I can finish by tomorrow. Could you finish it for me?”

The strategies elicited from the responses are as follows:

1. Statement of Regret: The findings show that in situation 2 22.55% (n=12) of Malaysian respondents used a statement of regret while 22.22% (n=12) of their Thai counterparts used this strategy.

2. Statement of Alternative/ solution, suggestion: In situation 2 12.75% (n=6) of Malay respondents used solution and suggestion to reject the refusal while 20.37% (n=11) of the Thai respondents used this strategy.

3. Statement of Alternative / why don’t you do X instead of Y: This strategy was used by 2.15% (n=1) of Malay respondents and by 3.70% (n=2) of Thai respondents.

4. Non performative statement: No: In situation 2 2.15% (n=1) of Malaysians used the non performative statement strategy by saying ‘no’ to refuse the request whereas 1.85% (n=1) of their Thai counterparts used this strategy.

5. Non performative statement: Negative ability/willingness: 21.25% (n=10) of Malay respondents used the negative ability or willingness strategy in situation 2 to refuse the request while 12.96% (n=7) of their Thai counterparts used this strategy.

6. Excuse, reason, explanation: The findings show that in situation 2 29.80% (n=14) of Malay respondents used excuses, reasons and explanations to refuse the request whereas 24.10% (n=13) of Thai respondents used this strategy.

7. Set of conditions for future acceptance: The findings show that 1.85% (n=1) of Thai respondents used the future acceptance strategy to refuse the request in situation2. Malay respondents didn’t resort to this strategy

Thai responses:

e.g. I would love to help you if I don’t have any exam paper tomorrow.

8. Criticize the request/ requester: In situation 2, 1.85% (n=1) of Thai respondents used criticizing the request/requester to refuse the request. There is no elicitation of this strategy among Malay respondents.

9. Alerters: The findings show that 6.35% (n=3) of Malay respondents used alerters in the situation whereas 9.25% (n=5) of Thai respondents used this strategy.

10: Statement of positive options, feelings or agreement: The findings show that only 1.85% (n=1) of Thai respondents used this strategy in the situation.

Situation 3

Table 5 (see appendix C) shows the results of the strategies for the two groups of respondents. The situation is as follows:

“Your Thai-host brother (5 years old) comes in and says the following:

Host brother: Hey, I’m building a plastic model airplane right now but I can’t do it very well. Can you help me? (You are not interested in building models.)”

The strategies elicited from the responses are as follows:

1. Statement of positive options, feelings or agreement: In this situation 6.25% (n=3) of Malay respondents used a statement of positive options, feelings or agreement to refuse the request while 6.25% of their Thai counterparts used this strategy.

2. Statement of Regret: 25% (n=12) of Malay respondents used statement of regret while 20.75% (n=11) of Thai respondents used this strategy.

3. Excuse, reason, explanation: The findings show that 37.5% (n=18) of Malay respondents used excuses, reasons or explanation to refuse the request while 26.40% (n=14) of Thai respondents used this strategy.

4. Non performative statement: Negative ability/willingness: 8.30% of Malay respondents expressed their negative ability or willingness to refuse the request whereas 7.55% of their Thai counterpart used this strategy.

5. Set condition for future acceptance: 2.10% (n=1) of Malay respondents used setting conditions for future acceptance. There is no elicitation of this strategy among Thai respondents.

6. Promise of future acceptance: Thai respondent promised to help the requester by accepting their request in future. There is no elicitation of this strategy among Malay respondents.

7. Statement of Alternative: solution, suggestion: 4.15% (n=2) of Malay respondents offered suggestions and gave solutions to refuse the request whereas 13.20% (n=7) of their Thai counterparts used this strategy.

8. Statement of Alternative: why don't you do X instead of Y: 2.10% (n=1) of Malay respondents used this strategy to refuse the request while 1.90% of Thai respondents used this strategy.

9. Alerters: The analysis of the data indicates that 12.5% (n=6) of Malay respondents used alerters in whereas 16.95% (n=9) of Thai respondents used this strategy.

10. Leave-taking: 1.90% of Thai respondents used leave-taking in this situation.

Thai responses:

e.g. see you. Bye-bye.

11. Adjunct-pause filler: The findings show that 1.90% (n=1) of Thai respondents used an adjunct-pause filler in this situation.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study has **attempted to highlight the strategies used among Malay and Thai university students when refusing a request** to someone older, someone the same age, and someone younger. With the small sample of subjects, it is not possible to make broad generalizations of the results that were mentioned earlier. Nevertheless, the results do provide a base for future studies.

The results of this study seem to reinforce the notion stated by Brown and Levinson (1987) that people cooperate in maintaining face in interactions. Refusals are face-threatening thus, these subjects employed indirect strategies when refusing a request. The preference for these indirect strategies, particularly the use of regret, explanation and alternatives could be explained by the subjects' tendency to politely mitigate the refusal to accept the request. However, it seems that subjects sensed that when refusing a request they needed to offer more than simply an apology, but an explanation as well, also showing willingness to rectify the matter by

suggesting alternatives in the form of solutions. This concern reflects the influence of their cultural background which is beyond the scope of the present study.

The use of direct strategies like 'no' was hardly ever employed by either of the groups. This can be explained, as indicated by Wannaruk (2008), because "The manner of avoiding saying 'no' is probably due to the fact that both groups consider the 'face' of the interlocutor of the most importance in an interaction (Brown and Levinson 1978). They do not want to hurt people's feelings or insult people by saying no". Instead both Malay and Thai subjects used 'negative ability'. Although 'negative ability' carries a degree of directness, it is less direct than 'no' in the respondents' opinions. They used 'negative ability' because they wanted to be direct, but were still able to sound polite. These linguistic forms, such as 'I don't think', 'maybe', and 'probably' are used to soften the illocutionary force of a statement (Félix- Brasdefer, 2006).

Therefore, in the light of the findings, there is no reason for concern regarding intercultural communication between Malay and Thai groups. For example, Thai students who study in Malaysia and interact with familiar local students and staff might not face a great chance of misunderstanding, miscommunication, and mismanagement since there are similarities in the perception of the strategies used when refusing requests.

Finally, this study indicates the possible impact and effect of culture on speech acts, in particular the face-threatening speech act of refusing requests. Though the results of the present study show more similarities than differences between the subjects under study, further research may provide us with a more global view of the cultural tendencies in the act of refusing requests among non native speakers like Thais and Malays.

References

- Barron, A. (2003). *Acquisition in Interlanguage Pragmatics : Learning how to do things with words in a study abroad context*: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Beebe, L. M., Takahashi, T., & Uliss-Weltz, R. (1990). Pragmatic transfer in ESL refusals. In R. C. Scarcella, E. S. Andersen & S. D. Krashen (Eds.), *Developing communicative competence* (pp. 55-73). New York: Newbury House.

- Blum-Kulka, S. (1982). Learning how to say what you mean in a second language: A study of speech act performance of learners of Hebrew as a second language. *Applied Linguistics*, 3(1), 29-59.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. (1978). Universals in language usage: Politeness phenomena. In E. Goody (Ed.), *Questions on politeness: Strategies in social interaction* (pp. 56-289): Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chen, H. J. (1996). *Cross-cultural comparison of English and Chinese metapragmatics in refusal*: Indiana University (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 408860).
- Chen, X., Lei Ye a, & Zhang, Y. (1995). Refusing in Chinese. In G. Kasper (Ed.), *Pragmatics of Chinese as Native and Target Language* (pp. 119-163). Manoa, HI: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Chen, X., Ye, L., & Zhang, Y. Y. (1995). Refusing in Chinese. In G. Kasper (Ed.), *Pragmatics of Chinese as Native and Target Language* (pp. 119-163). Manoa, HI: University of Hawaii Press.
- Ching Hei, K. (2009). Moves in Refusal: How Malaysians Say 'No'. *China Media Research*, 5(3), 31-44.
- Felix-Brasdefer, C. (2006). Linguistic politeness in Mexico: Refusal strategies among male speakers of Mexican Spanish. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38, 2158-2187.
- Gao, F. (2006). Language is Culture - On Intercultural Communication. *Journal of Language and Linguistics*, 5(1), 58-67.
- Gass, S., & Houck, N. (1999). *Interlanguage refusals: a cross-cultural study of Japanese-English*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Geyang, Z. (2007). A Pilot Study on Refusal to Suggestions in English by Japanese and Chinese EFL Learners. *Bull, Grad, School Educ. Hiroshima University. Part II*, (56), 155-163.
- Knapp, K., & Knapp-Potthoff, A. (1987). Instead of an introduction: Conceptual issues in analyzing intercultural communication. In K. Knapp, W. Enninger & A. Knapp-Potthoff (Eds.), *Analyzing Intercultural communication* (pp. 1-14). Berlin; New York; Amsterdam: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Liao, C.-c. (1994). *A study on the strategies, maxims, and development of refusal in Mandarin Chinese*. Taipei: Crane Publishing House.
- Lin, M.-X. (2008). Pragmatic Failure in Intercultural Communication and English Teaching in China. *China Media Research*, 4(3), 43-52.

- Morrow, C. (1995). *The pragmatic effects of instruction on ESL learners' production of complaint and refusal speech acts*. Ph.D. dissertation: State University of New York at Buffalo.
- Pinto, D. (2000). *Intercultural Communication: A Three-step Method for Dealing with Differences*: Garant.
- Rintell, E., & Mitchell, C. J. (1989). Studying requests and apologies: An enquiry into method. In S. Blum-Kulka, J. House & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies* (pp. 248-273). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2006). Sociolinguistics and Intercultural Communication. In U. Ammon, N. Dittmar, K. Mattheier & P. Trudgill (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics: An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society* (pp. 2537-2545): Walter de Gruyter.
- Takahashi, T., & Beebe, L. (1987). Development of pragmatic competence by Japanese Learners of English. *Journal of the Japan Association of Language Learners*, 8(2).
- Tanck, S. (2002). Speech Acts Sets of Refusal and Complaint: A Comparison of Native and Non-Native English Speakers' Production. Retrieved March 2nd, 2010, from <http://www.american.edu/tesol/Working%20Papers/wptanck.pdf>
- Wannaruk, A. (2008). Pragmatic Transfer in Thai EFL Refusals. *RELC Journal*, 39, 318-337.
- Yang, J. (2008). *How to Say 'No' in Chinese: A Pragmatic Study of Refusal Strategies in Five TV Series*: Proceedings of the 20th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL-20). Volume 2. Edited by Marjorie K.M. Chan and Hana Kang. (pp.1041-1058) Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University.

Accepted for publication on 1 October 2010.

Марјам Фарниа и Хиба Кусај Абдул Сатар

Сајенс универзитет, Малезија

КОМУНИКАЦИЈА ИЗМЕЂУ РАЗЛИЧИТИХ КУЛТУРА: ОДБИЈАЊЕ МОЛБИ НА ПРИМЕРУ МАЛЕЗИЈСКИХ И ТАЈЛАНДСКИХ СТУДЕНАТА

Сажетак

Чланак се бави испитивањем комуникације између припадника различитих култура (малезијских и тајландских студената Сајенс универзитета у Малезији) на примеру говорних чинова одбијања. У фокусу је питање: које су сличности и разлике између Малежана и Тајланђана у вези са коришћењем стратегија одбијања молби. Корпус сачињавају одговори на упитник отвореног типа а у вези са три различите ситуације. Главни циљ испитивања је да се скицирају префериране језичке реализације и стратегије које се користе при одбијању молбе упућене од стране старијих, млађих или говорника исте старосне доби. Корпус је анализиран и класификован према таксономији коју су разрадили Бебе, Такахаши и Улис-Велц (1990). Презентована је и фреквенција употребе. Резултати показују варијације у фреквенцији и садржају с обзиром на фактор старосне доби. Ово истраживање подржава чињеницу да говорни чинови имају јак културолошки набој и да њихово разумевање може отежати или олакшати комуникацију између говорника који припадају различитим културама.

Кључне речи: међукултурна комуникација, говорни чин, говорни чин одбијања, дискурс

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Classification of Refusal

I- Direct

- A. Performative (e.g., “I refuse”)
- B. Non-performative statement
 1. “No”
 2. Negative willingness/ability (“I can’t.” “I won’t.” “I don’t think so.”)

II- Indirect

- A. Statement of regret (e.g., "I'm sorry...", "I feel terrible...")
- B. Wish (e.g., "I wish I could help you....")
- C. Excuse, reason, explanation (e.g., "My children will be home that night."; "I have a headache.")
- D. Statement of alternative
 - 1. I can do X instead of Y (e.g., "I'd rather do..." "I'd prefer")
 - 2. Why don't you do X instead of Y (e.g., "Why don't you ask someone else?")
- E. Set condition for future or past acceptance (e.g., "If you had asked me earlier, I would have...")
- F. Promise of future acceptance (e.g., "I'll do it next time"; "I promise I'll..." or "Next time I'll..."- using "will" of promise or "promise")
- G. Statement of principle (e.g., "I never do business with friends.")
- H. Statement of philosophy (e.g., "One can't be too careful.")
- I. Attempt to dissuade interlocutor
 - 1. Threat or statement of negative consequences to the requester (e.g., "I won't be any fun tonight" to refuse an invitation)
 - 2. Guilt trip (e.g., waitress to customers who want to sit a while: "I can't make a living off people who just order coffee.")
 - 3. Criticize the request/requester, etc. (statement of negative feeling or opinion); insult/attack (e.g., "Who do you think you are?"; "That's a terrible idea!")
 - 4. Request for help, empathy, and assistance by dropping or holding the request.
 - 5. Let interlocutor off the hook (e.g., "Don't worry about it." "That's okay." "You don't have to.")
 - 6. Self-defense (e.g., "I'm trying my best." "I'm doing all I can.")
- J. Acceptance that functions as a refusal
 - 1. Unspecific or indefinite reply
 - 2. Lack of enthusiasm
- K. Avoidance
 - 1. Nonverbal
 - a. Silence
 - b. Hesitation
 - c. Do nothing
 - d. Physical departure

2. Verbal
 - a. Topic switch
 - b. Joke
 - c. Repetition of part of request, etc. (e.g., “Monday?”)
 - d. Postponement (e.g., “I’ll think about it.”)
 - e. Hedging (e.g., “Gee, I don’t know.” “I’m not sure.”)

Adjuncts to refusals

1. Statement of positive opinions/feeling or agreement (“That’s a good idea...”; “I’d love to...”)
2. Statement of empathy (e.g., “I realize you are in a difficult situation.”)
3. Pause filler (e.g., “uhh”; “well”; “uhm”)
4. Gratitude/appreciation

Appendix 2: Questionnaire

This questionnaire was given to Malay respondents. The questionnaire for Thai respondents was alike except for the Thai which replaced with Malay in the open-ended questionnaire.

- Respondents’ biodata:

1. Gender:
2. Age:.....
3. Level of study: Degree, Master, Doctorate, other :.....
4. Native language:.....
5. How difficult do you find English?

Very difficult ☐ Difficult ☐ Of average difficulty ☐

Of less than average difficulty ☐ Not difficult ☐

6. How would you rate your present knowledge of English?

Near-native ☐ Very good ☐ Good Fair ☐

Poor ☐ Very poor ☐

Dear respondent,

There are three situations described below. Please read the description of each situation and write what you say if you want to REFUSE their request. Please write down what you would say in that situation. Respond as you

would in actual conversation. Please note that you are an International student living with a home-stay family in Thailand.

1. On Sunday morning, your Thai-host mother comes and says to you the following:

Host mother: I'm going out with my friends today. I'll come back a little bit late tonight, so could you take care of my son for the day?

You:

2. You are watching TV after school when your Thai-host sister (same age as you) comes in and asks you the following:

Host sister: I'm going out to see my friend but I have some homework that I don't think I can finish by tomorrow. Could you finish it for me?

You:

3. Your Thai-host brother (5 years old) comes in and says the following:

Host brother: Hey, I'm building a plastic model airplane right now but I can't do it very well. Can you help me? (You are not interested in building models).

Appendix C: Tables

	Malay respondents		Thai respondents	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Very difficult	0	0.0%	1	5.0%
Difficult	3	15.0%	2	10.0%
Of average difficulty	9	45.0%	9	45.0%
Of less than average difficulty	5	25.0%	2	10.0%
Not difficult	3	15.0%	6	30.0%

Table 1: Respondents' self evaluation of their language proficiency

	Malay respondents		Thai respondents	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Near native	2	10.0%	0	0.0%
Very good	0	0.0%	3	15.0%
Good	11	55.0%	10	50.0%
Fair	7	35.0%	6	30.0%
Poor	0	0.0%	1	5.0%

Table 2: Respondents' evaluation of their language proficiency

	Malaysian respondents		Thai respondents	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Statement of Regret	18	35.30%	14	27.45%
Non performative statement: Negative ability/willingness	7	13.75%	7	13.75%
Excuse, reason, explanation	19	37.25%	18	35.30%
Statement of Alternative / why don't you do X instead of Y	0	0%	1	1.95%
Statement of Alternative/ solution, suggestion	1	1.95%	1	1.95%
Promise of Future acceptance	0	0%	1	1.95%
Alerters	2	3.90%	7	13.75%
Adjunct to refusal: Statement of positive options, feelings or agreement	4	7.85%	2	3.90%
Total	51	100%	51	100%

Table 3. Respondents' choice of strategy in situation 1

	Malaysian respondents		Thai respondents	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Statement of Regret	12	25.55%	12	22.22%
Statement of Alternative/ solution, suggestion	6	12.75%	11	20.37%
Statement of Alternative / why don't you do X instead of Y	1	2.15%	2	3.70%
Non performative statement: No	1	2.15%	1	1.85%
Non performative statement: Negative ability/willingness	10	21.25%	7	12.96%
Excuse, reason, explanation	14	29.80%	13	24.10%
Set condition for future acceptance	0	0%	1	1.85%
Criticize the request/ requester	0	0%	1	1.85%
Alerters	3	6.35%	5	9.25%
Statement of positive options, feelings or agreement	0	0%	1	1.85%
Total	47	100%	54	100%

Table 4. Respondents' choice of strategy in situation 2

	Malaysian respondents		Thai respondents	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Statement of Regret	12	25%	11	20.75%
Excuse, reason, explanation	18	37.5%	14	26.40%
Non performative statement: Negative ability/willingness	4	8.30%	4	7.55%
Set condition for future acceptance	1	2.10%	0	.0%
Promise of future acceptance	0	0%	1	1.90%
Statement of Alternative: solution, suggestion	2	4.15%	7	13.20%
Statement of Alternative: why don't you do X instead of Y	1	2.10%	1	1.90%
Alerters	6	12.5%	9	16.95%
Leave-taking	0	.0%	1	1.90%
Statement of positive options, feelings or agreement	4	8.35 %	4	7.50%
Adjunct-pause filler	0	0%	1	1.90%
Total	48	100%	53	100%

Table 5. Respondents' choice of strategy in situation 3

Ivana Trbojević Milošević
University of Belgrade, Serbia

LEARNING THROUGH CONTRASTING: STUDENTS' PROJECTS AT THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH, FACULTY OF PHILOLOGY IN BELGRADE

Abstract

The 2006/2007 generation of students, the first one to have taken the reformed course of studies at the English Department, Faculty of Philology in Belgrade graduated in June 2010. They are also the first generation of students of contrastive and corpus linguistics course not to have written traditional seminar papers individually, but have engaged in team effort and research of certain linguistic topics relying on the methods of contrastive and corpus linguistics. In this paper, I shall present the principles behind the decision to introduce this change in the curriculum, the aims of the project work, the actual implementation of those aims and the results of the students' efforts.

Key words: Bologna Declaration, contrastive linguistics, corpus linguistics, reformed curriculum, students' mini-projects

1. Background: the problems. Since 1929, when the English Department at Belgrade University was founded, the curriculum has undergone fourteen, more or less substantial reforms. The last one that followed in the wake of Serbia's official adoption of the Bologna Declaration principles (in September 2003) and the new High Education Law (July 2005), was long called for, although it definitely ran a risk of being too challenging. Certainly, it could have been carried out by formally introducing and adopting the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS) and by physically dividing the

existing syllabi into a number of one-semester courses, which might have happened elsewhere. However, at the English Department of the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade, the requirement that was formally imposed by the state education policy and laws was felt and seen as a welcome chance to reassess and re-evaluate the existing curriculum - to carry out, in a way, a SWOT analysis and introduce changes in the curriculum with the objective to offer a modern, flexible and relevant model of academic studies. Although there had been attempts at modernizing the assessment system before, such as the introduction of 'counting-towards-the-exam' colloquiums at all four years of study, we still lacked a supportive reference frame that could only be provided by the state (Trbojević, Rasulić and Jovanović: 2008).

The problems we were confronted with and that we felt needed addressing on a structural level were numerous. The last curricular reform had been carried out in the second half of eighties and though it had a favourable structure, its potential had never been utilized to the full: for example, the subjects indexed as *special courses* left plenty of room for the introduction of flexible, elective courses, but somehow that concept had not been exploited. On the other hand, the amount of content in the existing courses kept growing over the years/decades, and while that was a natural consequence of the scientific and academic disciplines' growth, it nevertheless aggravated students' workload. In some courses the amount of material to be covered became rather insurmountable, which resulted in ever worsening quality of student performance and output, leading to a formation of 'bottle-necks' in the exams.

Apart from the academic side of the problem, there also loomed the practical one: did the content of our academic courses and their structure actually prepare the students for the market challenges that awaited them after graduation? How realistic was it to expect that they meet the competitive market requirements and demands? The statistics were quite disheartening: in 2003, the official data showed that over 40% of English teachers in elementary schools did not have the necessary qualifications, which meant that our graduates did not go to teaching jobs, but rather to more attractive jobs in trade and commerce, marketing, media, diplomacy, etc. So, without forgetting the importance of those subjects that provided pre-service training for our students, we had to balance it with more training in translation and interpreting skills, communications, specific purposes, cultural studies, etc.

2. How it all came together. The curricular reform whose implementation started in 2006/2007 was described in detail in Rasulić & Trbojević 2007. At this point, an example of how a particular course was treated and adapted to answer the requirements of the new curriculum will be given. The course in question is the Contrastive Analysis of English and Serbian which has, *in continuo*, been taught at the Department for thirty years (since 1979/1980). The aim of the course has been to introduce the students to the principles of language comparison within a synchronic frame in order to draw the similarities and differences between them. The practical aim was to develop awareness of differences necessary both for teaching, curriculum design, test design, etc., and translation practice. At least declaratively, one of the 'high-level' aims was to help students develop cross-cultural competences, understood as a set of cognitive, behavioural and affective components enabling them to get around successfully in intercultural settings.

In order to achieve all that, the students were first given the theoretical input in Contrastive Linguistics/Analysis, then they were presented with descriptions of both English and Serbian, and in their practical classes they did a thorough micro-linguistic analysis of chosen corpus of parallel examples in English and Serbian. Actually, the micro-linguistic analysis of decontextualized language material turned out to be the bottom line of the course. As said above, the course had been developed over almost 30 years, and its content had become huge. Eventually, it was clear that 15 weeks per semester and 4 periods per week were not enough, and the students needed up to intimidating 450-500 hours to prepare for the exam.

When such results were viewed in the context of other subjects, i.e. those dealing with the levels of linguistic analysis and the contemporary language courses, it became clear that our students' competences still remained at rather 'lifeless level', and it was not what we wanted to see as the 'end product' of the four-year study cycle.

As for the massive Contrastive Analysis Course, we decided to break it into three courses: Descriptive grammar 1, Descriptive grammar 2, and Contrastive linguistics with the Introduction to Corpus linguistics; given the fact that language description was a prerequisite for contrasting, we introduced two courses in Descriptive Grammar in the first and the second years of study. The first-year course covers the description of the Noun Phrase in English, whereas the second year course deals with the description of the Verb Phrase. In the first year students also have a mandatory course

in Phonology and Phonetics, in the second year they get acquainted with English Morphology and in the third year they have a mandatory course in English Syntax.

By the time they reach their fourth year of studies, our students have already gone through a high-level integrated skills training in their Contemporary English courses, which also means elaborately graded procedures aimed at developing both speaking and writing skills. In the fourth year, choices get ampler for the students: depending on their affinities, they take up elective courses from four different modules: linguistic, applied linguistic, literature and cultural studies.

The entire setting at that point provides an environment favourable for introducing the third 'derivative' of the former CA course: the Contrastive Linguistics with an Introduction to Corpus Linguistics. The aims of the course apparently remained the same: to raise future language specialists' awareness of possible issues, problems and difficulties which may arise in language contacts due to the similarities, contrasts and differences between English and Serbian at different levels, including pragmatic and cultural; to equip the future language specialists with necessary academic, methodological and technical knowledge and skills that would allow them to carry out basic research.

The course lasts two semesters (60 hours of lectures and 60 hours of interactive practical classes). The first semester introduces students to basic theoretical concepts underlying contrastive analysis (such as comparability, correspondence, equivalence and translation equivalence, *tertium comparationis*, language universals etc.); the practical classes are mostly used for discussion of recommended literature and exemplification of certain analytical procedures in contrasting. After the first semester, the students take a mid-year colloquium. In the second semester, they get acquainted with the basic notions and principles of corpus linguistics (types of corpora, representativeness, principles of compiling, concordancing, tagging, etc.). Also, certain language segments are chosen for description and contrasting. In practical classes, students get acquainted with some commercially available corpora (such as the British National Corpus) and practise basic searches and analytic procedures on the chosen language segment. At the end of the second semester, they take end-of-the-year colloquium.

However, what represents a real innovation in this course and actually the rounding-up of a number of courses described and mentioned above is

the project work which students are required to carry out, write a paper on and report about at the end of the school year (during the last two weeks of May). The Project Themes are distributed at the beginning of the second semester and students are given a couple of weeks' time to think, choose and get organized into teams of four. Depending on the theme, they are either required to compile their own corpora of examples for analysis, or they use the BNC.

For the purposes of illustration, here are the Project Themes for the year 2009/2010¹:

1. Syntactic Characteristics of Headlines in English and Serbian Daily Papers
2. The Present Simple Tense and the Present Progressive in English and Their Equivalent Forms in Serbian (Quality Weeklies Corpus)
3. The Use of Passive in English and Serbian Legal Texts
4. Light Verb Constructions in English and Serbian Legal Texts
5. Modals in English and Serbian Daily Press
6. Epistemic Modal Meanings in Written Political Discourse in English and Serbian
7. Deontic Modal Meanings in English and Serbian (Women Magazines Corpus)
8. Gender of Animation in English Prose and Poetry : Translation Problems
9. Compounding in A. Roy's *The God of Small Things* and the Equivalent Forms in Its Serbian Translation
10. Types of Errors in the Translation of Harry Potter into Serbian

The students started working on their Projects the beginning of March. Throughout the process, they regularly came for consultations once a week, when they reported on their progress, asked for feedback and guidance. At the very beginning, each team was given a prepared minimal list of recommended reading, and they were also encouraged to do research for additional reading themselves. As they progressed, they also sent in their drafts through e-mail and got written feedback. Once the final draft was approved, they prepared it as a final paper (30-50 pages) which they handed in two days before the presentation in class. Each team

¹ Most of the Project Themes were based on the language segments that had previously been discussed and analyzed in class.

was allotted 20 minutes for presentation and 10 minutes for discussion². All students/teams were assessed and graded on both components of the Project: the written paper and presentation skills.

3. One thing leads to another. The idea behind the Students' Projects was to streamline their studies in the final year towards development of cross-cultural competences in the environment that in their chosen professions (whether they become teachers, interpreters, translators, media people or diplomats) would inevitably be intercultural³. In line with that, the students were actually given the power and responsibility of (almost) independent contrastive research with multiple aims:

1) consolidate and use knowledge and skills acquired in the previous academic courses, such as morphology, syntax, descriptive grammar, semantics, knowledge about Anglo-Saxon literature and cultures;

2) work towards their own discovery of those aspects of Anglo-American cultures which are not overt and immediate, such as pragmatic patterns and subtleties;

3) work towards acquiring and developing academic skills such as analytical and reasoning skills, inferencing and summarizing.

4. Benefits and challenges. The benefits, according to the results we got at the end of the school year, were many: in view of 1), the students had to go back to what they learnt in the Descriptive Grammar Courses in the first two years of their studies⁴; they also had to activate their knowledge of various forms of syntactic analysis (Fig.1) and morphology (Fig.2)

² The students already had experience with oral presentations, which are mandatory part of the Contemporary English courses and are amply used in literature and cultural studies courses.

³ 'Intercultural' meaning not only multilingual, national or ethnic, but also in the sense in which it refers to different cultures within one language (i.e. academic culture, youth culture, professional culture, company culture etc.)

⁴ As one of the student's put it in her written comment of the course: 'It suddenly got a completely new sense, all that trouble with grammar.'

1. Verbal headlines

- **Finite verb phrases**
The battle for libel reform has only begun (The Guardian 02 Apr, 2010)
- **Non-finite verb phrases**
Getting Out (The NY Times 28 Apr, 2010)
- **Headlines with auxiliary omitted**
Polish President Killed in Plane Crash in Russia (The NY Times 10 Apr, 2010)
- **Complementation**
Failure Is Not an Option (The NY Times 28 Apr, 2010)
- **Subject adverbial headlines**
Uncertainty ahead of today's inflation figures (The Guardian 23 Mar, 2010)

Fig. 1 A slide from a presentation on Project Theme 1.

schoolteacher-shaped	→	u obliku učiteljice
house-shaped	→	u obliku kuće
a frog-shaped	→	u obliku žabe
squashed frog-shaped	→	u obliku pregažene žabe
squashed crow-shaped	→	u obliku pregažene vrane
chef-shaped	→	u obliku kuvarске kape
black cat-shaped holes in the	→	crne rupe u Vasioni u obliku
Universe		crne mačke
finger-coloured	→	boje prstiju
tea-coloured puddles	→	barice boje čaja
honey-coloured	→	boje meda
beach-coloured	→	boje peska
cabbage-green	→	zelen kao kupus
vinegar-hearted	→	srca kiselog kao sirće
snot-coloured	→	sivkast kao slina
lightening-quick	→	munjeviti
child-sized	→	dečiji
pus-filled	→	gnojavi
soap-bubbled	→	sapunjava
nylon lace-curtained doorway	→	čipkane sintetičke zavese
ivory-handled	→	sa drškom od slonovače
serpent-headed	→	sa zmijskim glavama
fountain-haired	→	s palmicom na glavi
lemon-flavoured	→	sa ukusom limuna

Fig. 2 A slide from a presentation on Project Theme 9

Some of the Project Themes led our students to recognize the importance of integrating knowledge about different disciplines, and their research had to be done literally *across* the curriculum. The students who researched the Project Theme 3, *The Gender of Animation on English Prose and Poetry: Translation Problems* threaded their way through and across linguistics, literature and translation theory (Fig.3)

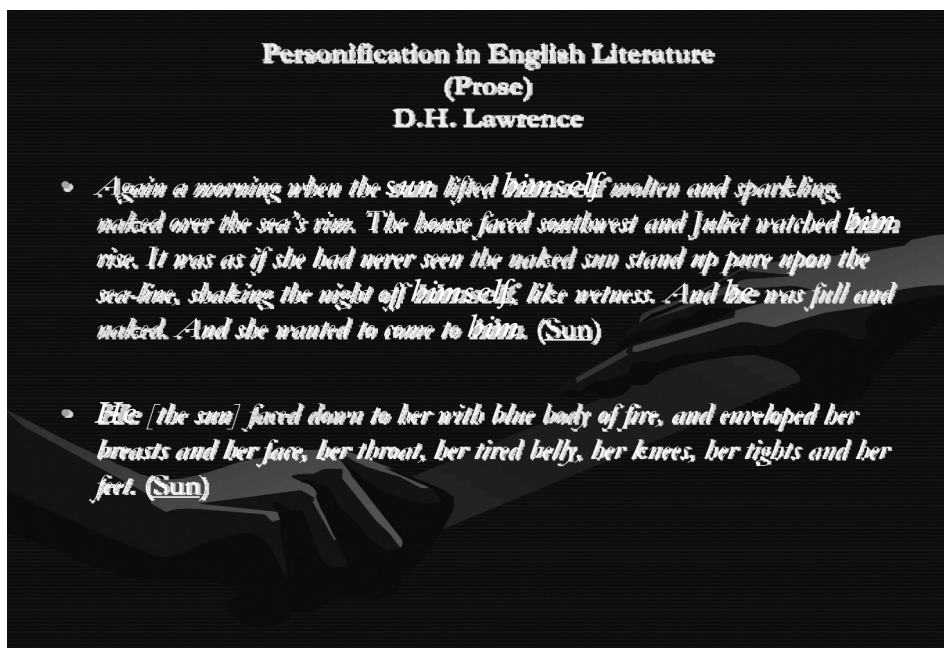


Fig. 3 A slide from a presentation on Project Theme 8.

In terms of putting theoretical knowledge to practical use, the students had a chance to develop technical skills such as language sampling and corpus compiling, contrasting of relatively large corpora of examples (Fig.4); they were also required to exemplify and interpret, as well as to synthesize and present results as quantitative data (Fig.5) followed by qualitative interpretations (Fig.6).

■ **CORPUS**

- 500 English headlines and 500 Serbian headlines
- Relies on the information obtained from the internet
- Covers a brief period of time:
 - Serbian headlines: February 15 – May 20, 2010
 - English Headlines: March 23 – May 15, 2010
- Serbian Daily Papers: Blic (55), Press(120), Политика(90), Вечерње новости (105), 24sata(30)
- English Daily Papers: The Telegraph (90), The Guardian (85), The Independent (62), The Morning Star (60), The Daily Express (3), The New York Times (200)

Fig. 4 A slide from a presentation on Project Theme 1.

Another benefit lies in the fact that the students had to resort to all the writing skills they had developed up to that point and focus on developing academic writing skills in particular: they had to recognize the specificity of academic style (register), they had to show an ability to define and outline the scope and parameters of their research ; they were expected to be able to clearly set their objectives, and break the research and writing processes into stages, which required not only good organization in thinking all the way through the processes (Fig.7) but also called for team organization skills, building and maintaining group dynamics , distributing workload between the team members and working on interpersonal culture and team ethos.

Another important benefit drawn from the project work is that the students managed to put contrastive analysis in an adequate perspective: for years, the students somehow maintained the idea that contrastive analysis is a micro-linguistic discipline, instead of seeing it as a powerful methodological principle applicable at any level of micro/macro analysis. The teams who investigated pragmatic issues on the press/media corpus found their results revealing of certain aspects of both Anglo and Serbian

cultures of which they have not been aware before, such as the pragmatic strength and pervasiveness of deontic modality in magazines for women.

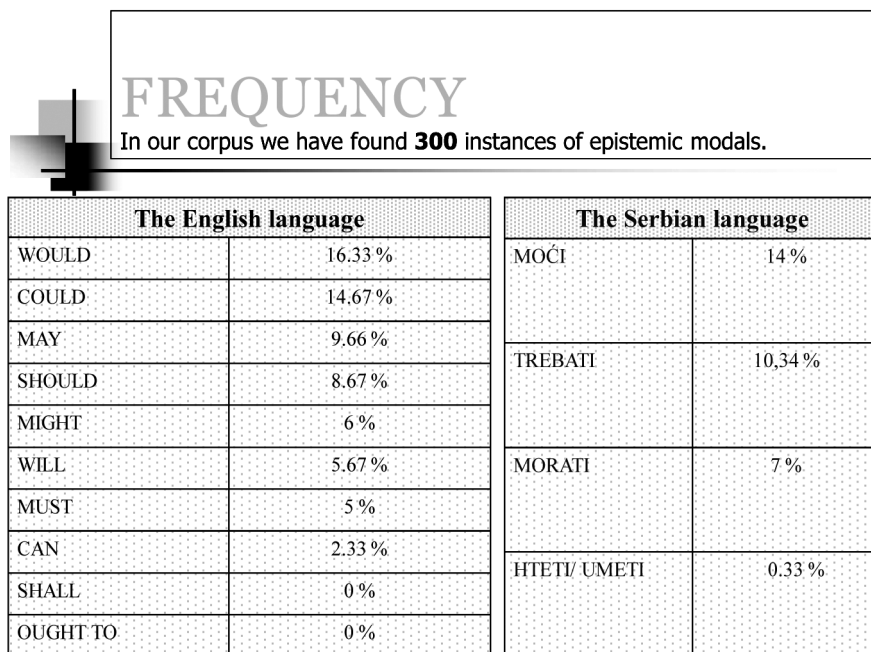
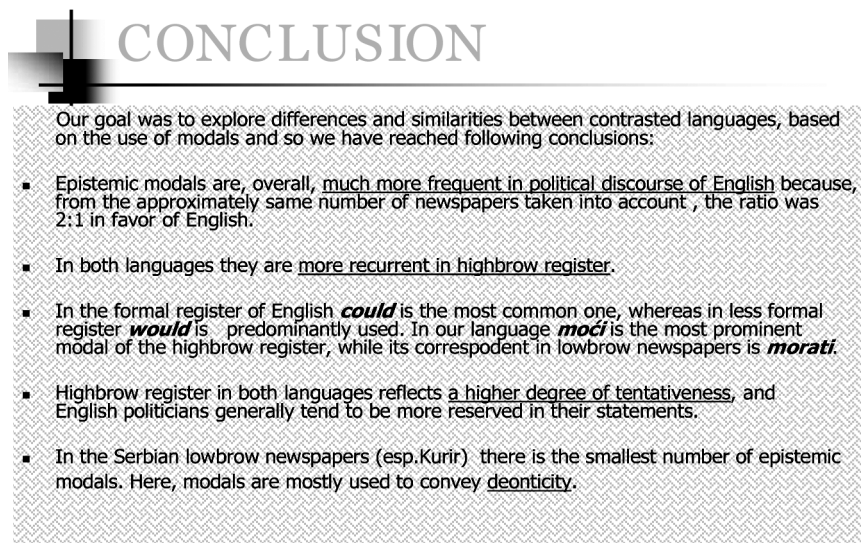


Fig. 5 A slide from a presentation on Project Theme 6.

What most of the students pointed as the greatest benefit of all, was that they had a chance to tackle *real language* as it is used in *real life*, which focused their interest on the issues of language usage and functional diversity.



CONCLUSION

Our goal was to explore differences and similarities between contrasted languages, based on the use of modals and so we have reached following conclusions:

- Epistemic modals are, overall, much more frequent in political discourse of English because, from the approximately same number of newspapers taken into account, the ratio was 2:1 in favor of English.
- In both languages they are more recurrent in highbrow register.
- In the formal register of English ***could*** is the most common one, whereas in less formal register ***would*** is predominantly used. In our language ***moći*** is the most prominent modal of the highbrow register, while its correspondent in lowbrow newspapers is ***morati***.
- Highbrow register in both languages reflects a higher degree of tentativeness, and English politicians generally tend to be more reserved in their statements.
- In the Serbian lowbrow newspapers (esp. Kurir) there is the smallest number of epistemic modals. Here, modals are mostly used to convey deonticity.

Fig. 6 A slide from a presentation on Project Theme 10.

Challenges, of course, were and are many: team work, although it has a number of advantages, certainly has its drawbacks when it comes to assessment – since the paper mark is ‘shared’ by all members of the team, and even in best will one can hardly say that all students take exactly the same credit for the success of the paper. However, I am convinced that the benefits, those listed above as well as those of psychological nature surpass this disadvantage.

Teacher workload and responsibility are immense: the implementation and monitoring of students’ projects requires meticulous preparation – starting with the choice of project themes, over the preparation of recommended reading for the teams, careful preparation and planning for consultations, all the way to reading students papers and providing adequate feedback to help them edit their work. However, the reward is also great: the quality of the work they produce at the end of the process, their feeling of achievement and satisfaction with their accomplishment are certainly hard to top.

References

- Katz, A. (2008). Changing the culture of assessment: Redefining proficiency. In: *ELLSSAC Proceedings – International Conference English Language and Literature Studies: Structures across Cultures*, Volume I (eds K. Rasulić, I. Trbojević), Belgrade: Faculty of Philology, pp. 615-629.
- Rasulić, K. i I. Trbojević /prir./ (2004). *Katedra za anglistiku: 75 godina rada*. Beograd: Filološki fakultet.
- Rasulić, K. i I. Trbojević (2007). Povratak u budućnost: reformisani studijski program Katedre za anglistiku Filološkog fakulteta u Beogradu. U: *Zbornik radova sa Interkatedarske konferencije povodom 35 godina postojanja Filozofskog fakulteta u Nišu* (ur. Lopičić, Vi B. Mišić-Ilić), Niš: Filozofski fakultet, str. 407-422
- Trbojević, I., Rasulić, K. and A. Jovanović (to appear in 2010) A Bridge Through Bologna: the revised programme of academic studies at the Department of English at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade within the European academic space. Paper presented at the Conference to mark the 50th Anniversary of the English Department at 'Blaže Koneski' Faculty of Philology, Skopje, Macedonia. September 2008.

Accepted for publication on 1 October 2010.

Ивана Трбојевић Милошевић

УЧЕЊЕ КРОЗ КОНТРАСТИРАЊЕ: СТУДЕНТСКИ ПРОЈЕКТИ НА КАТЕДРИ ЗА ЕНГЛЕСКИ ЈЕЗИК ФИЛОЛОШКОГ ФАКУЛТЕТА У БЕОГРАДУ

Сажетак

Генерација студената уписана школске 2006/2007 године је прва која је студирала по реформисаном програму Катедре за енглески језик и књижевност. Ова генерација је завршила студије у јуну 2010. Године, а истовремено је и прва генерација студената на курсу Контрастивна лингвистика са Уводом у корпусну лингвистику која није писала традиционалне семинарске радове, већ је учествовала у тимском раду на мини-пројектима у оквиру којих су тимови студената истраживали одређе-

не лингвистичке теме ослањајући се на методолошке принципе контрастивне и корпусне лингвистике. У овом раду су презентовани принципи на којима се базирала одлука о уношењу овакве промене у наставни програм, циљеви рада на пројектима, имплементација тих циљева, као и резултати студентских истраживачких напора.

Кључне речи: Болоњска декларација, контрастивна лингвистика, корпусна лингвистика, реформисани програм, студентски мини-пројекти

Milica Stojanović
University of Belgrade, Serbia

HORTUS CONCLUSUS: A VISUAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS BASED ON A CRITICAL LITERACY APPROACH TO EDUCATION

Abstract

Some form of critical literacy seems to have become essential to all students today, irrespective of where they are studying, at what level, or what their academic field is. Indeed, in even greater need of developing their critical literacy abilities appear to be students of the Humanities for it is in these areas of study that some critical, cultural and historical perspectives are constantly being re-examined, reassessed, deconstructed and reconstructed in accordance with our age/postmodern/modern theories. By way of illustration, and taking as its premise the assumption that all knowledge is, at least to a certain extent, ideological and related to power, this paper attempts, within the theoretical framework of critical literacy, an analysis of a specific visual discourse relevant to art history studies – the iconography of *Hortus Conclusus* (Enclosed Garden). Methodologically speaking, the benefits from this kind of approach could be manifold. Students are and feel empowered to critically acquire/deconstruct/reconstruct knowledge in specific *content areas* – a fact which in itself provides higher *motivation* in an EAP class (they are primarily focused on gaining knowledge in English rather than that of/about English). All the stages of the above demonstrated process are conducted in English, which gives the teacher an excellent opportunity to cater for the students' specific needs (e.g. employ concept and semantic mapping and other vocabulary-building strategies relevant to their fields of study). The approach also appears to raise the students' overall awareness of language and stimulate an analytical interest in etymology, semantics and semiotics as well as in the nature, purpose and workings of language in general.

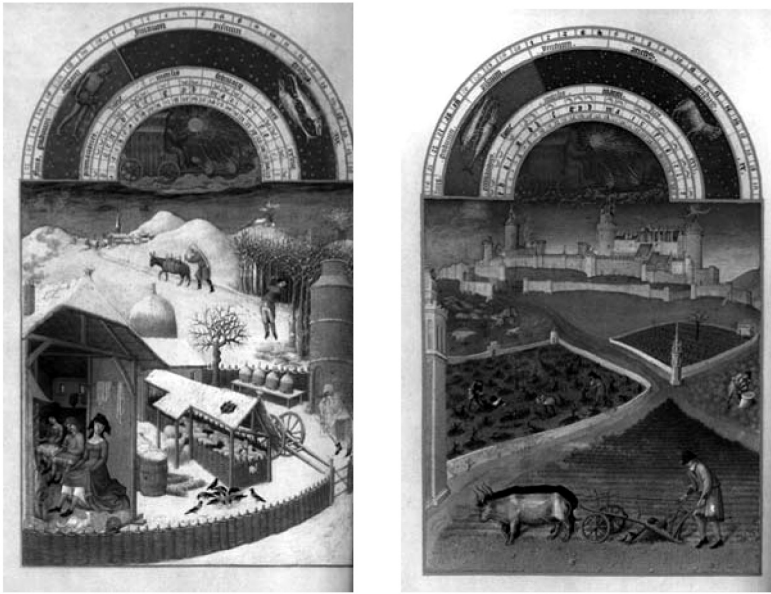
Key words: critical literacy, visual discourse analysis, Hortus Conclusus, deconstruction, reconstruction, EAP teaching, content areas, motivation, language awareness

Within the theoretical framework of a *critical literacy approach to education* (Behrman 2006), (Cervetti et al. 2001), (Gregory & Cahill 2009) etc., and drawing on some post-modernist and post-structuralist discourse analysis practices, this paper seeks to demonstrate a practice of a visual discourse analysis, in this particular case – of a mediaeval painting, the subject field of art history students to whom the author teaches English at the Belgrade Faculty of the Humanities/Philosophy. Just like any other deconstructive/reconstructive process, the event itself is unrepeatable and unique. According to Derrida (1985:3), “deconstruction takes place, it is an event”. Therefore, this particular analysis merely offers some guidelines/ideas for conducting a similar practice in the classroom.

GARDEN (OE) *geard* – yard, garth (Guralnik1988:556);
GARDEN c.1300, from O.N.Fr. *gardin*, from VL. *hortus gardinus*
“enclosed garden,” via Frank. **gardo*, from P.Gmc. **gardon* (cf.
O.Fris. *garda*, O.H.G. *garto*, Ger. *Garten* “garden,” O.E. *geard*
“enclosure,” see *yard*. (Harper 2010).

The two words from which the modern *garden* is derived – *yard* and *garth* are both associated with an *enclosed space* – a place surrounded by a wall which protects those within from intruders and the inquisitive eyes of those without. The wall ensures that no one steals the owners’ vegetables or flowers, spoils their pleasure, shares in their enjoyment. Thus, whether it serves the purpose of healing and sustenance, rest and spiritual refuge/prayer (e.g. monastic herb gardens) or sensual enjoyment and dalliance, the value of the garden is in its privacy, seclusion and inaccessibility. Whatever lies inside the perimeters of the garden has to be watched over and closely *guarded* in the face of potential adversity outside.

In mediaeval times, when the garden we shall be examining here was created, the farmland attached to a castle was also bounded by a kind of *fence*, as is shown in these beautiful early 15th century illuminations by the Limbourg brothers (*Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*), whose authority we shall invoke later again. The etymology of *fence* may be here of interest too:



February and March from Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry, c. 1416, by the Limbourg brothers - Paul, Jean and Herman - Musee Conde, Chantilly, France.

FENCE (n.) early 14c., shortening of *defens* (see *defense*). Spelling alternated between -c- and -s- in M.E. Sense of “enclosure” is first recorded in 1510s. *Fencible* (early 14c.) means “capable of making a defense.” Fencing (n.) late 15c., “defending;” 1580s in the sword-fighting sense; prp. of *fence*(v.). Meaning “putting up fences” is from 1620s; that of “an enclosure” is from 1580s (Harper 2010).

However, the *Little Garden of Paradise* (by an unknown, Upper Rhenish Master c. 1410) is not merely fenced-in but set within solid walls of a real/imaginary castle, shielding the tranquil world within from the reality/frequent wars, violence and disease without. The garden also protects its dwellers against other forms of otherness/reality, but more on this later. The paradisiacal scene, along with many similar ones created in the Middle Ages/early Renaissance, is interpreted as *Hortus Conclusus* – a common, though relatively short-lived iconographic theme in Western European painting.



Little Garden of Paradise (by an unknown, Upper Rhenish Master c. 1410)
Stadelsches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt am Main

The term *hortus conclusus* is derived from the Vulgate Bible's *Canticle of Canticles* (also called the *Song of Songs* or *Song of Solomon*) 4:12, in Lat: *Hortus conclusus soror mea, sponsa, hortus conclusus, fons signatus* ('A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse; a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up'). Christianity reinterpreted what was originally construed by some scholars as Solomon's nuptial song to his bride as the love and union between Christ and the Church. Furthermore, the verse "Thou art all fair, my love; there is no spot in thee." (4:7) from the *Song* was seen as a scriptural confirmation of the doctrine of Mary's Immaculate Conception, i.e. of her being born without Original Sin (*macula* – Lat. 'spot'). Medieval theologians interpreted the reference as a prefiguration of Mary's fruitfulness combined with her perpetual virginity (like the 'shut gate', *Porta clausa*, through which only God may enter, from the vision of Ezekiel). The symbolism was developed by numerous artists and inspired, especially in later medieval art, images of the Madonna and Child seated in a beautiful garden, often abounding in trees and flowers and surrounded by walls. Sometimes a fountain (the 'spring shut up', 'fountain sealed' 'well of living waters') from the *Song* of

Songs and angels were also represented. Mary is occasionally depicted in the company of a unicorn – another symbol of her purity. In late medieval art, this depiction was sometimes conflated with that of the Annunciation, which explains the presence of Archangel Gabriel somewhere inside or outside the garden enclosure.

Now may be the time to ask, as part of the *deconstruction* process, some of the questions underpinning the *critical literacy approach* advocated by the author of this paper:

What are the assumptions and potential implications of the (visual/written) statements?

How is reality defined?

Who defines it?

In whose name?

For whose benefit?

What are the limitations or contradictions of this perspective ?

How could these statements (or words) be interpreted in different contexts? (Cervetti et al. 2001).

Or to quote Derrida (1978):

“ [...] But what is thematic attention? *And does what it seems to exclude* (the implicit? the foreclosed? the denied? the unthought? the encrypted? the ‘incorporated’? – so many different functions) *allow itself to be excluded from the field?*

From what field? *Fenced* by whom? By what?... .”

In order to answer these questions (and bearing in mind that there are numerous possible ways of answering them) students will need to read *supplementary texts*, as well as use their analytical/critical skills and imagination.

For example, the picture in question certainly *excludes*, implicitly or explicitly, several social classes and groups. The style of clothing shown here was reserved for upper-class men and women as can be seen in other paintings from that period, e.g. illuminations by the Limbourg brothers. Barred from this paradise are the physically non-perfect, too: all the protagonists in the picture conform to the mediaeval /upper-class/ ideal of beauty, there is no room for any kind of otherness. Their genteel golden-haired long-fingered beauty, which supposedly reflects their inner, spiritual beauty, is, incidentally, sexless – the only thing that sets the men

apart from the women is the colour of their skin, slightly darker in hue, an aesthetic and artistic canon practised in other cultures as well, such as those of ancient Egypt and Greece. Excluded are not only the non-virtuous Christians but also the followers of other religions, irrespective of their virtue: they did not conceive of paradise in the same way and could/would not have been admitted into this one anyway. Furthermore, *foreclosed* is the reality outside: frequent wars accompanied by plunder, poverty, death and the sense of insecurity; recurrent floods, droughts, poor harvest, famine and raging epidemics, “[...] excrement on the roads, stray dogs and pigs everywhere, the stench, cramped gloom and cold of the dwellings” (Hagen 2001:12). Within 10 years of starting to work for Duc de Berry, all the three Limbourg brothers themselves were dead, presumably the victims of an epidemic, and their beautiful Book of Hours was never finished.

Even though the lower classes do not have access to this divine, privileged garden, the *hierarchy* does not stop there – it exists in heaven, too. The largest figure is that of Mary, who is sitting just below the terraced part of the lawn (probably reserved for someone even higher in rank in this celestial hierarchy). Contemporary spectators, again like ancient Egyptians, Byzantines etc., attached considerable importance to the relative height at which a figure sat. Mary is reading a book – something that not many women of her time would have been able to do. Whilst noble women did receive some private tuition and *some* were able to read (though not necessarily write), and whilst nunneries did provide a few schools and a rudimentary education, *most peasant women were illiterate* (Hallam 2002:266). Not that many men of the same social rank were literate, either. Incidentally, if Mary did exist – a fact which archaeology can neither prove nor disprove, she herself would almost certainly not have been literate. But our garden goes beyond the competence of archaeology and exists in a metaphorical space created by faith and Church dogma, as well as by several other factors to which we return later in the paper.

To Mary's left is St. Dorothy, shown in profile and picking cherries. St. Barbara is represented drawing water from a spring and the woman holding a psaltery and playing with the child Jesus is probably St. Catherine of Alexandria. The winged figure is Archangel Michael – the one who triumphed over the demons and devils – one of whom, an adorable creature, rather resembling a little black forest sprite or gollywog, is sitting obediently, small and powerless, at his feet. St. George, wearing chain mail and greaves, is shown with his trophy, the dragon he defeated when

saving a virginal princess. Like the devil previously, the dragon is shrunk here to a mere symbol as befits its role and importance in Paradise. The mediaeval spectator would not have had too much trouble identifying figures in religious paintings by their activities/symbols/ instruments of passion which, in turn, alluded to their miracles/legend/ martyrdom. By contrast, the modern viewer is pretty much at a loss, lacking the religious, traditional and cultural background which would enable him/her to decode the pictorial symbols. And indeed, most contemporary, 15th century non-European viewers of the painting,

would have been faced with the same problem.

“*Fenced by whom/what?*” (Derrida 1978:441)

Certainly by Christian doctrine/Church dogma of the period; by the author’s background and personality; the mores/fashion of the time; the commissioner’s/ patron’s needs and preferences. Although other figures in the picture can be identified with relative ease, the identity of the standing male figure remains obscure. There is a little black bird just behind his knees. It has been suggested that the bird symbolizes death, and that the picture commemorates this young man’s demise. In any case, both the identity of the painter and that of the patron remain unknown. Its small format (26.3x33.4) though, suggests it was intended to hang in a private home rather than in a church. Finally, what also comes into the complicated intertextual equation, is the reader/viewer himself (his culture, background, education, gender, age, motivation etc).

“*And does what it seems to exclude* (the implicit? the foreclosed? the denied? the unthought? the encrypted? the ‘incorporated’? – so many different functions) *allow itself to be excluded from the field?*” (Derrida 1978:441)

“[...] Thus, Paradise is not only represented by the garden but also by Mary herself: like Paradise, where *sexuality does not exist*, Mary’s immaculate conception places her in a permanently paradisiacal state”. (Hagen 2001:12). Furthermore, “Walls do not usually have a place in Paradise, but this one symbolizes Mary’s virginity,[...] for, according to Christian belief, Mary conceived without penetration” (Hagen, 2001:12). Incidentally, an interesting attempt to create a visual explanation of the mysterious event – *Conceptio per aurem* (‘Conception through the ear’) – was made in some North-European types of the Annunciation (again, usually in an enclosed setting, which is why this type is also seen as a

variant of *Hortus Conclusus*), where the Word (*Logos*) enters the Virgin through her right ear in the form of divine rays – in the midst of which the Holy Ghost is sometimes suspended.



Annunciation by Jan Van Eyck (1425-30), The National Gallery of Art, Washington DC, USA.

Does the *Little Garden of Paradise* exclude *sensuality/sexuality*? *Sensuality* is certainly present here, if not in the depiction of the figures than certainly in the depiction of the birds and flowers. Naturally, most of them are here for a reason. White lilies represent Mary's purity; red roses (with no thorns) and irises are also her attributes. But it is the sheer beauty of the garden, with its harmony and naiveté, its brilliant colours and imagined scents that still resonates today, even if the symbolism of the painting is somewhat lost on the modern spectator. Did the patron (whoever he was) intend sensuality to find its way into the picture, or is it the case of the painter himself deciding to give full rein to his imagination, artistry and sensuality, relishing the botanical detail - one of the few things he was allowed to do, and even pursuing an interest in zoology? As a matter of interest, scientists have identified at least ten different species of birds and twenty species of plants in the picture. What springs to mind when contemplating this picture is Arabic miniatures/illuminations with no human figures (since they were banned) but with a plethora of beautifully

stylized, often bordering on abstract, floral and geometric motifs, both spiritual and sensual at the same time. Could these have evolved from the same source?

In order to proceed with answering the question concerning the presence of sensuality/sexuality in the picture, we again have to invoke *intertextuality*, that is, we cannot ignore the source from which the symbolism of the Virgin is derived. Let us remind ourselves of some of the verses from the *Song*:

Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth: for thy love is better than wine. (1:2)

A bundle of myrrh is my well-beloved unto me; he shall lie all night betwixt my breasts. (1:13)

His left hand is under my head, and his right hand doth embrace me. (2:4)

Thy lips are like a thread of scarlet, and thy speech is comely: thy temples are like a piece of a pomegranate within thy locks. (4:3)

Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins, which feed among the lilies. (4:3)

How fair is thy love, my sister, my spouse! how much better is thy love than wine! and the smell of thine ointments than all spices! (4:3)

Awake, O north wind; and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat his pleasant fruits. (4:16)

My beloved put in his hand by the hole of the door, and my bowels were moved for him. (5:4)

How beautiful are thy feet with shoes, O prince's daughter! the joints of thy thighs are like jewels, the work of the hands of a cunning workman. (7:1)

Thy navel is like a round goblet, which wanteth not liquor: thy belly is like an heap of wheat set about with lilies. (7:2)

Thy two breasts are like two young roes that are twins. (7:3)

This thy stature is like to a palm tree, and thy breasts to clusters of grapes. (7:7)

I said, I will go up to the palm tree, I will take hold of the boughs thereof: now also thy breasts shall be as clusters of the vine, and the smell of thy nose like apples; (7:8)

And the roof of thy mouth like the best wine for my beloved, that
goeth down sweetly, causing the lips of those that are asleep to
speak. (7:9)

I am my beloved's, and his desire is toward me. (7:10)

Whatever the allegoric and symbolic interpretations (both by Jewish and Christian scholars) of the Song are, contemporary analyses most often focus on its obvious eroticism and sensuality, a feature which the Song is believed to share with some other ancient Near Eastern love poetry (e.g. Sumerian and Ramesside Egyptian erotic passages). By contrast, the atmosphere rendered in the Little Garden of Paradise seems to be incomparably more chaste and virginal, and its protagonists more demure, than is the case with the source from which its symbolism is derived. In this sense, the ideas it conveys are not unlike those of courtly love, exalted and idealized in contemporary mediaeval troubadour poetry: though eternal bliss/love is something one should strive for, it is unattainable in this life; suffering is preferable to consummation; the ultimate reward for virtue is spiritual/platonic rather than sensual/material; salvation comes from the hands of Mary, who stands for the Church/the virtuous mistress. Like the Garden, courtly love was exclusive too. Only knights (that is, men of relatively noble origin) were deemed to be eligible lovers. The ideal lady was usually the Lord's wife, and though the knight's loyalty was always to his Lord before his mistress and pleasures of the flesh did not, supposedly, come into this kind of relationship, the husband was excluded from it – yet, paradoxically, his existence was a prerequisite for the existence of the love itself. Like the Enclosed Garden, courtly love was supposed to be secret and lovers shielded from the eyes of courtiers (except, perhaps, for the select few who enjoyed the confidence of the lovers), so that again, castle/garden walls are a metaphor for inclusion/exclusion.

The famous example of a pair of shoes, repeatedly painted, with some variation, by Van Gogh and referred to and variously interpreted by Heidegger (1935), Shapiro (1994) and Derrida respectively (1978), only goes to show how difficult it is to interpret a work of art with the artist *in absentia*. And just like Van Gogh's famous shoes, in the absence of the artist, have assumed a metaphysical life of their own, so does our *Hortus Conclusus* transcend the particular circumstances in which it was painted, thus enabling us to look not just at a single depiction/instance of *Hortus Conclusus* and its symbology/interpretation, but rather the *iconography* of

Hortus Conclusus, and the various depictions/interpretations it included over time.

In some *Hortus Conclusus* representations, Mary is depicted in the company of a *unicorn* – yet another symbol of her purity. According to Bestiaries, the unicorn is a mythical beast, similar to a little white horse or goat, and with a single horn growing from the middle of its head (perhaps it is based distantly on the rhinoceros). Apparently, no hunter could capture it unless he used a trick: he would take a virgin to the spot frequented by the unicorn and leave her alone there. The unicorn, sensing the purity of the maiden, would run to her, lay its head in her lap, and fall asleep. Thus its capture would be effected. For this reason the unicorn is considered a symbol of purity in general and of feminine chastity in particular. This legend was interpreted by Christian writers as an allegory of the Annunciation and the subsequent Incarnation of Christ. Therefore, the unicorn is an emblem of the Virgin Mary, as well as of St. Justina of Padua and St. Justina of Antioch. (Fergusson 1961) The unicorn allows itself to be captured by a virgin; hence the scene *Hortus Conclusus*, where the Virgin is often represented with a unicorn, is sometimes interpreted as a type of Christ's betrayal.



The Lady with the Unicorn (c. 1511) The Cluny Museum, Paris, France.

Within the theoretical framework of intertextuality and cross-referentiality, and in accordance with Derrida's notion of binary opposition, the unicorn myth lends itself to numerous interpretations. They, naturally, show that this archetypal image represents different things to different people.

The two major interpretations of the unicorn symbol hinge on pagan and Catholic symbolism. The pagan interpretation focuses on the medieval lore of beguiled lovers, whereas some Catholic writings interpret the unicorn and its death as the Passion of Christ... [...] The unicorn also figured in courtly terms: for some 13th century French authors such as Thibaut of Champagne and Richard de Fournival, the lover is attracted to his lady as the unicorn is to the virgin (Wikipedia 2010).



Wild Woman with Unicorn (c. 1500-1510, Historisches Museum, Basel, Germany); *The Unicorns* by Gustave Moreau (1826 - 1898), Musée Gustave Moreau, Paris, France.

Confirmation that the unicorn has not been always been associated with chastity and purity can, for example, be found in *Wild Woman with Unicorn* (c. 1500-1510, Basel, Historisches Museum), a tapestry depicting what is basically a *Physiologus* story, combined perhaps with some pagan lore or embroidered on by the author himself: it certainly does not seem to have much in common with the strictly Christian interpretation of the myth

– i.e. at least not in terms of the associations it evokes. The representation itself is not new. It harks back to some Greek myths in which gods or semi gods appear as horned animals (Europa and the Bull, Pasiphae and the Bull etc.) Anyway, whether someone within the Church found the pictorial interpretations of the Unicorn Hunt allegory not entirely plausible, or whether the symbolism reeked too much of paganism and evoked too many Freudian associations, to use modern terminology, the scene was prohibited by the Tridentine Council in 1563 – though, fortunately, not before finding its way onto some of the most beautiful tapestries of that time.

And the iconography of the *Garden of Paradise* itself disappeared by the end of the 15th century: “a late blossom, embedded in a mediaeval language of symbols” Hagen (2001:16). The best example of its binary opposite, both visually and philosophically speaking, can perhaps be found in either of the two panels of the famous Bosch triptych - “The Garden of Earthly Delights”. Whilst one wing indisputably represents paradise, and the other – hell, what exactly the central panel is meant to represent still remains a moot point.

The scene that replaced the *Garden of Paradise* was the *Garden of Love*, originally a literary topos (e.g. the *Decameron*) which proved to be a popular subject in painting as well, and as such persevered for centuries to come. This worldly garden often represents the very opposite of the sublime tranquility of Christian paradise as seen above.



A Tale from the Decameron by J.W. Waterhouse (1916),
Lady Lever Art Gallery, Liverpool, UK.

During the *deconstructive stage of the analysis*, and in order to be able to address the questions posed above (for the above analysis represents merely one point of view) students are encouraged to read *supplementary texts* as well as engage in *reading multiple texts* and *reading from a resistant perspective*. Students gain multiple perspectives of the same event by considering how people from different backgrounds – cultural, religious, socio-economic, gender, sexual orientation etc. – would read the same text; they are encouraged to interpret the text from the viewpoint of the world and not just the common Eurocentric ideology usually found in standard texts (Behrman: 2006).

Supplementary material, analysis and discussion:

–*The Abbey in the Oakwood*, painting by Caspar David Friedrich

–*The Garden of Love*, poem by William Blake



The Abbey in the Oakwood, Caspar David Friedrich (1808–10), Alte Nationalgalerie, Berlin, Germany

Further questions can be asked along the following lines:

Is the Garden of Love essentially an anti-Christian concept, and is the Christian/ Church dogma-conceived garden necessarily an anti-Garden of Love concept?

When can an enclosed garden appear as totally different from/ the opposite of/our paradisiacal garden? Inverted perspective: while an enclosed garden may appear to be an object of desire to those who are excluded from it, and a place of shelter/refuge/source of pleasure to those within, it can also appear as a claustrophobic, prison-like space to those doomed to live inside its walls - a place of confinement/captivity: e.g. Van Gogh – the suffocating

enclosedness of the Arles Hospital courtyard; Napoleon Bonaparte tending his garden in exile on the Island of Saint Helena; Mary Stuart, hoping and biding her time for 19 years in custody in various gardens of castles and manor houses etc. Also: *enclosure* as prison/ hell/ concentration camp (e.g. *Hell*, painting by Chapman brothers).



Courtyard of the Hospital in Arles by Van Gogh (1889) Oscar Reinhart Collection, Winterthur, Switzerland and the Chapman brothers' vision of *Hell* (reworked version)

How do you see the world beyond the walls of the garden? And how do those beyond the walls of the garden see/ imagine the space inside? How do Oriental gardens (and people/objects inside) appear to the non-Oriental eye? And vice-versa.

At *reconstruction* stage, students are invited to *create a new text i.e. create their own garden/park, visually or verbally, by changing the context/ perspective or giving voice to a hitherto silenced speaker*. McLaughlin and DeVogd (2004: 52-62) recommend *switching* as a strategy. Thus, they propose a *setting switch* (different time, place, class), *ethnic/race switch*, *gender switch*, *culture switch*, a *theme switch* (creating a text with the opposite theme) etc.

Incidentally, just like another piece of the puzzle that falls into place, the etymology of *park* ties in with that of *garden/fence*:

PARK (n.) c.1260, "enclosed preserve for beasts of the chase," from O.Fr. *parc*, probably ult. from W.Gmc. **parruk* "enclosed tract of land" (cf. O.E. *pearruc*, root of *paddock* (2), O.H.G. *pfarrih* "fencing about, enclosure," Ger. *pferch* "fold for sheep," Du.

park). Internal evidence suggests the W.Gmc. word is pre-4c. and originally meant the fencing, not the place enclosed. Found also in M.L. *parricus* “enclosure, park” (8c.), which is likely the direct source of the O.Fr. word, as well as It. *parco*, Sp. *parque*, etc. Some claim the M.L. word as the source of the W.Gmc., but the reverse seems more likely. OED discounts notion of a Celtic origin. Welsh *parc*, Gael. *pairc* are from English. As a surname, *Parker* “keeper of a park” is attested in Eng. from c.1145. Meaning “enclosed lot in or near a town, for public recreation” is first attested 1663, originally in ref. to London (Harper: 2010).

The *resituation of the canon* and the *recreation of the garden* by the students may yield interesting results. Linguistically and ideologically speaking, the road is thus paved for traversing time and space from a *fenced area/ garden/park/hortus conclusus* of the past to a modern concept of it, or rather, to a multitude of modern concepts of it. And with some luck, there will be, at least, a few paths leading off that road, and into that much coveted place which exists more often in our dreams than in real life, a *hortus apertus*, a more open, more inclusive and more tolerant, multi-cultural garden /society/reality, conceived and created by the students themselves.

On a final note, and purely methodologically speaking, the benefits from this kind of approach are manifold. Students are and feel empowered to critically acquire/deconstruct/reconstruct knowledge in their *content areas* – a fact which in itself provides higher *motivation* in an EAP class (they are primarily focused on gaining knowledge in English rather than that of/about English). All the stages of the above demonstrated process are conducted in English (research, class interaction etc), which gives the teacher an excellent opportunity to cater for the students’ specific needs (e.g. employ concept and semantic mapping and other vocabulary-building strategies relevant to their fields of study). The approach also appears to raise the students’ overall awareness of language and stimulate an analytical interest in etymology, semantics and semiotics as well as in the nature, purpose and workings of language in general.

References

- Behrman, E. (2006). Teaching about language, power, and text: A review of classroom practices that support critical literacy, *Journal of Adolescent and Adult Literacy* 49, 490-98.
- Cervetti G., Pardales, J.M. & Damico, S.J. (2001). A Tale of Differences: Comparing the Traditions, Perspectives and Educational Goals of Critical Reading and Critical Literacy. (Sept 15, 2009) <<http://www.readingonline.com> >
- Ciardiello, A.V. (2004). Democracy's young heroes: An instructional model of critical literacy practices. *Reading Teacher*, 58, 138-147.
- Coffey, H. (2008). Critical Literacy. (Jan 25, 2010) <<http://www.learnnc.org/lp>>.
- Derrida, J. (1978). *Restitutions of the Truth in Pointing* ['Pointure']. Trans. Geoffrey B. & McLeod, I. Chicago & London: Chicago University Press.
- Derrida, J. (1985). Letter to a Japanese Friend, in Wood&Bernasconi (Eds.), *Derrida and Differance*. Warwick: Paroussia Press.
- Fergusson, G. (1961). *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*. Oxford: OUP
- Gregory E. A., Cahill. A. M. (2009). Constructing critical literacy: self reflexive ways for curriculum and pedagogy. *Critical Literacy: Theories and Practices*, Vol 3:2.
- Guralnik, B.D. and V. Neufeldt (eds.) (1988). *Webster's New World Dictionary*. New York: Webster's New World Dictionaries.
- Hagen, R.M. & R. (2001). *15th Century Paintings*, Cologne: Taschen.
- Harper, D. *Online Etymology Dictionary* © 2001-2010. (January 5, 2010) <<http://www.etymonline.com/columns/bio.html>>
- Heidegger, M. (1935). The Origin of the Work of Art. *Off the Beaten Track* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). Translation of *Holzwege* (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1950), vol. 5 in Heidegger's *Gesamtausgabe*.
- Hallam, E. (general ed.) (2002). *Chronicles of the Age of Chivalry*. London: Salamander Books Ltd.
- Schapiro, M. 1994. The Still Life as a Personal Object - A Note on Heidegger and van Gogh; Further Notes on Heidegger and van Gogh, in: *Theory and Philosophy of Art: Style, Artist, and Society, Selected papers 4*, New York: George Braziller, 135-142; 143-151.
- Wikipedia. *Unicorn*, (Jan 5, 2010) <<http://en.org/wiki/Unicorn>>

Милица Стојановић

Универзитет у Београду, Србија

HORTUS CONCLUSUS: АНАЛИЗА ВИЗУЕЛНОГ ДИСКУРСА ЗАСНОВАНА НА ТЕОРИЈИ КРИТИЧКЕ ПИСМЕНОСТИ КАО ОБРАЗОВНОМ ПРИСТУПУ

Сажетак

Развијање способности критичке писмености данас је за студенте неопходност без обзира на област студирања. Ово особито долази до изражаја у друштвеним наукама јер се баш у овим областима, са различитих аспеката – историјских, културних, критичких итд. – многа гледишта и судови непрестано преиспитују, ревидирају, деконструишу и реконструишу у складу са временом и постмодерним\модерним теоријама. Крећући се у оквиру теорије критичке писмености, и полазећи од претпоставке да је све знање, барем у извесној мери, идеолошко и да одражава моћ, овај рад даје пример анализе иконографски специфичног ликовног дискурса релевантног за студенте историје уметности (Hortus Conclusus) примењене у оквиру наставе енглеског језика на Филозофском факултету у Београду. У оквиру рада наводи се и које су методолошке предности једног оваквог приступа настави енглеског језика\језика струке на академском нивоу.

Кључне речи: критичка писменост, анализа ликовног дискурса, Hortus Conclusus, деконструкција, реконструкција, настава енглеског на академском нивоу, садржаји из одређене струке, мотивација, свест о језику

Literary and Cultural Studies

Jennifer Kilgore-Caradec
University of Caen, France

“OUT OF THE ACIDS OF RAGE”: PHILIP LEVINE’S POEMS ABOUT DETROIT

Abstract

Philip Levine’s poems about Detroit are provided with a historical and literary context as the discussion centers on a short masterpiece poem “They Feed They Lion”, and around the consistency of vision discernable in poems written from the 1960s until the present. The anger of the poetry can be linked to prophetic examples of testimony and exhortation from the Old Testament. Levine’s poetic affirmations concerning the city of Detroit also confirm his political commitment.

Key words: Detroit, Philip Levine’s poetry, historical and literary context

Detroit’s “horizon of factories and its masses of industrial laborers became icons of modernity” during the first half of the twentieth century, wrote historian Thomas Sugrue (Sugrue 1996: 17). Indeed, the clichés of industry offered by Fritz Lang in *Metropolis* (1927) and Charlie Chaplin in *Modern Times* (1936) could both be found in Detroit. Yet, by 1967, the Riots seemed to sound the city’s last bell. No American city so desperately needed a transforming resurgence during the years that followed, as the automobile industry continued to decline. The U.S. Census from 2000 cites the percent of “Black or African American persons” living in the city of Detroit as 81.6% compared to 14.2% for the entire state of Michigan, while most of the suburbs surrounding the city are over 90% Caucasian. The percentage of people living below the poverty line in Detroit in 1999 was 26.1%, compared to 10.5% for the state of Michigan (US Census, 2008). The poverty rate in 2007 stood at 28.5%, the highest in the nation.

The scene is not brighter now: some 100,000 automobile industry workers were laid off in 2006-2007. The Democratic governor of Michigan, Jennifer Granholm, took measures at the beginning of 2008 to protect homeowners from losing their property, given that 82,000 mortgage loans across the state were in foreclosure in fall 2007 (Granholm, 2008). During 2007, Michigan had the third highest foreclosure rate in the nation. Detroit's statistics were worse: the second highest foreclosure rate among cities in the United States, with one in every 33 homes in Wayne County in default. The *Detroit Free Press* printed a 121-page pullout section listing more than 18,000 foreclosed properties. The *New York Times* noted in December 2007: "Detroit's population is now half its peak in the 1950s, and the city is as small as it was in the 1920s, before the auto industry boom that made Detroit an industrial powerhouse and one of the nation's largest cities (Maynard and Bunkley 2007)". Unemployment rates rose throughout Michigan in 2009, and the official unemployment rate in Detroit in January 2010 was at just over 15,5% - and the actual rate is higher. The city's residents are very concerned, and on March 27, 2010, there was a Town Hall Meeting to address the current unemployment crisis.

In the midst of the current economic gloom, it should be remembered that Detroit has a creative resilience. Resurgences within the city have often been of the artistic and cultural sort: in 1931, during the Great Depression, William Valentiner, director of the Detroit Art Institute, commissioned Diego Rivera's mural sequence "Detroit Industry", depicting the Ford Rouge assembly line, with money donated by Edsel B. Ford (Downs 1999: 27-28). In 1959, Berry Gordy opened a small recording studio on West Grand Boulevard. Motown Records recorded talented African American vocalists from 1959 to 1972, including *The Contours*, *The Four Tops*, *Marvin Gaye*, *The Jackson 5*, *Diana Ross & the Supremes*, *The Temptations*, and *Stevie Wonder*. In 1965, Broadside Press was founded by Dudley Randall. Detroit has been a creative center within the genre of Rap music, as popularized for the white mainstream by Eminem in the movie *8 Mile* (2002, directed by Curtis Hanson). In October 2006, The Museum of Contemporary Art Detroit opened its doors, at 4454 Woodward Avenue, in a former automobile dealership (MOCADÉ, 2008). Even the crumbling architecture has its devotees, with internet sites such as *BuildingsOfDetroit.com* (created 2004).

Detroit has produced a number of poets and writers, though most of them tend to emigrate from the city (see websites by Rashid and Klug). The following are associated with Detroit whether or not they were born there: Edgar Guest (1891-1959), Robert Hayden (1913-1980), Dudley Randall (1914-2000), Naoimi Long Madgett (1923-), Marge Piercy (1936-), Lawrence Joseph (1948-), Carolyn Forché (1950-), and Jeffrey Eugenides (1960-). Other writers who spent only a few years in Detroit, (often teaching at Wayne State University, such as John Berryman), have written powerfully about the place. One thinks of the portrayals of the 1967 race riots by Joyce Carole Oates in *Them* (1969) and by Gwendolyn Brooks in *Riot* (1969). Even a poet such as Mark Jarman (1952-) pays homage to Motown, by contrasting it to the lifestyles of "tanned white boys" surfing in California in a poem entitled "The Supremes":

The parade m.c. talks up their hits
And their new houses outside of Detroit
(...)
I saw Diana Ross in her first film
(...)
She must remember that summer
Somewhat differently. And so must the two
Who sang with her in long matching gowns,
Standing a step back on her left and right... (Jarman 1985)

Detroit native Anthony Butts (1969-) speaks of the "lives spent in the in-between, // multitudes of coexisting in this particular filament / as if no other were possible..." in a poem about Detroit called "Ars Poetica (Butts, 2003: 4)". Such is the context of creativity for the city of Detroit that also fostered the literary talent of Philip Levine

* * *

Philip Levine, born in 1928, has been classified as "the authentic voice of America's urban poor". He was educated in the Detroit public schools during the anti-Semitic Father Coughlin era, and began fielding verbal attacks against his Jewish identity when he was five (Levine 2002: 3, 19)¹.

¹ Father Charles E. Coughlin (1891-1979), priest at the Shrine of the Little Flower in the Detroit suburb Royal Oak, broadcast his homilies during the 1930s through NBC to millions of listeners every week. Levine noted in an interview:

As he said elsewhere, the experience of anti-Semitism and growing up in the 1930s gave him “a very heightened sense of what fascism meant (Levine 1981: 92)”. Lying about his age during World War II, he began working when he was 14, as he told Studs Terkel in a 1977 interview:

They were dying to find people to work, and I worked at an incredible variety of dumb jobs. I worked in an ice factory, I worked in a bottling corporation, I worked on the railroad, I worked for Railway Express, I worked for Cadillac, for Chevrolet Gear and Axle, Wyandotte chemical, just a tremendous variety of dumb jobs (Levine 1981: 63-4).

Levine attended Wayne University in Detroit, with the intent of becoming an engineer until he broke his right wrist in a fall, which kept him from successfully completing a class in mechanical drawing (Levine 2002: 13). Some of the roots to Levine’s poems of anger can be found in Dylan Thomas, whom he admired early on “for his outrageous behavior and for his brilliant unwillingness to bow down to any authority (Levine 2001: 281)”. Levine had read all of Dylan Thomas’s published poems by the time he was invited to read his work at Wayne in 1948, and he found elements of anger and resistance:

I might have inferred from the poems not only his refusal to mourn the death of a child by fire in wartime London but also his refusal to participate in any form in that war, the war we have come to regard as “The Good War (Levine, 2001: 281)”.

During the Korean War (1950-33), Levine refused to serve, was labeled “psychotic” and then released, as a way of avoiding trouble or publicity (Levine 1981: 94). In 1953-1954 he studied at the University of Iowa under Robert Lowell and John Berryman.

Levine’s poetry, spanning as it does over a wide range of subjects, includes poems about Detroit, California, and the Spanish Civil War, and could be described through his own baseball metaphor as “a two-night double header” to quote from his poem “Silent in America” (*Not This Pig*,

...I saw the threat reaching right into my house and snuffing me out if something wasn’t done to stop the advance of fascism. And Detroit was an extraordinarily anti-Semitic city. I don’t know if you’re aware of a man named Father Coughlin, who was on the radio every Sunday from Royal Oak, which is a suburb of Detroit. He had a huge church out there and he preached Hitler every Sunday (Levine, 1981, *Don’t Ask*, 92-93.).

1968). In the introduction to the collection of interviews entitled *So Ask* (2002), Levine noted that his younger self held to "belief in the anarchism of the early Christians, of William Blake, and especially of the Spaniards who in order to build a truly humane society struggled against the tyranny of church, army, and state until their movement was crushed by Franco's repressive forces (Levine 2002: vii)". The poem "To Cipriano, In the Wind" (*One For the Rose*, 1981) reveals how Levine learned about the Spanish Civil War in 1941, at the age of thirteen, from the man at the neighborhood cleaners.

Where did your words go,
Cipriano, spoken to me 38 years
ago in the back of Peerless Cleaners,
where raised on a little wooden platform
you bowed to the hissing press
and under the glaring bulb the scars
across your shoulders—"a gift
of my country"—gleamed like old wood.
"Dignidad", you said into my boy's
wide eyes, "without is no riches (Levine, 2004: 218)".

The poem is narrative in its nature, like many of Levine's poems. "I love to write little narratives", he said in a 1974 interview (Levine 1981: 63), and the "Dignidad" of Cipriano is met with the mockery of his employer: "And Ferrente, the dapper Sicilian / coatmaker, laughed. What could / a pants presser know of dignity (Levine 2004: 218)"?

The speaker recalls his youth, the war that swept up his brother, his rise to political consciousness, through Cipriano's words:

I was growing. Soon I would be
your height, and you'd tell me
eye to eye, "Some day the world
is ours, some day you will see (Levine, 2004: 218)".

Cipriano's dignity and sacrifice in the Spanish Civil War, and his hope for a better world, is linked to the sacrifices the speaker witnessed during World War II, and also with the struggles of Detroit:

That was the winter
of '41, Bataan would fall
to the Japanese and Sam Baghosian
would make the long march
with bayonet wounds in both legs,
and somehow in spite of burning acids
splashed across his chest and the acids
of his own anger rising toward his heart
he would return to us and eat
the stale bread of victory (Levine, 204: 218).

Here, in a poem with few end rhymes, the word acids coming at the ends of two successive lines stands out as a strange kind of rhyming couplet. Perhaps this is because “the acids / of his own anger”, with the enjambment giving further emphasis, act as life preservers for the soldier-neighbor who safely returned home, while the speaker’s cousins did not:

Soon the Germans rolled east
into Russia and my cousins died. I
walked alone in the warm spring winds
of evening and said, “Dignity.” I said
your words, Cipriano, into the winds.
I said, “Someday this will all be ours” (Levine, 2004: 219).

But the poem ends with the speaker realizing that the promise of those words is far off, and he again addresses Cipriano, asking that his presence, his fight for a just cause, his dignity remain present. Levine was only able to write about this particularly significant childhood experience after he turned fifty. Such a late resurgence may signal to what extent it actually affected and rooted his career choices. He chose Spanish as his first language, spent time living in Spain, and after moving away from Detroit, he eventually settled in Fresno, California. But Detroit never substantially left his work. In a 1972 interview he said:

It was very easy to go on writing about Detroit in the context of Fresno because I’m surrounded by the same kinds of contrasts, a city whose vitality depended on exploited people who live like shit while there were the suburbs of the rich who enjoyed their privileges and had absolutely fixed the situation so it could

never change. Just as the Poles and the Blacks in Detroit could never own the factories, so the Chicanos in this valley and the poor whites could never own the farms and the vineyards and distilleries; it was the same kind of gross example of American capitalism (Levine, 1981: 1-2).

Levine also compared the way well-off people in Fresno and Detroit were both preoccupied with possessions and appearances:

The rich here are so gross and stupid they don't give a shit about poetry, they just want to have more speedboats and stuff like that. It's very much like Detroit. If you're really rich you're going to buy a ballclub, you're going to own the Detroit Lions and get all those jackasses to run back and forth on your lawn (laughter) and play in your private park. Same as Fresno. If you're really rich you've got 6,000 Chicanos to work in your garden (Levine 1981: 2).

So it seems that the two locations meshed in his mind, and linked back to the Spanish Civil War, as the Cipriano poem revealed. In defense of the poor and the unjustly oppressed, be they from Detroit, Fresno, Spain or elsewhere, Levine has developed a passionate poetics of rage. In a 1974 interview, he noted that the anger in his poems is linked to politics:

...what are the sources of anger in a lot of the poems that I write and a lot of other people write? The sources of anger are frequently social, and they have to do with the fact that people's lives are frustrated, they're lied to, they're cheated, that there is no equitable handing out of the goods of this world. A lot of the rage that one encounters in contemporary poetry has to do with the political facts of our lives. So I don't see that there is any real conflict here. I think being a poet is, in a sense a political act—that is, if you're a real poet, not just a kind of court singer (Levine 1981: 13).

In Levine's Detroit poems expressing anger about poverty, racism, exploitation, human and industrial waste, there are some thematic elements that come up repeatedly in word or image, such as: alcohol (an escape, a way of drinking the anger away, as in "Sweet Will" from *Sweet Will*, 1985); rats (those hidden presences that might eat your toes while you are sleeping); oil & grease (on your hands and beneath your feet); money

(that you don't have); and fire² (referring to the fires of the foundaries and factories as in "Coming Home, Detroit, 1968", but also to the fires of the city's riots in 1943 and 1967, as well as the fires of Devil's night)³.

The title poem of his 1972 collection, *They Feed They Lion* contains several of these elements, and was, as Levine said, "a response to the insurrection of 1967" (Levine 1981: 63), the riot that lasted five days, resulting in the deaths of 43 people, 1189 injuries, and some 7000 arrests. The poem appears midway in the collection, at the end of the second of five sections, and the poems that come before, "prepare for the title poem (Schramm 1972: 23)". A closer look at "They Feed They Lion" will contribute to our understanding of Levine's poetics of rage. The poem is composed of five distinct stanzas, with the first and last playing most strongly with anaphora. The poem begins:

THEY FEED THEY LION

Out of burlap sacks, out of bearing butter,
Out of black bean and wet slate bread,
Out of the acids of rage, the candor of tar,
Out of creosote, gasoline, drive shafts, wooden dollies,
They Lion grow (Levine, 2004: 81).

In spite of the anger, the poem is lyrical, due to the refrain ending the first three stanzas, "They Lion grow", as well as the repetitions of words and phrases such as "out of", "feed" (repeated three times), "sack" (repeated twice), "from" (repeated ten times), and its rhyming "come" (repeated five times). The anaphoric "out of" beginning the first four lines gives the first stanza a beat, and the phrase is repeated some ten times in the first two stanzas. The beat is caught also through the alliterations in /b/ ("burlap", "bearing," "butter", "black bean", "bread") in the first two lines. William H. Pritchard called the voice in this poem, "incantatory, concerned with rhetorically exploiting a reader by sweeping him irresistibly along.

² fire: "Father" (*Ashes, Poems New and Old*, 1979),

³ Devil's night is the night before Halloween night in Detroit, celebrated as early as the 1930's by harmless, petty crimes which degenerated into full scale arson of abandoned buildings from the mid 1970s through the early 1990s. During the peak year, 1984, when Devil's night went on for three days from 29-31 October, 810 fires were reported (from CDC Wonder).

This is Ford or Pontiac chewing up everything, and the Earth is at it too... (Pritchard, 1972: 35)." This ravenous Lion's mouth is something to see — and it doesn't seem to be a description of the lions feeding at the Detroit Zoo, but maybe Levine had Rivera's mural in mind, where on one wall the perspective of the car traveling down the line makes the fresco look somewhat like an open mouth.

The ambiguities implicit in the word Lion are also fascinating. As Joe Jackson noted, this poem could be "a contemporary vision of the 'Second Coming'" by Yeats (Jackson, 1983: 56-8). The title and repeated phrase "They Lion" are a quotation of a co-worker of Levine's, an African American man who worked on the assembly line, and this poem seems to be multi-voiced, or perhaps the white speaker has taken on African American expression as his own. One should also bear in mind that the Detroit football team is called the Lions. But best of all is when the noun Lion becomes the verb Lying... (see Pritchard 1972: 36). "Lion" becomes "lying" most clearly in the fourth stanza, when the speaker wonders what his children will inherit.

The accumulation of objects in the first stanza is linked to work on the assembly line: burlap sacks, bearing butter, slate, candor, tar, creosote ("a clear or yellowish flammable oily liquid mixture" says Webster's), gasoline, drive shafts, wooden dollies. For Richard Schramm, this is "Whitmanesque cataloging" (Schramm 1972: 23). Levine is clearly playing with the polysemy of the word "feed" as found in Webster's: 1) the act of eating, 2) food for livestock, a mixture of preparation for feeding livestock, the amount given at each feeding, 3) material supplied as to a furnace or machine; 3b a mechanism by which the action of feeding is effected; 3c the motion or process of carrying forward the material to be operated upon (as in a machine); 3d the process of feeding a television program (as to a local station), 4) the action of passing a ball or puck to a team member who is in position to score.

This is not an obviously narrative poem, but narrative is somehow present just the same, with the white and the African-American narrative intertwined. Levine had fully absorbed a notion expressed by Langston Hughes in *Ask Your Mama* (1961): "*CULTURE, THEY SAY, IS A TWO-WAY STREET*" (Hughes, 1995: 481)." In the second stanza, the enjambment falling between: "out of bus ride, / West Virginia to Kiss My Ass" suggests something of the immigration of both white and black rural farmers from the South to Detroit, to work on the assembly line. They made the choice

because of the promise of good pay—a subject Levine takes up again in “A Walk With Tom Jefferson” (*A Walk With Tom Jefferson*, 1988): “the \$5 day that lured/ his father from the cotton fields / and a one-room shack... (Levine 2004: 280)”. In that poem, speaker Jefferson’s family came to Detroit from Alabama: “We all come for \$5 / a day and we got this!/ His arms spread wide to/ include block after block/ of dumping grounds,...(Levine 2004: 280)”.

The third stanza’s focus seems to be on the consumer society instituted “From the ferocity of pig driven to holiness.” Fred Marchant has focused on the pig in this stanza, linking it to an earlier poem, “Animals Are Passing from Our Lives” (*Not This Pig*, 1968), in which the pig being led to market resolves “to act with more dignity than the human beings he will feed.” (Marchant 1984: 303-4). The word pig itself merits special attention, given its varying connotations, because it can refer to police officers, — or perhaps even white people at large, as in *Ask Your Mama*, where one section was entitled, “Shades of Pigmeat” (Hughes, 1995: 485). As if to suggest that the whiteness associated with the word may have been Levine’s cue, the fifth stanza speaks of “all my white sins forgiven”.

The energy exerted by the oppressed to “Rise Up” is one of the targets of the fourth stanza, where the fist may remind the reader of the Black Power movement’s logo and gesture. “From ‘Bow Down’ come ‘Rise Up’” sounds quite Biblical and may refer to Joseph’s vision, and, as Alan Helms wrote in the *Partisan Review* in 1974, “Levine’s vision carries us to the edge of apocalypse” (Helms 1974: 40). In such a way, Levine commemorates how anger and hate boiled over into the riots of 1967... “They Feed They Lion” wrote Ralph J. Mills, Jr., is “dazzling in its syntactic, linguistic, and dramatic invention, its use of idiomatic effect” (Mills 1974: 55). Indeed, the racial identity of the speaker shifts from black to white to black, or is of mixed racial composition. This is important when one considers the use of the third person plural pronoun, “They”. This word is used to speak of the other, meaning especially the group of which one is not a part. Joyce Carol Oates’s novel about the riots, *Them* (1969) chose the same pronoun to suggest radical difference. The “They” of this poem can only refer to white people, and by the last line of the poem, the Lion has transformed itself into angry African Americans, the same who find rioting the best protest. The poem ends: “They feed they Lion and he comes (Levine 2004: 81)”. Yet, this is a poem, and the “acids of rage” have a positive power, in that the consuming anger has found a positive creative energy. The play on words

makes the reading of the poem pleasurable, even as it may also stimulate a desire for social justice.

Anger continued to be a primary vector of Levine's poetry, as in the poem "Sources" (*One For The Rose*, 1981) in which the waste and craziness of American life are exposed. It begins:

Fish scales, wet newspapers, unopened cans
of syrupy peaches, smoking tires,
houses that couldn't contain
even a single family without someone
going nuts, raping his own child
or shotgunning his wife. The oily floors
of filling stations where our cars
surrendered their lives and we called
it quits, and went on foot to phone
an indifferent brother for help (Levine, 2004: 223).

Even the semantic field for rage is present here, with one definition for rage, "a fit of madness...an act of folly" corresponding to "going nuts" which also carries a heavy pun... The positive roots, sources, and heritage of the country seem to be lost. Perhaps Levine is also revealing his desire as poet to transform the waste into a source for poetry:

What do we have
today? A morning paper full of lies.
A voice out of nowhere that says, Keep
punching (Levine, 2004: 224).

As in "To Cipriano, In the Wind" the anger in "The Source" motivates a kind of resistance. This is also the case in "The Fox" where the speaker in the poem imagines that in a previous life he might have been a fox, even as he suggests his own inadaptability toward an elite that has little notion of the lives of the poor:

My anger is sudden and total,
for I am a man to whom anger
usually comes slowly, spreading
like a fever along my shoulders

and back and turning my stomach
to a stone, but this fox anger
is lyrical and complete, as I stand
in the pathway shouting and refusing
to budge, feeling the dignity
of the small creature menaced
by the many and larger (Levine 2004: 215).

Once again, the enjambment accentuates the anger, as in “this fox anger/
is lyrical and complete” and the poetic images become overwhelming as
the poem ends with the fox under pursuit:

feeling the steady measured beat
of his fox heart like a wordless
delicate song, and the quick forepaws
choosing the way unerringly
and the thick furred body following
while the tail flows upward,
too beautiful a plume for anyone
except a creature who must proclaim
not ever ever ever
to mounted ladies and their gentlemen (Levine 2004: 216).

Here the fox’s tail (with an intended pun on the word tale) and poet’s
plume are one, and somehow that “not ever ever ever” sounds like “No
Passaran.”

Yet, one way of dealing with anger is to drink it away. In “Sweet Will”
(*Sweet Will*, 1985) there is the case of the man who falls into a drunken
stupor at work. The speaker of the poem is advised: “so just let him get up
at his /own sweet will or he’ll hit you (Levine 1985: 17)”. Dutifully, the
speaker and co-workers “stepped carefully over him until / he awakened
and went back to his press (Levine 1985: 17)”. His voluntary return to
work was punctuated by a shout:

“Nigger, Kike, Hunky, River Rat”,
but he gave it a tune, an old tune,
like “America the Beautiful.” And he danced
a little two-step and smiled showing

the four stained teeth left in the front
and took another suck of cherry brandy (Levine 1985: 18).

Levine's poems do not refrain from presenting the unquenchable anger that generates violence. Auden (who had taught at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in 1941-42) wrote in the essay "The Poet & the City," collected in his 1962 volume *The Dyer's Hand*:

A revolutionary issue is one in which different groups within a society hold different views as to what is just. When this is the case, argument and compromise are out of the question; each group is bound to regard the other as wicked or mad or both. Every revolutionary issue is potentially a *casus belli*. (...) Today, there is only one genuine world-wide revolutionary issue, racial equality (Auden, 1962: 86-7).

Cipriano had spoken to young 13 year-old Levine about the Spanish Civil War in 1941, and then, Levine at 15 was to learn first-hand about local civil strife during the Detroit riot of 1943, as he described it in "New Season" (*Names of the Lost*, 1976):

(...) I start to tell him
and stop, the story of my 15th spring.
That a sailor had thrown a black baby
off the Belle Isle Bridge was
the first lie we heard, and the city
was at war for real. We would waken
the next morning to find Sherman tanks
at the curb and soldiers camped
on the lawns. Damato said he was
'goin downtown bury a hatchet
in a nigger's head.' Women
took coffee and milk to the soldiers
and it was one long block party
till the trucks and tanks loaded up
and stumbled off. No one saw
Damato for a week, and when I did
he was slow, head down, his right arm
blooming in a great white bandage (Levine, 2004: 133).

The narrator's memory in this poem drifts in and out of his present, and whether or not he should speak to his young son about these things. Meanwhile, another memory of the riot surfaces:

(...) 7 years passed
before Della Daubien told me
how three white girls from the shop
sat on her on the Woodward Streetcar
so the gangs couldn't find her
and pull her off like they did
the black janitor and beat
an eye blind. She would never
forget, she said, and her old face
glows before me in shame
and terror (Levine 2004: 133).

The poem is careful to give voice to reprehensible white hate as well as to the older African American woman who was grateful for protection from some courageous young white co-workers. It is also careful with historical and biographical precision. 1950 would be the period when Levine was working in an automobile plant, and Della Daubien might well have been one of his co-workers. There is no reason to think not, and she is mentioned as well, in a kind of resurgence, in "Naming" (*Breath*, 2004), in the same section of the poem as the jazz musicians Clifford, Max, Miles, and Lester Young. Alongside the names of jazzmen who made history, come the names of the locals of Levine's childhood and youth, the names of the ones who will be lost in history books, such as "D'Angelo & Ferente's / French Cleaners & Fine Alterations" (apparently the place where Cipriano worked) and also Della Daubien, here portrayed as singing:

Della Daubien
On the crosstown streetcar as dusk
Rises from the trees. If you go back
You'll hear her rough alto echoing
Down the bombed-out streets of heaven (Levine 2006: 54).

Is there a secret behind Levine's poetics of rage?

Asked in 1972, "What's the biggest change in your writing from your first book to *They Feed They Lion*?" Levine responded:

I want to be a poet of joy as well as suffering. If you look at *On the Edge* you find the poetry of someone on the edge, on the edge of despair, the edge of breakdown, on the edge of his culture, of his own life. (....)

"You feel the lion book is more affirmative?"

I think the title poem, "They Feed They Lion," is a celebration of anger, which I love. In the poem "Breath" I celebrate my breathing, my living...(Levine, 1981: 10-11).

"Breath" was the concluding poem of the 1972 collection *They Feed They Lion*, and the title may also have suggested the need for some fresh air for the polluted city of Detroit. Levine ended the poem this way:

I give
The world my worn-out breath
On an old tune, I give
It all I have
And take it back again (Levine 2004: 78).

Some 32 years later, a recent volume of poetry by Levine is also entitled *Breath*, and takes up the celebration of breathing and living, and naming. The "old tune" is ever present, as in the opening line of the poem "Call It Music": "Some days I catch a rhythm, almost a song in my own breath (Levine 2006: 78)". Perie Longo, reviewer of the book, noticed a similarity of that line to the Inuit root word *anerca* which means "both to breathe and to make poetry" (Longo 2008). But making poetry, performing *poiesis*, is not quite as easy as breathing, and perhaps the Inuit root is linked to other early languages, or as Geoffrey Hill wrote, "Poetry aspires / to the condition of Hebrew (Hill 2000: 10)". Consider Psalm 104 (103), especially the final section (verses 24 to the end). Here the psalmist reflected on how God created beings with a wind (the *ruah*) and how if their breath was removed they expired.

When you hide your face they vanish,
You take away their breath, they expire and return to dust.
When you send forth your spirit,
They are created,
And the face of the earth is renewed.
(....)
I will sing to the Lord all my life;
I will sing praise to God while I live.
May my song* give him pleasure, *poem⁴
As the Lord gives me delight.

(Christian Community Bible, Psalm 104 (103).29-30, 33-34)

This can be clarified by looking at the biblical words. The word “Spirit” that the psalmist used is the Hebrew *ruah*, a breeze or a wind, as well as an inhaling or exhaling breath. Theologically speaking, the word *ruah* can also be used to speak about human conscience and spirit.⁵ *The Encyclopedia of Judaism* specifies that the creative Spirit of God is manifest in humanity by visions and prophetic discourse. Sometimes this spirit of holiness, (*ruah hakodesh*, *ruah Elohim*, or *ruah Adonai*) can enable someone to accomplish a special task, such as building a sanctuary (Exodus 35:30), or writing a psalm (David). The Talmud and the Midrash acknowledge the *ruah*’s prophetic inspiration, but differ on the operative role of the *ruah* within humanity today. The Talmud suggested that the spirit of holiness withdrew from Israel after the words of the latter prophets (Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi), but the Midrash affirmed that people inspired by the *ruah* would be born in each generation.⁶

But what is the link with a poetics of rage or anger? Psalms (poems), like prophecy, have the *ruah* as a source. Prophets are those who warn us about human behavior that crosses the line. In the Old Testament they could get quite angry, becoming “filled with God’s anger (Jeremiah 6:11, 15:17)”.⁷ Philip Levine, like Geoffrey Hill, has often written from a kind

⁴ One French liturgical translation of this is: “QUE MON POEME LUI SOIT AGREABLE”

⁵ For parts of this discussion I am indebted to Xavier Léon-Dufour, *Vocabulaire de Théologie Biblique*, Paris : Cerf, 1988, particularly articles on “Esprit” and “Colère”.

⁶ “Sainteté, Esprit de” in *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du judaïsme*, tr. Sylvie Anne Goldberg, V. Gillet, A. Sérandour, G. Veyret, Paris: Bouquins, Cerf/Robert Laffont, 1996.

⁷ This anger was linked to God’s anger, always linked in Biblical texts with people’s unrighteous and unjust ways. So one thinks of Moses angry with the people when they

of prophetic anger. Their poetry transforms what is — or what was — into a life-giving testimony. When Levine said, "poetry comes out of a need to pay homage", (qtd. Longo 2008), he again linked himself to the prophetic tradition, that tradition of "a sad and angry consolation", as Hill termed it (Hill 1999: 82). Levine and Hill also share a deep knowledge of the link between poetry and politics, and Auden's remarks (once again from the essay "The Poet & the City") may have influenced both:

In our age, the mere making of a work of art is itself a political act. So long as artists exist, making what they please and think they ought to make, even if it is not terribly good, even if it appeals to only a handful of people, they remind the Management of something managers need to be reminded of, namely, that the managed are people with faces, not anonymous numbers, that *Homo Laborans* is also *Homo Ludens* (Auden 1989: 88)⁸.

References

- Auden, W.H. (1989). *The Dyer's Hand* [1962]. New York: Vintage.
- Butts, (2003). A. *Little Low Heaven*. Kalamazoo: Western Michigan UP
- CDC Wonder (May 12, 2008)
<<http://wonder.cdc.gov/wonder/prevguid/m0047208/m0047208.asp>>.
- Christian Community Bible, Catholic Pastoral Edition, (2004). Auezon City. Philippines : Pastoral Bible Foundation / Claretian Publications.
- Downs, L. B. (1999). *Diego Rivera: The Detroit Industry Murals*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company and The Detroit Institute of Arts.
- Goldberg, S, Gillet, V. Sérandour, A et Al (1996). *Dictionnaire Encyclopédique du judaïsme*, Paris: Bouquins, Cerf/Robert Laffont.

lacked faith (Exodus 16:20), or when they were unfaithful at Horeb (Ex 32). Elijah's anger even went so far as to kill false prophets (I Kings 18:40). Righteous anger scenes in the New Testament include Jesus driving the money-changers out of the Temple (see also Mark 3:5), and Paul at Athens (Acts 17:16).

⁸ Auden was probably referring to Johan Huiziga's 1938 study, *Homo Ludens, A Study of the Play Element of culture*. Thus humanity is defined by the qualities of *Homo Sapiens* (knowing), *homo faber* (making), *homo laborans* (working) and *homo ludens* (playing).

- Granholm, J. Governor. (2008). Radio address January 11. Michigan Government (consulted Jan 14, 2008) <<<http://www.michigan.gov/som/0,1607,7-192--183346--,00.html>>.
- Jackson, J. in *The Explicator* 41:4 (Summer 1983). 56-58, quoted on line (May 16, 2008) <http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/poets/g_l/levine/lion.htm>.
- Jarman, M. (1985). "The Supremes" in *Far and Away*, Carnegie-Mellon UP and <<http://www.poets.org/viewmedia.php/prmMID/15646>>.
- Helms, A. H. (1991). "Over the Edge" in *Partisan Review* 41:1, 1974. reprinted in Christopher Buckley (ed), *On the Poetry of Philip Levine, Stranger to Nothing*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 38-41.
- Hill, G. (2000). *Speech! Speech.*, Washington D.C.: Counterpoint.
- _____. (1999). *The Triumph of Love*, London, Penguin.
- Hughes, L. (1995). *The Collected Poems*, ed. Arnold Rampersad. New York: Vintage.
- Klug, Th. A. "The Bibliography of Detroit History, Politics and Culture: Late-nineteenth Century to the Present," (consulted May 10, 2008) <http://www.marygrove.edu/ids/Detroit_bibliography.pdf>.
- Léon-Dufour, X. (1988). *Vocabulaire de Théologie Biblique*. Paris : Cerf.
- Levine, P. *Breath* (2006). New York: Knopf.
- _____. (1981). *Don't Ask*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- _____. (2004). *New Selected Poems* [1991], New York: Knopf.
- _____. (1968). *Not this Pig*, Middletown: Wesleyan UP.
- _____. (1982). *One For The Rose*, New York: Atheneum.
- _____. (2002). *So Ask: Essays, Conversations, and Interviews*, Ann Arbor: the University of Michigan Press,
- _____. (1985). *Sweet Will*, New York: Atheneum.
- _____. (2001). *The Bread of Time: Toward an Autobiograph*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- _____. (1999). *They Feed, They Lion and The Names of the Lost: Two Books of Poems*. New York: Knopf.
- Longo, P. (2008). "Philip Levine's Latest Collection, *Breath*". *Santa Barbara Independent*, March 20. (May 12, 2008) < <http://www.independent.com/news/2008/mar/20/philip-levines-latest-collection-embreathem/>>.
- Marchant, F. (1991). "Cipriano Mera and the Lion: A Reading of Philip Levine" [1984]. In: Buckley, Christopher (ed), *On the Poetry of Philip*

- Levine, *Stranger to Nothing*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 303-10.
- Maynard, M. and Bunkley, Nick. (2007). "Detroit Revival Vies With Industry's Decline" *The New York Times*, December 19. consulted on-line.
- Mills, R. J, Jr. (1991). "The True and Earthy Prayer': Philip Levine's Poetry" *American Poetry Review* (1974). In: Christopher Buckley (ed). *On the Poetry of Philip Levine, Stranger to Nothing*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 42-55.
- MOCADÉ, Museum of Contemporary Art Detroit. (consulted January 14, 2008) <<http://www.mocadetroit.org/about.html>>.
- Pritchard, W. H. (1972). "They Feed They Lion" *New York Times Book Review*. In: Buckley, Christopher (ed.), *On the Poetry of Philip Levine, Stranger to Nothing*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 1991, 34-37.
- Rashid, F. "The Detroit Literary Map" (consulted May 10, 2008) <<http://www.marygrove.edu/ids/Introduction.asp>>.
- Schramm, R. (1991). "A Gathering of Poets" [1972]. In: Buckley, Christopher (ed.), *On the Poetry of Philip Levine, Stranger to Nothing*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press. 22-26.
- Sugrue, T. (1996). *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton: Princeton UP. 17.
- U.S. Census Bureau (Jan 14, 2008)
<<http://quickfacts.census.gov/qfd/states/26/2622000.html>>.

Accepted for publication: October 5th, 2010

Џенифер Килгор-Карадек

„ИЗ КИСЕЛОСТИ ГНЕВА“:
ПОЕЗИЈА ФИЛИПА ЛЕВИНА О ДЕТРОИТУ

Сажетак

Ауторка овог есеја разматра песму Филипа Левина (Philip Levine) о Детроиту, дајући увид у њихову историјску и књижевну позадину, са посебним освртом на величанствену кратку песму "They Feed They Lion," ("Хране се, лавовски"), и анали-

зира је у оквиру визије света коју Левин представља у свом опусу од 1960. године до данас. У склопу анализе ауторка наговештава интертекстуалне везе са пророчким казивањима у старозаветним текстовима. Простор интертекстуалног међудејства ауторка проналази у доминантном осећању гнева који избија из сваког Левиновог стиха. Левинов гнев, као и поетска приврженост Детроиту могли би, с друге стране, представљати поетски одјек његових политичких уверења.

Кључне речи: Детроит, поезија Филипа Левина, гнев, историјски и књижевни контекст, политичка уверења

John R O Gery
University of New Orleans, USA

“THE THOUGHT OF WHAT AMERICA”: EZRA POUND’S STRANGE OPTIMISM

Abstract

Through a reconsideration of Ezra Pound’s early poem “Cantico del Sole” (1918), an apparently satiric look at American culture in the early twentieth century, this essay argues how the poem, in fact, expresses some of the tenets of Pound’s more radical hopes for American culture, both in his unorthodox critiques of the 1930s in *ABC of Reading*, *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*, and *Guide to Kulchur* and, more significantly, in his epic poem, *The Cantos*. The essay contends that, despite Pound’s controversial economic and political views in his prose (positions which contributed to his arrest for treason in 1945), he is characteristically optimistic about the potential for American culture. Behind his flamboyant style, his self-destructive allegiance to Mussolini, and his complex poetics, Pound anticipated and even initiated the multicultural imperative that by the end of the century emerged as an essential component of American literature.

Key words: Ezra Pound, early poetry, satire attitude, radical hopes, epic poems, *The Cantos*, optimistic views, multicultural imperative

Cantico del Sole

(From *Instigations*)

The thought of what America would be like
If the Classics had a wide circulation
 Troubles my sleep,
The thought of what America,
The thought of what America,
The thought of what America would be like

If the Classics had a wide circulation
 Troubles my sleep.
Nunc dimittis, now lettest thou thy servant,
Now lettest thou thy servant
 Depart in peace.
The thought of what America,
The thought of what America,
The thought of what America would be like
If the Classics had a wide circulation ...
 Oh well!
 It trouble s my sleep.
 (Pound 1990: 182)

Besides having the possible distinction of being Ezra Pound's most accessible, least opaque, and ostensibly least profound poem, "Cantico del Sole" also enjoys the seeming advantage of needing no explication about its sentiments. Is it not obvious that, as a self-exiled poet living in England at the time (1917-18), Pound is bemoaning the lack of "culture" in his native country, mocking his ordinary fellow Americans for their backwoods sensibility, deprived education, and barren provincialism at the start of the twentieth century? After all, this is the same poet who two years earlier wrote "L'Homme Moyen Sensual" (in imitation of Lord Byron's attack on British letters, "English Bards and Scotch Reviewers"), a 242-line poem in rhyming couplets which echoes the satirist H.L. Mencken's acerbic debunking of American culture with such lines as, "The constitution of our land, O Socrates,/ Was made to incubate such mediocrities,/ These and a taste in books that's grown perennial/ And antedates the Philadelphia centennial (Pound 1990: 257)". In another poem as equally unsubtle, "The Rest," published even earlier (1913), Pound the expatriot urges his fellow American artists, those "helpless few in my country" and those "of the finer sense/ Broken against false knowledge/.../ Hated, shut in, mistrusted", to take heart in his own flight from his homeland, when he reassures them, "I have weathered the storm,/ I have beaten out my exile (Pound 1990: 93-94)".

Yet despite the precedent of these and other early Pound poems that clearly ridicule the cultural consciousness in the U.S. at the time, it may be that the full import of "Cantico del Sole" is *not* so self-evident as it seems.¹

¹ With appreciation to Mary de Rachewiltz for instigating the ideas of this essay and to Herbert Richardson for inviting its initial presentation.

As K.K. Ruthven reports, its original publication in the March 1918 issue of the British journal, *Little Review*, accompanied a short polemical essay Pound wrote in response to the U.S. postal authority banning the import of the October 1917 issue of the same journal, mainly because it contained a scandalous short story by Wyndham Lewis entitled, "Cantelman's Spring-Mate"; the *Little Review's* editor, Margaret Anderson, fought the post office's decision in court and won her case. But Pound objected to the legal argument used to defend the journal, which maintained the artistic legitimacy of Lewis's story on the basis of its being a "classic", a term which Pound saw the court defining as, essentially, having "the sanction of age and fame and USUALLY APPEAL TO A COMPARATIVELY LIMITED NUMBER OF READERS (Ruthven 1969: 48)". What most irritated Pound was the contradiction inherent in the assumption that, by nature, the "classics" (or for Pound, those "books which in the beginning lifted mankind from savagery, and which from A.D. 1400 have gradually redeemed us from the darkness of medievalism") have little social appeal, therein posing no serious threat to the public well-being. But in his commentary on the case, Pound invites his "gentle reader" to imagine the classics being "read by the millions who now consume Mr. Hearst and the *Lady's Home Journal*!!!!!! (Ruthven 1969: 48)". What then might be their impact if they truly had a broad readership, he wonders.

Indeed, as Pound's daughter, Mary de Rachewiltz, has suggested, in this ditty (if we can call it that) Pound is actually thinking not of the popular conception, but of his *own* notion of the classics, an impression shared, in fact, by many other classicists – namely, of the scurrilous, erotic or ribald (if not downright pornographic) subject matter of many of the works of poets such as Sappho and others from the *Greek Anthology*, as well the Roman poets Catullus, Ovid, and Sextus Propertius, whose poems Pound had rendered into English versions. In other words, "Cantico del Sole", in De Rachewiltz's view, ironically speculates not on the civilizing effect of classical literature, but on the rampant epidemic of sexual promiscuity that might well result in the puritanical U.S., "if the Classics had a wide circulation." Read this way, Pound's poem derides both the repressive social morality and the provincial snobbery of those Americans (such as the judge in the *Little Review* case) who assume that classics offer nothing but "high" culture for an elite who entirely miss the point of their meretricious nature. In short, were the classics to enjoy a "wide circulation", which the judge in the *Little Review* case obviously assumed they never would and never

could, who knows what kind of licentious behavior might unleash itself from sea to shining sea.

The poem's title, "Cantico del Sole", or "Canticle of the Sun", alludes to a poem of the same name by St. Francis of Assisi, a poem Pound praises in his 1910 lecture series, *The Spirit of Romance*, as the "most beautiful" example of the sacred poetry of its age, in which St. Francis, "that 'little sheep of God[,] speaks to the glory of the Father Eternal in a free, unrhymed verse with a rhythm strong as the words (Pound 1968: 101)". In his parodic version, Pound imitates the original's untethered free verse in order to indict his countrymen, as well as to distinguish himself from them ("Nunc dimittis,² now lettest thou thy servant,/ Now lettest thou thy servant/ Depart in peace"). As a typically Poundian exercise in style, the poem takes an ancient model and splices it anachronistically with subject matter from a wholly different era; in this case, he attempts to enact "the shorter, simpler form" and "more ecstatic rhythm" of St. Francis's poem that distinguished it from his medieval contemporaries and, in Pound's view, together comprise "the hardest quality of a man's style to counterfeit (Pound: 1968: 103)". Indeed, no less than seven of the poem's seventeen lines begin like a mantra with the same phrase: "The thought of what America," while two other lines ("If the classics had a wide circulation" and "Troubles my sleep") are repeated twice each, leaving little opportunity for anything else. "Oh, well", sighs the speaker in the penultimate line, as though resigned to the poem's incantation as much as to its subject. Like St. Francis, the poem's speaker has seen the illumination of the divine; only, for Pound it is located not in the sun or the works of God, but in the poetry of Catullus, whose light shines not from heaven, but through art and worldly experience.

Nevertheless, if, despite the poem's derisive tone, we entertain for a moment Pound's "troubled sleep" over the potential impact of "the Classics" on a large, untutored populace - especially in relation to his own ambitious revamping of the classical literary canon in his poetry (namely *The Cantos*), as well as in such critical works as *ABC of Reading* (1934), *Jefferson and/or Mussolini* (1936), and *Guide to Kulchur* (1938) - what he portends about the U.S. in "Cantico del Sole" may be more salient than even its sexual insinuations are. In my view, the poem anticipates Pound's positive vision of American culture for at least three reasons, the first concerning American

² Ruthven identifies the source of "nunc dimittis" ('now lettest thou depart') from Luke 2:29 as taken from the Authorized Version of the Vulgate version of the Bible (Ruthven 1969: 48).

politics, the second American social mores, and the third American cultural identity. So while Pound's satire may appear disdainful of U.S. society at the turn of the twentieth century - for its provincial values, cultural isolation from Europe, and lack of an aesthetics - his own life's project as translator, critic, social commentator, cultural administrator, and epic poet belies this apparently dismissive attitude by virtue of his devotion to inventing a distinctly American model of a cosmopolitanism, interdisciplinary and multicultural in character. Despite Pound's controversial economics and self-destructive politics, especially before and during World War II (which led to his arrest on charges of treason by American forces in Italy in 1945), behind his flamboyant style, his dramatic bravado as a public figure, his steadfast allegiance to Mussolini, and his complex poetics, Pound precipitated the multicultural imperative that has since then emerged as an essential component of American ideology. In the same way that historians maintain that the American "Founding Fathers" wrote *into* the *Declaration of Independence* and the *U.S. Constitution* the fundamental principles which have been systematically invoked on behalf of democratic changes not themselves envisioned by the Founding Fathers - that is, of a civil equality, for instance, that includes not only property owners, but laborers, immigrants, emancipated slaves, Native Americans, and women - Pound, too, expresses an aesthetic vision beyond his immediate focus. Despite his mocking, irascible tone in "Cantico del Sole", he was actively *optimistic* about the future of American culture. Although his thinking may seem at a glimpse antithetical to a twenty-first century notion of a diverse American culture, he advanced just such a view, and his work has contributed substantially to its prospects for coming about.

Concerning the three implicit reasons to be troubled yet heartened by Pound's lament over the poor circulation of the classics in the U.S., then, (1) to begin, Pound's sense of the place of the classics in modern culture is directly linked to his convictions about political leadership. In other words, together with his dream of a culturally enriched democracy, Pound also imagined an equally enriched political leadership - an ideal, for instance, that problematically led to his enthusiasm for Benito Mussolini's leadership in post-World War I Italy, which he considered comparable to that of Thomas Jefferson in post-revolutionary America. Pound believed each of these men had the character of an artist as well as a statesman, of a philosopher as well as a man of action, although he attributed to each a very different method. Note, for instance, how in

Jefferson and/or Mussolini Pound contrasts the two men's ways of solving problems:

The secret of The Duce is possibly the capacity to pick out the element of immediate and major importance in any tangle; or, in the case of a man, to go straight to the centre, for the fellow's major interest. "Why do you want to put your ideas in order?"

Jefferson was all over the shop, discursive, interested in everything; to such an extent that he even wrote a long rambling essay on metrics. He was trying to set up a civilization in the wilderness, he measured the Maison Carree, sent over Houdin to America, and thought it would be better not to sculp [sic] Washington in a fancy dress costume (Pound 1936: 66).

Here Il Duce gets praised for being a kind of Imagist poet, one able to extract the salient detail and grasp its importance,³ whereas Jefferson is granted the character of the epic poet, inclusive and expansive in his vision. But the problem with this comparison, as Tim Redman astutely observes, concerns the "difficulty...of Pound's claim that political actions should be judged by aesthetic criteria": "Pound insists that no estimate of Mussolini is valid unless it treats him as an artist.... Thus Pound allowed himself to dismiss any apparent contradictions in Mussolini's political philosophy or actions with the excuse that he was an artist and not bound by ordinary rules of consistency. This excuse was doubly convenient, since apart from resolving inconsistencies, it also tended to help Pound convince himself that his political perceptions were correct.... Thus, by a neat shift of ground, Pound became a political authority (Redman 1991: 118)". Such a rhetorical (if not inadvertently solipsistic) move, however enchanting to those outside circles of power, is potentially catastrophic for large or impressionable populations, it almost goes without saying, and Redman's diagnosis of Pound's fatal mistake in assessing the nature of political leadership helps to explain the poet's tragic encounter with the U.S. government after World War II. As Roxanne Preda argues in a reading of Pound's journalistic writings, "it is relatively easy to write that Pound was a fascist and relatively difficult to

³ Pound echoes this impression of Mussolini's discernment in Canto 41, when he quotes what Il Duce apparently said to Pound upon meeting him and having been given a copy of Pound's *A Draft of XXX Cantos* on 30 January 1933: "'Ma questo,'/ said the Boss, 'é divertente./ catching the point before the aesthetes had got there (Pound 1995: 202)". Pound admires Mussolini's apparent insight into particulars, as opposed to abstractions.

declare him a Fascist, bearing in mind that his position was different from the official Mussolinian ideology in the fundamental questions of nation and war (Preda 2001: 184)". In fact, Preda contends, his allegiance to Mussolini was increasingly stretched as the second war approached, particularly on issues of Mussolini's military expansion and the "Fascist vision of the individual" in which a person's interests are seen as subservient to "the higher interests of the nation (Preda 2001: 178)"⁴; this "integrative stance" is far from that of Pound, who in the 1920s considered the state as "a nuisance and a hidden enemy" and whose enthusiasm for economic reform was largely based on his belief in relieving individuals from the burden of national debt (Preda 2001: 179). However, his loyalty to Mussolini remained steadfast even after Mussolini's death in 1945.

Despite his misreading of Mussolini's politics, though, Pound's comparison of the Italian leader to Jefferson derives from his understanding of American thinkers (from Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Jefferson to Henry James and Mencken); it manifests itself, for instance, in his enthusiasm for Jefferson's notion of government as an arbiter of civic progress, epitomized for Pound by Mussolini's cultural program for Italian Fascism.⁵ As a child of the late nineteenth century, Pound had been exposed to the "rugged individualism" that distinguished entrepreneurs such as J.P. Morgan and politicians such as Theodore Roosevelt,⁶ that philosophy which later gave way to the universalist idealism of Woodrow Wilson,⁷ as

⁴ Preda writes, "The Fascist vision of the individual was integrative: a person's interests coincided with the ones of his group; the group found expression in the representation by profession in a larger corporation; the interests of the corporations were expressed in the Council of Corporations in collaboration with the state. The central task of the latter was to harmonize the particular interests of the groups to the higher interests of the nation, and see to it that the nation as a whole enjoys respect and prosperity in the international community (Preda 2001: 178)".

⁵ As Mussolini proclaimed to a group of students at the Academy of Fine Arts in Perugia in October 1926, for instance, "We must simply exploit our cultural heritage. We must create a new heritage to place alongside that of antiquity. We must create a new art, an art of our times: a Fascist art" (Schnapp and Spackman 1990: 235, cited in Paul 2008: 100).

⁶ From the notes of a psychiatric interview of Pound in the 1950s at St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D.C., James J. Wilhelm identifies Pound's paternal grandmother, Susan Angevine Loomis Pound, as a major family source of this world view, when Pound is quoted by the psychoanalyst Jerome Kavka as saying, "You could put that grandmother down as no fuss - no fuss about anything. It was my maternal grandmother that had a great deal of influence upon me (Wilhelm 1985: 125)".

⁷ In 1913, Pound wrote a letter to Wilson, whom he much later called a "traitor president", urging him at the time to remove a tariff on imported books not otherwise available in the U.S., since,

much as to the White House favoritism of Warren Harding, and prevailed at least into the Herbert Hoover presidency before the Great Depression. Given this background, regardless of the later tyranny of Italian Fascism in particular, Pound condoned Mussolini's regime, at least in part, because he considered it conducive to the social recognition of individuals such as working artists, of the individual's right to assert difference, and of a culture generated through individual resourcefulness (as opposed to the propagandistic management of crowd behavior and education that was to become, in fact, a hallmark of both Mussolini's and Hitler's regimes). Of course, ascribing a libertarian view of individualism to any kind of fascism after Mussolini and Hitler is anomalous, absurd. Nor can Pound's politics be redeemed by his naiveté about totalitarian tactics. But at least we can qualify this aspect of Pound's thought by the subtitle he adds to *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*: "Udea Statale/ Fascism as I Have Seen It". In other words, to concentrate primarily on the ideal fascist state in Pound's imagination - more than the one to which he remained tragically loyal, even after its demise and his own thirteen years of incarceration in Washington - may be more helpful in determining his sense of an *American* ethos.

A further benefit of individualism, in Pound's view, besides its allowing talented individuals to shape social history, is its implicit endorsement of "difference," that is, its encouragement of original ideas and movements, regardless of the dominant trends or conditions surrounding it. Dante, for example, in his own era, fit this model for Pound. What Pound opposes, as his major poem, *Hugh Selwyn Mauberley* (1919), makes clear, is the "tawdry cheapness" found everywhere "[d]ecreed in the market place", a debased culture in which "[t]he pianola 'replaces' Sappho's barbitos", "We choose a knave or eunuch/ To rule over us", and we only read "the classics in paraphrase! (Pound 1990: 186-87)". Still, Pound's advocacy for the creative work of those *outside* the status quo, beyond their adherence to tradition or patronage, or for the directive to "MAKE IT NEW" (Pound 1995: 265), which in fact he discovers in classical Chinese thought, remains also central to any argument for openness to the ethnic, racial, gender, or other cultural differences of individuals.

he argued, such "books are usually belles lettres and serious work which does not much profit the publisher (Heymann 1976: 225, 347n). In "L'Homme Sensual" Pound mocks the president for "show[ing] his taste in his ambassadors" by appointing mediocre writers to diplomatic posts around the world (Pound 1990: 256-57).

(2) A second reason to take "Cantico del Sole" more seriously than it might first suggest is that, in the same way that Walt Whitman prophesized the twentieth-century expansion of American consciousness in *Leaves of Grass*, the future Pound's speaker wishes for in his poem *has* indeed come to pass. That is, the classics now *do* enjoy a "wide circulation" in the U.S., particularly among the college-educated, albeit if only as "classics in paraphrase" or in translation. With the proliferation of higher education after World War II grew a vast market for textbooks, including anthologies of Greek and Roman literature, for use in general humanities courses. So might we infer from their distribution in the 1950s and 1960s a causal link to the social revolution in the U.S. that followed in the 1960s and 70s? What about the equally rapid proliferation of "toga" parties at college fraternities, celebrated in the National Lampoon films, or the common practice among political activists of citing everyone from Aristophanes to Henry David Thoreau, Cicero to Mahatma Gandhi, to justify acts of civil disobedience on behalf of civil, ethnic, and women's rights, or in opposition to nuclear weapons and the war in Vietnam? Yet accompanying this widespread use of the classics in support of making radical changes in social, sexual, and religious morality has occurred another form of expansion that Pound dreaded even more than the potentially positive change he imagines in "Cantico del Sole" - namely, the growing economic autocracy in the U.S. of money lenders, financial "experts", bankers, and others unconcerned, in Pound's view, with the lives of individuals. For Pound, the bond between literature and economic policy is seamless. In his 1933 essay, "Murder by Capital", for instance, criticizing the failure of capitalist nations to support artists (not to mention millions of others unemployed during the Depression), Pound writes, "Artists are the race's antennae. The effects of social evil show first in the arts. Most social evils are at root economic. I, personally, know of no social evil that cannot be cured, or very largely cured, economically (Pound 1973: 229)".

While the period after World War II may have sparked an unprecedented expansion of higher education in the U.S. that fostered a more broadly literate citizenry, it also witnessed the unfettered growth of capitalist institutions in a manner exactly counter to the principles of culture Pound believes should rule its growth. In *Guide to Kulchur*, Pound's polemic on twentieth-century aesthetics, he strategically adopts the German term, "Kulchur", almost as though to pronounce it in an uneducated American vernacular ("kul-cha"); the effect is Pound's own deliberately self-styled,

yet re-invigorated sense of the term. Then in Chapter Two of the first part of his book, he proposes the “New Paideuma”, or “New Learning”. “I shall use Paideuma”, he explains, “for the gristly roots of ideas that are in action (Pound 1938: 58)”. Conspicuously, Paideuma does *not* refer to the *Zeitgeist*, as we might think of it, namely, that logocentric viewpoint he sees as dominating Western thought, which includes “the atmospheres, the tints of mental air and idées reçues, the notions that a great mass of people still hold or half hold from habit, from waning custom (Pound 1938: 58)”; rather, Pound defines Paideuma as his mentor, German anthropologist Leo Frobenius, taught him to use it, “for the tangle or complex of the inrooted ideas of any period (Pound 1938: 57)”. Clearly, the enemy of this “tangle or complex” is “Usury”, Pound’s epithet for the practice of lending money “without regard to production; often without regard to the possibilities of production (Pound 1995: 230)”. Usury, or “Usura”, with its disregard for the products of labor, other than as quantities in a series of financial transactions and schemes, undermines the very foundation of the Paideuma as a basis for culture, by the ways it pulls up and apart “the gristly roots” from which a civilization springs. Under such an economy, no art “is made to endure and to live with/ but it is made to sell and to sell quickly,” writes Pound in Canto 45, “Usura is a murrain, usura/ blunteth the needle in the maid’s hand/ and stoppeth the spinner’s cunning (Pound 1995: 229)”. So while the wide circulation of the classics may create (and in recent history *has* created) a greater chance for enhancing the individual autonomy Pound championed, as well as for renewing resources for “ideas that are in action”, such grand prospects for an enlightened American populace have been countered by an ever-growing potential for the economic oppression of that same populace, ironically threatening the collapse of the individualism Pound cherished even more than the classics.

(3) However, the third, most important reason to regard with more than just bemusement Pound’s “thought of what America would be like/ If the Classics had a wide circulation” concerns less a foreboding of doom for American culture than the significant place of the classics in Pound’s larger cultural project as a poet – namely, his vision of an international perspective that not only juxtaposes the “gristly roots” of widely divergent societies, literatures, histories, art forms, religious beliefs, politics, economics, and even languages, but presents and re-presents them - by way of Pound’s “ideogrammic method” in *The Cantos* - as a mingling of source texts, concrete imagery, personal experience, literary tropes, and allusions to

traditions throughout the world, virtually as a reader might find them in their original context. In a strange kinship with America's Founding Fathers (especially Jefferson and Adams, to whom he devoted long stretches of *The Cantos*), Pound's "multikulchural" impetus fundamentally envisages the same objectives that multiculturalism as a cultural theory has at the start of the twenty-first century. As difficult as it is to determine exactly what the objectives of multiculturalism are, if we try to characterize its premises, Pound (in particular, in both *Guide to Kulchur* and *The Cantos*) provides a clear precedent against which to measure what Henry Louis Gates, Jr., calls "the multicultural initiative (Gates 1992, *Loose Canons*:175)".

Gates defines "multiculturalism" as the "tendency to broaden our educational vistas" on a world "already...fissured by nationality, ethnicity, race, and gender," in a "radical departure" from a long Western tradition of discourse resistant to the "cultural challenges of pluralism"; as opposed to what he considers a "bygone model of monochrome homogeneity" in defining the ethnic, racial, class, and gender identity of groups, Gates advances a more fluid idea of pluralism, one that "sees cultures as porous, dynamic, and interactive, rather than the fixed property of particular ethnic groups (Gates 1992, "Pluralism": 37-38)". Pound's earlier work, it seems to me, explores at least four of the salient tenets of Gates's multiculturalism. (a) Like Gates, Pound supports the study of diverse literary and artistic works from a broad array of ethnic perspectives, as well as in a mixture of languages, genres and disciplines. (b) He endorses the concept of literature itself (of whatever kind) as an important source of a critique of the dominant culture (artists as the antennae of the race, to use Pound's metaphor), even to the extent that he invites "constructive criticism" of his own method and beliefs.⁸ (c) Pound's idea of *Paideuma* implicitly embraces multicultural debate as a source of social change. And (d), perhaps most significantly, so that even many of Pound's detractors follow his lead in this regard, he proposes a revision of and reinvestment in the fundamental principles of egalitarian thought. But he voices these concerns not merely by proclamation, but by his method as a poet and critic, by his resistance to compromising his individual views for the sake of being assimilated into

⁸ For instance, in *Guide to Kulchur*, Pound writes, "To the best of my knowledge young [D.G.] Bridson was the only poet to try constructive criticism on my *ABC of Reading*. He asked why particular authors (naming them) were omitted and whether someone or other couldn't replace something else. This, the careful student will observe, is the kind of answer I asked for" (Pound 1938: 148). For a discussion of Pound's openness to criticism, see Ruthven 1990: 109-13.

mainstream thought and by his didactic pose as a writer. Despite its difficulty, arcane allusions and complex style, Pound's work is not an expression of cultural elitism (a trait for which he is often criticized, nonetheless), but a *refusal* on the poet's part to patronize his reader. Pound acknowledges the non-logocentrism of his own work, especially of *The Cantos*, yet in his unwillingness to slow down or break apart his poetry for his reader - that is, by challenging his readers to engage their minds on their own terms, he conveys his respect for the reader's intellect.

One small, but telling instance of a resonant phrase found both in *Guide to Kulchur* and *The Cantos* exemplifies, I think, how Pound expresses his multiculturalism less as an ideological argument than through his method. "*Pollon d'anthropon iden*" ('And of many men he saw'), writes Pound, in both *The Cantos* and *Guide to Kulchur*, quoting the third line from Book I of the *Odyssey*. In its original context, this opening epic trope from Homer translates into English as, "And of many men he saw/ the cities, and knew their mind (Terrell 1980: 59)". More poignantly, the classicist Robert Fitzgerald translates the lines as, "He saw the townlands/ and learned the minds of many distant men (Homer 1)". Notably, when Pound first employs this phrase in Canto 12 (Pound 1995: 54), he uses the transliterated Greek (rather than the original or an English translation), thereby retaining a semblance of the original phrase's sound, oracular rhythm and thematic resonance for an English reader. Yet in the context of the canto itself, the phrase is juxtaposed to a passage about an American entrepreneur Pound knew, Baldy Bacon, thus indirectly linking him to Odysseus as being worldly, self-sufficient, and resourceful (if notoriously so, as was Odysseus) in outwitting others. Elsewhere near the beginning of *Guide to Kulchur*, Pound invokes the same phrase, but this time in the context of two Chinese characters taken from the *Analects* of Confucius:

知
人

which together form a sentence (or what Pound calls an "ideogram") he then translates as

Humanity? is to love men.
Knowledge, to know men (Pound 1938: 18).

Not only does this ideogram serve as a hallmark for Pound's theme about the purpose of culture throughout *Guide to Kulchur*, but later when he returns to it, he repeats, thus confirms, the second sentence of his early translation of the Chinese and then abruptly links it to the same phrase from the *Odyssey* found in Canto 12:

Knowledge is to know man. Mr. Alexander Pope rubs it a bit too smooth. If you translate him, the proper study for man is anthropology, you get nearer the source of error. Every word ending in -ology in English implies generalities. It implies a shutting off from particulars. It is a thousand miles remove from POLLON D'ANTHROPON IDEN.

知
人

Real knowledge goes into natural man in tidbits (Pound 1938: 98-99).

Typically here, as throughout *The Cantos*, Pound juxtaposes the Chinese and Greek phrases to insinuate the comparable (though *not* identical) savvy, even trickery, of three figures simultaneously - the Greek Odysseus, the American Baldy Bacon, and Confucius, each of whose humanity is defined (to use Fitzgerald's translation) by their "learn[ing] the minds of many distant men." But rather than assert this belief as a *statement of principle* (as, for example, Pope does in "An Essay on Man", to which Pound alludes⁹), Pound *demonstrates* his principle by offering "real knowledge... in tidbits."¹⁰

⁹ Pound is thinking of these lines from Epistle II of Pope's poem: "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan,/ The proper study of mankind is man" (Pope 1954: 57).

¹⁰ Strangely, however, nowhere in Canto 53 do the two Chinese characters themselves, which Pound juxtaposes to the Greek phrase in *Guide to Kulchur*, appear. Oddly enough, the only other use of

While his method of splicing quoted lines, contrasting images, various languages, mythic allusions, personal and historical moments, rhythms, and even tones may seem disruptive, or disorienting, at first, this method works to engage the reader not only in Pound's thought but in its implications by *enacting* his convictions. Aligning "*pollon d'anthropen iden*" with the Chinese phrase from Confucius in order to offer a perspective on Pope illustrates Pound's commitment to "ideas into action" as a part of the New Paideuma. In its specificity it also conveys another Confucian principle he deems essential to a vision of a non-Westernized, non-logocentric "Kulchur":

正名

(Pound 1995: 252)

Pronounced "CH'ING MING," meaning "to regulate + the name: to define the correct terms...: *a true definition*" (Edwards and Vasse 1957: 269), this ideogram was the first Chinese character to appear in *The Cantos* (Canto 51), at the close of *The Fifth Decad* of cantos in 1937. Together with the directive of "ideas into action", it speaks to the integrity of the individual identity, precisely defined, as rendered in the fifteenth chapter of the *Analects*, where (as Pound cites it in *Guide to Kulchur*) the Chinese sage tells his disciple:

If the terminology be not exact, if it not fit the thing, the governmental instructions will not be explicit, if the instructions aren't clear and the names don't fit, you cannot conduct business properly (Pound 1938: 16).¹¹

For Pound, especially in the 1930s, the key to accommodating differences between individuals is to achieve "a clear terminology whereof no part can be mistaken for any other" (Pound 1938: 59), where there

the Greek phrase in *The Cantos* occurs in abbreviated fashion in all capital letters, as "POLLON IDEN," at the end of Canto 53 (one of Pound's ten cantos derived from ancient Chinese history), when he applies it briefly to the "brain work" of a Taoist philosopher and minister of state named Sou-tsin near the end of the Chou Dynasty in the third century BCE (Pound 1995: 274).

¹¹ A few pages later, he cites it again, adding, "The ch'ing is used continually against ambiguity (Pound 1938: 21)".

is minimal misunderstanding in expression, such that (as he states much later), "Every man has the right to have his ideas examined one at a time (Pound 1973: 355)". The gist here is not to privilege ideas or individuals, but to define all persons or principles by an accurate *naming* of them, in relation to others.¹²

What suffocates Western culture for Pound, and what therefore appeals to him about Eastern thought as well as other particular traditions, is the linear, abstract logocentrism we have inherited from the main current of Greek thought through the Middle Ages, leading to its inevitable hierarchies and closed systems of exchange. Or, "in any case", concludes Pound, "-ologies come out of greek separation and dilettantism. 'Occupy leisure with the arts'. For Kung [Confucius] and co. the arts included riding horses and using the bow and arrow (Pound 1938: 100-1)". Cultural pluralism, or a cultural diversity that is truly inclusive, such as what Gates and other cultural theorists advance in our time, requires not only a precise awareness of widely variant communities (such as the "many men" known by Odysseus), but a ready *accommodation* of each community, according to its particular ethos in relation to one's own. In fact, as a demonstration of a spirit of inclusiveness, in both his poetry and his prose, Pound freely jumps from one culture to another, one myth to another, one language to another, one genre to another, even one discipline to another - in a graphic display of echoes that inform each other. One of the most telling paradoxes of Pound's work, especially in the style of *The Cantos*, is how the more heavily he arranges multiple correspondences of imagery, quoted phrases (translated or in their originals), mythic and historic figures, and private memories, the more intimate becomes the poet's unique voice. The more cross-cultural Pound is, the more precisely is he himself.

This is Pound's multiculturalism, then - or at least his expression of cultural pluralism - *in praxis*. If his writing often frustrates us by its abrupt shifts in subject or tone, its proliferation of unfamiliar terms and traditions, and its challenge to our sense of the function of literature, it is in no small way because of his unyielding determination to offer us *the world* and *his world* simultaneously, because of our own resistance to variant styles, and

¹² In arguing that the political goal of multiculturalism is more economic than ethnic in nature, the philosopher Richard Rorty has defended the multicultural initiative, at least in academia, as "obsessed not with the suffering but with the 'identity' of the groups that have been shoved around (Rorty 1995: 14)". This is similar to Pound's assertion that the accurate naming of an individual or group is essential to providing that person or group a meaningful place within a community; this is why literature has a crucial role to play in shaping a political economy.

because of the raw edges of his experimental project. Pound had not the historical advantage of witnessing the international exchanges (both good and bad) that by now have enabled us (for better or for worse) to handle even overt cultural differences with relative ease. His abrupt shifts and cross-cultural methodology may not be as unfamiliar to us as we might think, once we recognize our own *particular* exercising of multicultural thought in our own social and imaginative experiences.¹³

Behind the posturing, the project of Pound's literary and social criticism and the intricate design of *The Cantos* is precisely to identify the many men and women, distant and near, whom he has encountered - *pollon d'anthropon iden* - yet to name each individual accurately - *ch'ing ming*. And even as he invites criticism of his efforts, we would do well also to recognize, beyond the political blunders he made, his contribution to opening cultural vistas and making them new. Such a project ultimately testifies to Pound's abiding optimism, however strangely expressed, for the "post-modern" culture we have inherited from him. Ironically, while Pound does not seem to fit the paradigm of the multiculturalist who, as Gates puts it, "through education... seeks to comprehend the diversity of human culture" and believes that "there is no tolerance without respect - and no respect without knowledge" (Gates 1992, "Pluralism": 37), his conspicuous display of the ideogrammic method throughout the more than eight hundred pages of *The Cantos* serves as one authentic ur-text for shaping the critical thinking at the heart of any truly cross-cultural vision, in the U.S. or elsewhere. With the American Founding Fathers (and I use that term advisedly, deliberately), it has taken us more than two centuries to realize some of the implications of their thinking on behalf of individual equality and human rights, in order to begin to apply them uniformly across communities. Indeed, the full reach of their thinking is

¹³ In his introduction to an anthology of essays on multicultural theory, Charles Lemert makes a similar observation about how international consciousness has evolved in the recent centuries. Contrasting the many horrors of the contemporary world ("war, poverty, human misery, and hunger... alongside a few environmental and other miseries") with technological "wonders" such as mobile telephones and MTV that have developed concurrently, Lemert reflects on the relative social isolation of those Enlightenment thinkers who initially furnished the dominant ideas precedent to, though often critiqued by, contemporary theorists. The conditions of our own world, he suggests, have prepared us to admit cultural diversity into our thinking without question in a manner not even considered by thinkers such as Kant who rarely "gave more than passing thought to the moral, political, or economic powers and rights of those outside their very narrow spheres of social experience (Lemert 1993: 21)". By contrast, Pound's modernist work ruptured traditional Western thought through his internationalist technique and perspective.

still unknown to us. With Pound, despite his own self-destructive activities during World War II and his "stupid suburban prejudice of anti-Semitism", as he came to denigrate his own behavior late in his life (Ginsberg 8), the relevance of his thinking on cultural diversity and the Dantean reach of his work as an epic poet also remain to be discovered. Ah, yes, "the thought of what America would be like/.../ Oh, well!/ It troubles my sleep."

References

- Edwards, J. H. and William W. Vasse. *Annotated Index to the Cantos of Ezra Pound: Cantos I-LXXXIV*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Gates, H. L, Jr. (1992). *Loose Canons: Notes on the Culture Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gates, H. L, Jr. (1992). "Pluralism and Its Discontents." *Profession* 92, 35-38.
- Ginsberg, A. (1980). Encounters with Ezra Pound. In: *Composed on the Tongue: Literary Conversations, 1967-1977* (Donald Allen, ed.). San Francisco: Grey Fox Press, 1-17. (Original work published 1974)
- Heymann, D. (1976). *Ezra Pound: The Last Rower, a Political Profile*. New York: Carol Publishing.
- Homer (1963). *The Odyssey* (Robert Fitzgerald, trans.). New York: Doubleday.
- Lemert, Ch. (1993). Social Theory: Its Uses and Pleasure. In: *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings* (Charles Lemert, ed.). Boulder: Westview Press, 1-24.
- Paul, C. (2008). Ezra Pound, Alfredo Casella, and the Fascist Cultural Nationalism of the Vivaldi Revival. In: *Quaderni di Palazzo Serra 15: Ezra Pound, Language and Personae* (Massimo Bacigalupo and William Pratt, eds.). Genoa, Italy: Università degli Studi di Genova.
- Pope, A. (1954). *The Poetry of Pope: A Selection* (M.H. Abrams, ed.). New York: Appleton-Century-Croft.
- Pound, E (1936). *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*. New York: Liveright. 1970 edition.
- _____ (1938). *Guide to Kulchur*. New York: New Directions. 1968 edition.
- _____ (1968). *The Spirit of Romance*. New York, New Directions.

- _____. (1973). *Selected Prose, 1909-1965* (William Cookson, ed.). New York: New Directions.
- _____. (1990). *Personae: The Shorter Poems of Ezra Pound*. Revised Edition (Lea Baechler and A Walton Litz, eds.). New York: New Directions.
- _____. (1995). *The Cantos of Ezra Pound*. New York: New Directions.
- Preda, R. (2001). *Ezra Pound's (Post)Modern Poetics and Politics: Logocentrism, Language, and Truth*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Redman, T. (1991). *Ezra Pound and Italian Fascism*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Rorty, R. (1995, January). Demonizing the Academy. *Harper's*, 13-17.
- Ruthven, K.K. (1969). *A Guide to Ezra Pound's Personae (1926)*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- _____. (1990). *Ezra Pound as Literary Critic*. New York: Routledge.
- Schnapp, J. and Barbara Spackman (eds.) (1990). Selections from the Great Debate on Fascism and Culture: *Cultura Fascista 1926-1927*. *Stanford Italian Review*, 8, 235-72.
- Terrell, C. F. (1980). *A Companion to The Cantos of Ezra Pound*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Wilhelm, J. J. (1985). *The American Roots of Ezra Pound*. New York: Garland.

Accepted for publication: October 5th, 2010

Џон Р О Гери

„ПОМИСАО НА ТО ШТА БИ АМЕРИКА“:
НЕУОБИЧАЈЕНИ ОПТИМИЗАМ ЕЗРЕ ПАУНДА

Сажетак

Кроз поновно разматрање ране поезије Езре Паунда (Ezra Pound) "Cantico del Sol" („Кантико дел сол", 1918), која без сваке сумње представља сатиричну визију америчке културе у првим деценијама XX века, у овом есеју аутор показује како песма заправо изражава нека од Паундових уверења у којима се могу препознати његова оптимистичка очекивања у погледу домета америчке културе. Овај корпус укључује Паундову радикалну критику из четврте деценије XX века у делима као

што су *ABC of Reading*, *Jefferson and/or Mussolini*, i *Guide to Kulchur* (ABC читалачке праксе, Џеферсон и Мусолини, и Водич за Калчер), а на још упечатљивији начин овај принцип исказан је у његовој епској песми *The Cantos* (Кантос). Аутор овог есеја тврди да упркос Паундовим контраверзама, односно економским и политичким погледима које изражава у својој прози (оних који су довели до његовог хапшења 1945. године) Паунд остаје оптимиста у погледу потенцијала америчке културе. Иза његовог китњастог стила, само-деструктивног прихватања Мусолинија и комплексне поетике Паунд је предвидео, чак и у својој поезији изразио неопходност изградње мултикултуралног друштва. Крајем века ова потреба се испољила као један од основних обележја америчке заједнице.

Кључне речи: Езра Паунд, рана поезија, сатира, радикална очекивања, епска песма, Кантос оптимистичка визија, мултикултуралност као императив

Teresa Bruś

University of Wrocław, Poland

FATHOMING SNAPSHOTS AND POETRY

Abstract

This paper sets out to examine “Hitler’s First Photograph”, (1986) by the Nobel Prize winning Polish poet Wisława Szymborska as a site of conflict between writing and image. In relying on one captivating photograph, the poem reveals a sense of ambivalence about writing and history, and above all about deceptive surfaces of affirming snapshots. Drawing on Jean Luc Nancy’s insights, the author argues that the visual image makes perceptible what is often identified as impossible to be perceived. In “Hitler’s First Photograph” the poetic regarding of an artless but incontrovertible photograph creates an uneasy multiple portrait that gathers its object and its viewers in a surprising illumination.

Key words: writing/image, photograph, writing/history, multiple portrait, surprising illumination

In post-industrial society, “this colossal and labyrinthine phototeque”¹ everybody possesses a camera and everybody takes snaps everything. We continue to assume that the photographs taken with ever-faster, smaller and more precise cameras are clear and objective reflections of the world, its meaning and its shape. But very few observers, Vilém Flusser acknowledges, can and feel the need and have the ability to decode photographs, to question our understanding of them, and to examine deceptive photographic ways of representing the world. Flusser also warns that in a “global image scenario” humans do not use images to orientate themselves in the world, but to live “lives which become a function of their own images (Flusser 2000:10)”.

¹ Jean-Luc Nancy’s phrase (2005:106) is used, however, to analyze the dialectics of the photographed body.

Flusser's diagnosis is a pessimistic vision of society fascinated by immobile and silent surfaces without value, a vision inattentive to spaces and to subjects which consciously and provocatively pay attention to the photographic image and its always unexpected functions. I find that some recent poetic treatments of the relationship between the text and image also offer a sophisticated elucidation of the workings of technical images which so powerfully and decisively dominate our consciousness and practice.

In contemporary thought, the visual image, as a model image, is regarded as an obvious and unique way of mediating between the world and us. The image, we understand, is significant (Flusser) and inexhaustibly distinct, separate, and palpable, but at the same time moving and absorbing (Jean Luc-Nancy). The image sets apart while it paradoxically affirms and condenses the world. Its complexity is dependent on the careful observer, but their intention and their attention to it is no longer of the order provoking a change of relation with the world. The image has the potential power to reveal its magical or even sacred world (Nancy), provided it is actively decoded, or "scanned." In addition, Flusser says, its relationships are structurally, "different from...the linear world of history in which nothing is repeated and in which everything has causes and will have consequences (Flusser 2000: 9)". The image is always extreme in its "immutability and impassability," says Nancy, in its "distension", though it makes itself seductively available (Nancy 2005: 10).

Yet the magic attached to the image, the magic of which Flusser speaks in terms of fascination, is a new, post-historic kind of enchantment. "It is magic of the second order: conjuring tricks with abstractions (Flusser 2000: 17)". Always looking for new layers of the relationship between the image and the word, Flusser assumes the primacy of the word, giving his explanation of why "technical images were invented: in order to make texts comprehensible again, to put them under a magic spell – to overcome the crisis of history (Flusser 2000: 13)". In the post-industrial world, in his philosophy of history, he laments the fact that images have become cheap playthings. Thus he sees the force of the image – what Nancy identifies as the intimacy of the image – as inescapably compromised and threatened by the constraining developments in the jungle of Western culture. Nancy, on the other hand, chooses to deposit the image's dangerous and often destructive distinction – its separate "dense", "condensed", "tight" and immobile potential – in art, art seen as necessary observance.

In this paper I propose to examine one picture used in a poem by Wisława Szymborska under the revealing title “Hitler’s First Photograph.” In the poem we are looking at an image and experience it poetically in its missing materiality. It baffles. Upon consideration, questions about its material and conceptual identity, questions about our own and history’s identity paradoxically unfold, enticing reflection. As a captivating visual image, this photo also functions as a shield against the accuracy of our claims and against determinacy based on visual experience, as a message in defense of poetic experience. The poet, like a careful observer, reads the image for us, in the words of Flusser, to “bestow significance on it”, to engage both conceptual and imaginative thought in order to reinforce them (Flusser 2000: 12). Additionally, this poem, like many others taking up photographs as points of reference, testifies to always present conflicts in mediation between writing and images. In its reliance on one photograph, the poem reveals a sense of ambivalence about writing and history while it also surprises. Although the poet calls this visual image a photograph, I will propose to read it as a snapshot for reasons to be presented in the later part of the paper.

Since the inception of photography poets have handled its relationships, its unstudied rhythm. By employing metaphoric cameras, poets become verbal photographers, their words capturing fragmentary moments as archivists of mental photographic images. By reflecting on them as viewers and readers, poets like the Nobel Prize-winning Szymborska have yielded to the strangely seductive power of photographic images as if words did not carry the comparable force of the image. Inserting metaphoric photographs into their poems, photographs, which are always only a fragment, as Sontag often says, the poets play with an additional kind of moral and emotional weight. Poetic subjects recall² and read these brief images and adjust them to their experiences; photographs thus become agents of contact with the real and with themselves. Not surprisingly, poetic readings of such images open up questions beyond immediate personal concerns. Thus looking at, considering (with its etymological implication of examining the stars to see how they come together), the photographic image is often an act of

² T.S. Eliot, for example, speaks in a disappointed tone when he acknowledges the fragmentary, accidental and unsatisfactory nature of ‘photographs.’ He says “when we try to recall visually some period in the past, we find in our memory just the few meagre arbitrarily chosen set of snapshots that we find there, the faded poor souvenirs of passionate moments [emphasis mine](1958: 95)”.

composition and de-composition. We expect poetry to “girder” that visual plenitude.³

The modern poet’s preference often is for a concrete type of imagery that is imagery “in communion” with ordinary, concrete people, participants in life. The image, responding to the disorganization and disconnectedness of experience and reality, realizes the first-hand experience always intermingled with the accidental and banal. Louis MacNeice, for example, in the poem “*Nature morte*” invites a response to that stabilizing calm, that Barthesian “strange stasis” of a visual surface. The everyday experiences we receive by the senses offer, MacNeice says, “things misfelt and misheard.” The word, akin to the camera, “by photographing our ghosts”, freezes “the light on the sun-fondled” trees, though “pretentious” it “claims to put us at our ease.” An ordinary snapshot, like the printed word in a journal, possesses that protective, shielding quality but the ease is not from arrest, not from recognition of the “multiplication” of our lives in the photographs. Critically, we begin to see that despite its quality of solidity and staidness, “even a still life is alive”, as MacNeice says. What the careful observer recognizes is that “stillness” “exudes” that “appalling unrest of the soul.” MacNeice, the poet of light writing, of “photo” and “graphie”, acknowledges the attraction and even pathos not of presentation, but of an enticing kind of casting forth, a projection of contact even in a simple picture.

In a collusion of the mediating practices of the image and word, the problem of sense,⁴ or the multiplicity of senses and the significance of a single photograph has triggered intense debates. Barthes, for example, defending photography as art related to literature, affirms that “Photography, like the word constitutes a form which desires to express something. It makes me discover meaning, or at least a given sense.” For Barthes, the form appears

³ The ethos of photography and poetry is close: “As painting has become more and more conceptual”, argues Susan Sontag, “poetry (since Apollinaire, Eliot, Pound, and William Carlos Williams) has more and more defined itself as concerned with the visual. Poetry’s commitment to the concreteness and to the autonomy of the poem’s language parallels photography’s commitment to pure seeing. Both imply discontinuity, disarticulated forms and compensatory unity: wrenching things from their context, bringing things together elliptically, according to imperious but often arbitrary demands of subjectivity” (1977: 95-96). ‘In *Aesthetics of Photography*, Francois Soulages shows the unavoidable tensions between Baudelaire’s criticism of photography as the enemy of poetry and dreams, as mere *techné*, and Lamartine’s enthusiastic acceptance of photography as art.

⁴ Berger proposes an interesting perspective arguing that the assumption that photography creates sense, is a way of securing it both for the past and the future (in Soulages 2007: 308).

only to disappear, making room for the assumed reality of the represented thing (Soulages 2007: 309). John Berger, on the other hand, denies any clear sense in a photo, strongly arguing that by photographing the event beyond time, it “necessarily excludes its sense” (Soulages 2007: 307). Already in 1893 Bertillon recognized that we can see again in thought only that which lent itself to description (Soulages 2007: 308). Without language, a photograph is believed to remain elusive.

The term “snapshot” calls for some explanation. Interestingly, its first uses take us to poetic practices. Surrealism, Ian Walker argues, began with an interest taken in the “realms of the instantaneous, the world of snapshot.” Aragon’s famous “*royaumes de l’instantané*” or “the realms of the instantaneous” was the realm of snapshots, the realm of immediacy and unmediation, so attractive to the Surrealists who eschewed skill and conscious design in their art. The snapshot, the *instantané*, represented that form of photography practically synonymous with Kodak (Walker 2002:12). We should recall also the fascination with snapping embraced by the twenties artists like Rodchenko postulating “Against a Synthetic Portrait, for the Snapshot”. Snapshots are pictures taken very quickly, instantaneously, often carelessly and because of that they are received as uncontrived, as more indexical, more magically charged. Taking snapshots is a practice of amateurs and therefore received as more authentic; after all, the users of cameras are not expected to know how to create the images. The amateur, according to Barthes, is one who “engages without the spirit of mastery or competition,” and who despite a lack of skill “will be the counter-bourgeois artist” (Barthes 1977: 52). Like a fine art-photographer, he can produce visually very beautiful and accomplished photographs, but unlike a professional photographer, the amateur in possession of “new” cameras on the market (46), snaps a picture of anything and everything. He produces more and more images, and consequently, he becomes an “extension to the button of the camera,” whose “actions are automatic camera functions” (Flusser 2000: 58). Amateurs are key figures responsible for what Flusser describes as a terrifying and continual “flow of unconsciously created images (Flusser 2000: 58) in modern culture.

As a spontaneous, banal, off-hand, and only seemingly unstudied image, the snapshot offers insight into random, sometimes unconventional subjects⁵. Moreover, as the photography of the everyday, the highly

⁵ Critical for any discussion of snapshot poetics is the recognition of a growing interest in and, despite Flusser’s philosophical denigration, a critical valuation of the possibilities of

personal, and often synonymous with the old, the accidentally found and sometimes the unidentified, the snapshot responds to our frequent need for visibility and perpetuation. We believe we can obtain visibility in a snapshot in the form of “flies in amber”, as Metz aptly puts it (Metz 1985: 84). Thus snapshots are used as reference markers for identities, containing and controlling the shocking as well as the boring.

For the careful viewer willing to pause and reflect on them, snapshots can disclose “a simpler, more permanent, more clearly visible version of the plain fact (Metz 1985: 85)”. Paradoxically, the snapshot affirms the world outside of us and our view of it while not signaling knowable reality. It can be said to unsettle the process of knowing while aggressively “filling the sight by force (Barthes 1993: 91)”. Put more assertively, a snapshot, like death, is an instantaneous abduction of the subject out of the world into another world, into another kind of time, into another kind of world. Metz concludes that it is a “journey with no return (1985: 84)”. As a “death apparatus” the snapshot deadens perception, but attracts with its flat availability and obviousness.

Metz explains that a photograph is a “cut inside the referent – a snapshot cuts off a piece of it, a fragment, a part of the object (Metz 1985: 84)”. Frozen and immobile, the snapshot is a discrete parcel or slice of time, a quoting out of context or, as MacNeice says, a caged minute; it gives us an atomized structure. It is for this reason that in a consideration of the structure of the image, Flusser wants us to consider it as “doubt made up of points of hesitation and points of decision-making” where reality is “information” and not the “significance of this information (Flusser 2000: 39)”.

Some argue that the snapshot penetrates our consciousness, it works like consciousness. Taking a picture of some event strips the experience of its dynamic power and merely registers it as reductions of real things. Jervis sees taking pictures as a way of “insulating against the experience of shock while recording it”, eclipsing “important sources and forms of experience, ”preventing them from being “really absorbed as such, never really ‘lived’ (1998: 316)”. Rendering experience in an image is grounded

the poetics of the snapshot. Recent displays given to snapshots testify to this attention. In 1998, the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art showed, for example, “Snapshots: The Photography of Everyday Life 1888 to the Present”; in 2000 John Paul Getty mounted an exhibition entitled, “Close to Home: An American Album.” Both enjoyed tremendous popularity.

in exclusions: “to possess the world in the form of images”, Sontag says, is to “re-experience the unreality and remoteness of the real”, it is to “miniaturize experience” and “transform history into spectacle” (Sontag 1977: 110).

The economy of interruption and fragmentation in the snapshot conceals not only sources and forms of experience (subjective yet subjectless), but also individual desires. As a “material artifact of the imagination,” a snapshot shares many properties of the fetish in its ordinary association, “combining a double and contradictory function: “on the side of metaphor, an inciting and encouraging one”, and “on the side of metonymy, an apotropaic one, that is averting of danger”, both “loss” and “protection against loss” (Metz 1985: 84).

The Real and the Live: by attesting that the object has been real, the photograph surreptitiously induces belief that it is alive, because of that delusion which makes us attribute to Reality an absolutely superior, somehow eternal value; but by shifting this reality to the past (“this-has-been”), the photograph suggests that it is already dead (Barthes 1993: 79).

It is not so if a photograph, or a casual snapshot, is embedded in poetry. In Szyborska’s provocative poem the seemingly casual and penetrating observer asks: “And who’s this little fellow in his itty-bitty robe?” A casual question about the identity and distinction of the subject, in what we know is its first photograph, indicates the observer’s separation from the subject and at the same time it allows the subject, *this* little fellow, to assume diminutive presence, concealed in plain clothes. In this photograph, the observer distinguishes a subject and, without hesitation, posits its identity with an exclamation: “That’s tiny baby Adolf, the Hitlers’ little boy!” The answer gives a name to the immobile and silent subject, a formal name, a kind of extrinsic identification which calls for no other introduction. And yet as soon as the name is established, revealed by the speaker, it is suspended. The observer in “Hitler’s First Photograph” does not fall back on shared associations with Hitler’s name, but literally falls for the magic of the image. Thus she responds in the fashion Flusser expects of an acute reader of a visual image. “The magical nature of images must be taken into account when decoding them”, he says. “Thus it is wrong to look for ‘frozen events’ in images. Rather they replace events by states of things and translate them into scenes.” He alerts us to both the “superficial

nature” of the scene and the “contradiction peculiar to images (Flusser 2000: 9)”.

The magic of the first photo of baby Adolf emanates from the appeal to the intensity and intimacy of the presentation of the “tiny baby Adolf.” It gathers force through sensory references to “mommy’s sunshine,” (sight) and “Adolf’s heartchen knocking”, (hearing), as well as the play of diminutives like “little”, “itty-bitty”, “kitten”, “tot” “sugar”, before going to catalogue symbolic accessories of childhood. It puts in motion – it agitates – the enchanting tactile, olfactory, kinesthetic and musical faculties of the baby and the viewer. Assembled, these qualities create a condensed site that Jean Luc Nancy, who reads visual images as scenes with ontological content, identifies as “sur-face, exposition, ex-expression.” Isolating anything ugly from the scene, fitting in the fore of the image not with the “fate’s footsteps” or the “howling dogs” but the “smell of yeast dough”, the poet composes an image, a surface, in Nancy’s words that is a “traction and an attraction (Nancy 2005: 9)”. The photograph unmistakably engages a sense of magic of the baby’s first photo. But it is not the magic in the sense of ancient ritualization of myths, but rather as what Flusser calls “current magic,” or programmed magic which ignores historical consciousness (Flusser 2000: 17). “Hitler’s First Photograph” gives us an image that is post-historic. In Braunau, Hitler’s “small, but worthy town”, the observer says “A history teacher loosens his collar/and yawns over homework.”

Like Walter Benjamin’s active future developer of images, the speaker in the poem brings out the plate and marks its significance. The observer considers an image of the perishable bits and pieces, in the artless and swift moment captured in the photograph in the year 1889. It is significant that in the scene created in the poem, little Adolf “looks just like his folks, like a kitten in a basket, / like the tots in every other family album.” The intimacy and ordinariness of this “honey bun” - Adolf Hitler - not even the words “fate’s footsteps” intimate the “Bosch-like hell” which we hear of in another poem by Szyborska under the title “Family Album.” The viewer recognizes the plenitude of this scene. Little Adolf looks but does not see us and his is a look of “phantom’s calm” because it is paradoxically looking without seeing: “The Photograph separates attention from perception”; the calm is a result of that “aberrant thing” in photography “*noesis* without *noeme*, an action of thought without thought”, and because the look *retains* attention (Szyborska 1993: 113) without disclosing anything in return. That removed fullness as emptiness is possible only as a photographic image.

We are told “tiny baby Adolf” looks just like “the tots in every other family album.” He is captured by a camera, looked at without acknowledging anybody’s look: “The camera will click from under that black hood.” Its mechanical and sophisticated click produces the image-symbol. After 1900 the cameras became “foolproof”, a realization not of a unique and single perspective or the photographer’s vision, but of an expected result, a way of thinking which, as Flusser notes, every camera is programmed to produce. The camera is an apparatus used for recording images, but also for playing with them. Flusser says that a camera’s function is to play with symbols and combine them (Flusser 2000: 28). But by isolating this moment of conscious and determined recording – “the camera will click” – the poet distinguishes something else. Hidden under “that black hood”, the camera is an obscure but potent object situated in the third stanza of the poem.

In the midst of the familiar – “A little pacifier, diaper, rattle, bib” – the click of the camera is summoned to announce the unfamiliar, the altered moment, an altered subject, but also to create an expected record, a new convergence of identities. “This click, and this *hic and nunc* eternalizes here and now (Nancy 2005:105)”. The speaker, confirming the result of this instantaneous abduction and alterity, carefully directs us to “The Klinger Atelier, Grabenstrasse, Braunau” where it was most likely developed. The place of birth of this snapshot with the birthplace of Hitler, the birth of the image and the birth of a person, come upon each other in the poem, overseen by the speaker as two subjects. The Atelier is where the image was captured testifying to the difficult “I am” of this first portrait.

We are transported beyond the view from beneath the black hood, from inside the scene of signs of the delivery of a “long-awaited guest” to outside, past the windows with “geraniums” into a parallel site of decorum and well-being in the “worthy town” of Braunau. The poet captures here the gravity of the common incidence of the snapshot’s split between the luminous (*photo*), (in stanza two there is natural light to see as well, and its trace (*graphie*) in the first photograph. In the following lines, though, the peacefulness of Braunau, the “smell of yeast dough” as well as of “gray soap”, portending perhaps the bodies in the ovens of Auschwitz, or the human fat rendered into soap in the camps, for now only marks the innocence and the clarity of this moment of coincidence of light and the eye. And what we are invited to consider in this curious shift in location (most likely printed on the picture and therefore centrally located in the poem) is perhaps the gesture to include in the first snapshot of Hitler also the takers of the photograph and us, “we

who were grasped in the grasping” in what Nancy calls “the strangeness of our illuminated capture (Nancy 2005:105)”.

The poet’s regard of the photograph brings together the poet and Hitler and two times, the time of the photograph and the time of viewing. However, despite the silence and the comforting smells, despite the play of permutations of options concerning Hitler’s future, we see that the poet’s reading of the photograph, to draw again on Nancy’s powerful insights, arrives not at a view or a vision but at a “stigma of surprise” (2005: 104) and so do we. The initial question “And who’s this little fellow in his itty bitty robe?” is an invitation to that surprise, that coincidence Nancy so aptly describes as the “common incidence” of “being taken by each other” and by “coming upon each other... as the same image (Nancy 2005: 104)”. So as soon as “The photo *captures* the familiar,” we should not be surprised that “immediately, instantaneously, it *strays* into strangeness. By capturing its own straying, it leads what it captures astray. The photograph *estranges*, it estranges us (Nancy 2005:106)”. It makes perceptible what is often identifies as imperceptible or impossible to be perceived. Suggesting and playing with grasped illuminations of the image, which in its inactuality and attention clings to the poet. The photograph in the poem, and the poem about the photograph engage a disturbing “coming upon” of one another, a kind of acting out of being grasped in the act of grasping and portrait building. Hitler and us, “others together” taken in what is a poetic “illuminated capture” (Nancy 2005: 106).

Inadequate as the poet’s *regarding* of this artless but incontrovertible photograph is, we nevertheless sense it discloses a lot in one thing, the *exorbitant* thing.⁶ Certainly, the putting of the poetic and photographic vision together creates a sort of uneasy multiple portrait that surprises and gathers us despite the obscurity implied in our brief determination.

⁶ I am following Barthes here who says that in the photograph there is : “no odor, no music, nothing but the *exorbitant* thing (1993: 91)”.

References

- Barthes, R. (1993). *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*. Trans. Richard Howard, London: Vintage.
- Barthes, R. (1977). *Roland Barthes by Roland Barthes*. Trans. Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Benjamin, W. (1985). "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction". In: *Illuminations*. Ed. Hannah Arendt, Trans. Harry Zohn, New York: Schocken Books.
- Eliot, T.S. (1958). *Selected Prose*. Ed. John Hayward, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
- Flusser, V. (2000). *Towards a Philosophy of Photography*. Trans. Anthony Matthews. London: Reaktion Books.
- Jervis, J. (1998). *Exploring the Modern: Patterns of Western Culture and Civilization*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- MacNeice, L. (1979). *Collected Poems*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Metz, C. (1985). "Photography and Fetish" in *October*, vol. 34, Autumn, 1985, 81-90.
- Nancy, J. L. (2005). *The Ground of the Image*. Trans. Jeff Fort. New York: Fordham UP.
- Sontag, S. (1977). *On Photography*. London: Allen Lane.
- Soulage, F. (2007). *Estetyka fotografii: Strata i zysk*. Kraków: Universitas.
- Szyborska, W. (1993). *Nic dwa razy. Wybór wierszy: Nothing Twice. Selected Poems*. Trans. Stanisław Barańczak and Clare Cavanagh. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie.
- Walker, I. (2002). *City Gorged with Dreams: Surrealism and Documentary Photography in Interwar Paris*. Manchester: Manchester UP.

Accepted for publication: October 5th, 2010

Тереза Бруш

РАЗМИШЉАЊЕ О ФОТОГРАФИЈИ И ПОЕЗИЈИ

Сажетак

Предмет овог есеја јесте песма пољске песникиње и добитнице Нобелове награде Виславе Шимборске (Wisława Szymborska) **"Hitler's First Photograph,"** ("Прва Хитлерова фотографија", 1986), која је у есеју претстављена као простор међусобног сагледавања језика и слике. Надахнута једном упечатљивом фотографијом, песма изражава осећање амбивалентности између песничког стварања и фактографије, а изнад свега открива варљивост која је у природи слике. На темељу идеја Жана Лука Нансија (Jean Luc Nancy), ауторка овог есеја заснива уверење да слика омогућава схватање онога што се обично сматра несхватљивим. Неуметничка, али снажна слика пружа основу за поетско промишљање у песми **"Hitler's First Photograph"** стварајући, кроз поетску визију, групни портрет у коме се објекат и посматрачи састају у неочекиваној епифанији.

Кључне речи: писање-слика, фотографија, писање, фактографијавишеструки портрет, ненадана фактографија

Olga Glebova

Jan Dlugosz University of Czestochowa, Poland

LITERARY PARODY IN THE FIRST DECADE OF THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

Abstract

The first decade of the twenty-first century has been marked by a "revival" of the genre of the parody novel, which manifested itself in the publication of a series of books poking fun at the most famous bestsellers of the recent years. This paper examines the specific features of contemporary parody novels, considers the functions they perform in the social context of popular fiction and tries to account for the proliferation of the parody novel genre in the present historical moment described as the age of globalization.

Key words: parody novel, popular fiction, the age of globalization

The first decade of the twenty-first century has been marked by the emergence of an interesting literary phenomenon – a "revival" of the genre of the parody novel, which manifested itself in the publication of a series of books poking fun at the most famous bestsellers of the recent years. The book that set the trend was Michael Gerber's witty parody of the first four Harry Potter novels by J.K. Rowling. Gerber's parody first appeared online as a self-published "print-on-demand" book in December 2001 and became an instant success, drawing thousands of visitors to <www.barrytrotter.com>. In 2002 Gerber's parody entitled *Barry Trotter and the Unauthorized Parody* was published by the American publishing company Simon and Schuster; the same year the book was printed in Great Britain by Gollancz under the title *Barry Trotter and the Shameless Parody*. The wide popularity of Gerber's parody led to his writing a parody-sequel, *Barry Trotter and the*

Unnecessary Sequel (2003), and a parody-prequel, *Barry Trotter and the Dead Horse* (2004).

The publication of Gerber's first Harry Potter parody coincided with the reprint of Henry N. Beard and Douglas C. Kenney's *Bored of the Rings* by Gollancz in 2001 (the book was first published in 1969 by Signet for the Harvard Lampoon, an undergraduate humour publication and social organization at Harvard University). "Tolkienmania" brought to life Adam Roberts's *The Soddit, or Cashing in Again* (2003) and *The Sellamillion* (2004). Shortly after the release of the film *The Chronicles of Narnia: The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (2005) Gerber produced *The Chronicles of Blarnia: The Lying Bitch in the Wardrobe* (2005). The incredible success of Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code* (2003) was followed by a number of parodies, with Henry Beard's *The Dick Cheney Code* (2004), Adam Roberts's *The Va Dinci Cod* (2005), Toby Clements's *The Asti Spumante Code* (2005) and Robert Rankin's *The Da-da-de-da-da Code* (2007) among them.

It is the purpose of this essay to examine the specific features of contemporary parody novels, to consider the functions they perform in the social context of popular fiction and to try to account for the proliferation of the parody novel genre in the present historical moment described as the age of globalization.

Parody (from Greek *parodeia*, 'a song sung alongside another') is usually defined as "a mocking imitation of the style of a literary work or works, ridiculing the stylistic habits of an author or school by exaggerated mimicry (Baldick 1996: 161)". Parodies are commonly classified into ludic and satirical ones. While the former are aimed at merely amusing and entertaining the reader, the latter have an evaluative or normative function providing criticism of marked stylistic features of a writer, deriding overused conventions of a school/genre, or ridiculing the ideas and contents of a source text. Moreover, literary parodies may also be used for political purposes, as a weapon in the cultural wars of a given historical period. Another distinction is made between specific and general parody, i.e.

between the fully developed formal parody which constitutes the complete text – whose whole *raison d'être* is its relation to its precursor text or parodied mode – and those glancing parodic allusions which are to be found very widely in writing, often aimed at no more than a phrase or fragment of current jargon and sometimes indicated by little more than "scare quotes" (the written equivalent of a hostile intonation) (Dentith 2000: 7).

At the end of the twentieth century there appeared some important publications in which attempts were made to rethink the traditional understanding of parody as a mocking imitation. Margaret Rose (1979) called attention to the fact that certain kinds of parodic fiction act as metafiction, i.e. in parodying one text (or a kind of text), the parody text holds up a mirror to its own fictional practices. In her later work Rose reconnected parody with the fully comic practice to be found in Rabelais's or Sterne's writing (Rose 1993). On the other hand, Linda Hutcheon (1985) made an effort to return the term parody to a more neutral usage in which the element of mockery would be absent – in which case parody would be more like the practice of imitation (Dentith 2000: 193). Simon Dentith proposed a broad and comprehensive definition of parody as “any cultural practice which provides a relatively polemical allusive imitation of another cultural production or practice (Dentith 2000: 9)”.

The tradition of literary parody is very rich in English language literature, suffice to mention Henry Fielding's *Shamela* (1741), Jane Austen's *Love and Friendship* (1789) and *Northanger Abbey* (1818), T.L. Peacock's *Nightmare Abbey* (1818), W.M. Thackeray's *Rebecca and Rowena* (1849) and other parodic works, or Bret Harte's *Sensation Novels Condensed* (1875). As Mikhail Bakhtin remarks, “there never was a single strictly straightforward genre, no single type of literary discourse [...] that did not have its own parodying and travesty double, its own comic-ironic *contre-partie*” (Bakhtin 1981: 53). Parody thus is as old as literary art itself and can be found at every stage of the historical development of literature. However, some historical periods seem to be especially conducive to parody, while at others parody withers away.

There has been considerable debate about the role and place of parody in the postmodern age. On the one hand, Fredric Jameson in his well-known essay “Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism” (1984) argues that under late capitalism there seems no longer to be a cultural norm to resist, therefore parody of dominant norms is impossible and gives way to pastiche which takes no critical distance from the material it recycles, in fact, it is “blank parody” (Jameson 1991 [1984]: 17–18). Pastiche is then seen as characteristic of postmodernism and thus expresses the cultural logic of late capitalism, since the absolute extension of the commodity system prevents the recourse to any discourse of nature or tradition (as in earlier Modernism) which could be used to measure or ironize the forms that are pastiched (Allen 2000: 183–184).

On the other hand, Linda Hutcheon, polemicizing with Jameson, calls parody “a perfect postmodernist form” because “it paradoxically both incorporates and challenges that which it parodies. It also forces a reconsideration of the idea of origin that is compatible with other postmodern interrogations of liberal humanist assumptions (Hutcheon 1988: 11)”. Hutcheon defines parody as repetition with difference (emphasizing the latter): “A critical distance is implied between the backgrounded text being parodied and the new incorporating work, a distance usually signalled by irony (Hutcheon 1988: 32)”. However, Hutcheon’s understanding of parody has been criticized on the grounds that in her works it acquires too broad a meaning replacing at times the notion of intertextuality; as a result, she has to continue to reshape and redirect her definition of parody (Allen 2000; Dentith 2000).

With respect to this debate, a question arises: how to account for the flourishing of parody novels today, in the historical circumstances of late capitalism with its global market system and commodification of knowledge and intellectual work? Are parody novels, being a small part of contemporary popular culture, which is the product of a huge entertainment industry, just commodities created with a view to meeting the demands of a mass consumer? I will deal with this question in the last section of the essay, after discussing the specificity of today’s parody novels and their function in contemporary cultural discourse.

The parody novels published at the start of the new century share some important common features. They represent the “specific” kind of parody, i.e. they are mainly engaged with one precursor text and are long enough to be published as a single book. One of the main stylistic devices used in these parodies to travesty the original is a kind of pun known in classical rhetoric as *antisthecon* – transformation of a word by replacing a sound, a letter or a syllable in such a way that the newly created word should rhyme with the original one (this device can be observed already in the parody titles where, for example, Harry Potter becomes Barry Trotter, the Hobbit is the Soddit, Narnia turns Blarnia, etc.). As a result, the effect of semantic degradation is achieved, when words (especially proper names) acquire negative, ironic and derogatory connotations.

The majority of contemporary parody novels are based on the greatest international bestsellers – books by J.K. Rowling, J.R.R. Tolkien and Dan Brown, which represent the key genres of popular literature – fantasy fiction and detective fiction and which have redefined and enriched

these traditional genres giving rise to new forms. In *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien, creating a vast and coherent **alternative world, with its own** mythology, chronology, and cartography, whose complexity far outruns the immediate needs of plot, has produced a work that is considered to be a definitive version of the fantasy genre. J.K. Rowling's Harry Potter series, combining gothic elements, fantasy and mystery, has become the archetypal postmodern tale for children and young adults. Dan Brown's *The Da Vinci Code*, drawing on the myth of international conspiracy, **which has always** fascinated the popular imagination, **and setting the murder mystery plot** in the present with the solution of the mystery lying in the past and revealing esoteric knowledge to the reader, has reshaped the classic conspiracy thriller and introduced a distinctive formula of a subgenre **which came** to be known as "esoteric whodunit". Thus the sources of the parodies, despite much controversy and the negative criticism they evoked, are influential texts of popular culture which inspired many followers and imitators. The parodies, providing a critique of the tradition to which their sources belong, at the same time, paradoxically, authorize this tradition and confirm the status of their precursor texts within it.

All of the parody novels discussed here combine ludic and satirical functions. They are fun to read, part of the enjoyment depending on the sense of play and – for the fans of the original texts – on the extension of pleasure connected with the initial encounter with **the source** (John Ellis 1982) argues that this kind of pleasure is evoked by all types of literary appropriation). But these parodies also hold up to ridicule the absurdities of fantasy novels and conspiracy thrillers – those "falsifying genres which offer wonder and wish-fulfillment (Dentith 2000: 74)". **The inconsistencies** of Tolkien's plot, his "linguistic and mythic structures, [...] his use of Norse tales and wicked phoneme fricatives" (Beard and Kenney 2001: 2) are parodied in *Bored of the Rings*, together with the source's paratext which is imitated by the inclusion of the preface, the prologue, poetry, songs and a double page map which has almost nothing to do with the events in the text. Gerber's *The Chronicles of Blarnia: The Lying Bitch in the Wardrobe* (2005), which features the Perversie siblings, apart from criticizing the idiosyncrasies of C.S. Lewis's style, has a broader scope, being a spoof on contemporary fiction's preoccupation with dark themes and perverse material – deviant sexuality and dysfunctional families (as, for example, in Ian McEwan's early fiction, associations with which Gerber's text evokes). Gerber's Harry Potter parodies make jibes at the "political correctness"

of Rowling's books, at what the parodist takes to be their tokenism – superficial reference to difference and multiculturalism: "Barry got a letter from the headmaster. He showed it to the group. 'Maybe it's good news [...],' said Manuel Rodriguez, a third-year who will not reappear, but was shoehorned in so that not *everybody* in this story was white, middle-class, and British (Gerber 2001: 8, original emphasis)". Interestingly, the authors of the parodies often emphasize their admiration for the writers whose works they ironically and playfully mimic. Gerber, who calls himself "a great big Potter fan", dedicates his first Harry Potter parody to J.K. Rowling "with impudent admiration", while Beard and Kenney in their "Foreword" to *Bored of the Rings* write: "All fooling aside, we consider ourselves honored to be able to make fun of such an impressive, truly masterful work of genius and imagination (Bear and Kenney 2001: 3)". In consequence, contemporary parodies are simultaneously irreverent and honorific, mocking their sources and paying tribute to them.

Twenty-first-century parody novels, typically, include elements of political satire serving as a comment on the social and political concerns of our world. For example, in *The Dick Cheney Code* Henry Beard scorns the Bush/Cheney administration for conservative policy and arrogant leadership, while *Bored of the Rings* makes allusions to the plight of native Americans and illegal immigration in the USA.

More significantly, however, parody novels function as one of the specific ways in which globalization has been registered by contemporary literature. As is well known, globalization has emerged in the first decade of the twenty-first century as a defining paradigm in nearly every area of human activity. The term globalization is used to denote a process by which regional economies, societies, and cultures have become integrated through a globe-spanning network of communication and trade. David Held, one of the leading British theorists of globalization, underlines its manifold nature and describes it as "a process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in their spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power (Held *et al.* 1999: 16)".

Globalization has also generated international opposition – usually referred to as the anti-globalization movement, though many scholars point out that the term "anti-globalization" has been misused because in fact this movement represents "a wide range of interests and issues and many of

the people involved in the anti-globalization movement do support closer ties between the various peoples and cultures of the world through, for example, aid, assistance for refugees, and global environmental issues” (Stiglitz and Charlton 2005: 54 n. 23). Noam Chomsky notes that the term globalization

has been appropriated by the powerful to refer to a specific form of international economic integration, one based on investor rights, with the interests of people incidental. [...] Accordingly, advocates of other forms of globalization are described as “anti-globalization”; and some, unfortunately, even accept this term, though it is a term of propaganda that should be dismissed with ridicule. No sane person is opposed to globalization, that is, international integration. [...] globalization [...] attends to the rights of people, not private power systems (Chomsky 2002).

Contemporary parody novels are products of economic and cultural globalization. Their effective reception (including translation into foreign languages) **is ensured by the status of their source texts as global blockbusters**. Together with film adaptations, parody novels have become part of an industry of spin-offs spawned by their sources. They capitalize on the success of the great bestsellers and at the same time act as a marketing tool to boost their sales.

Globalization is explicitly thematized in many of the parodies, which become a medium through which some of the contradictions of today’s global society are played out. Contemporary parody novels often examine material conditions of literary practice in the age of globalization and discuss the impact of globalization processes on the production, circulation and reception of literary texts. The damaging effects the publishing industry has on contemporary literature by treating it as a commodity are discussed, for example, in Toby Clements’s *The Asti Spumante Code*. The parody satirizes the “book business” which, by adopting a very narrow definition of genre as literary forms that satisfy certain expectations in a delimited readership (such as chick lit, detective fiction, science fiction, romance, etc.) promotes the formulaic and the conventional and compartmentalizes the reading public (in particular by gender stereotyping) so as to facilitate “niche marketing”. In the book, Professor James Crack explains to Emily that there was once an age “when writers wrote books that both men and women read. Some of the earlier writers are a bit obscure, but think Charles

Dickens. Think Jane Austen. Think Henry James.” But then publishers realized they could “double their profits if they forced writers to write books only for men, say, or women, or even children (Clements 2005: 57)”.

Since the parody novels frequently take as their subject matter the publishing industry of which they are a product and comment on their own status as a commodity within the global economy, they have a self-reflexive dimension, which, according to Dana Polan, is a recurrent aspect of popular culture in general (Polan 1986: 175). Moreover, an opposition to the perceived negative aspects of globalization, especially to the unregulated power at large and multinational corporations, has figured prominently in some of the parodies. As a representative example I will discuss Gerber's *Barry Trotter and the Shameless Parody* at some length.

Gerber's parody describes the adventures of twenty-two-year old Barry Trotter during the eleventh year of his stay at the Hogwash School for Wizards. After the publication of J.G. Rollins's book based on his life, *Barry Trotter and the Philosopher's Scone* (released in the USA as *Barry Trotter and the Magic Biscuit*), he became so famous and so indispensable for the reputation and finances of the school that he has been allowed to stay at Hogwash as long as he wishes. Life is very good for Barry. However, the production of a film version, *Barry Trotter and the Inevitable Attempt to Cash-In*, has been started by Barry's mortal enemy, the evil Lord Valumart and his minions, the Marketors. Afraid that the release of the film will attract so many unruly fans to Hogwash that the school will not be able to function and will have to be closed down, its headmaster, the great wizard Bumblemore gives Barry a task: to stop the production of the film. In this ordeal Barry is helped by his loyal friends, Lon Measly and Ermine Cringer.

Informed by his anti-globalist perspective, Gerber's parody is a biting social satire directed against what he sees as the corrupt agency of multinational corporations represented in the text by Fantastic Books, Wagner Bros and McDaniel's. The grotesque portrayal of these corporations serves the author as a means to expose the mechanisms of their influence on the consumer, especially on the most defenseless and susceptible one – the child reader and viewer.

Gerber shows how the success of a book triggers off a gigantic marketing mechanism, all the operations of which are aimed at getting the maximum profits out of the bestseller. The book alludes to the aggressive

advertising campaign organized by Warner Bros which turned a likable book character – Harry Potter – into an international brand, a commodity which brings enormous profits. Similarly to their real-life counterparts, the multinationals of Gerber's book join their efforts to spin off the Trotterian industry and incite Trottermania. As Lord Valumart cynically confesses:

There will be Barry Trotter wands, robes, brooms, figures, board games, stationary, pens, candy, T-shirts, coffee cups, calendars, audio books, stones, trading cards, comics (manga, alternative and regular), theme restaurants, an amusement park, a video game – and maybe a hockey team, if I can find enough Russians. The kids will have stickers and party favors and shampoo that cleans your hair “magically” but is really the same old crap in new bottles. Mom gets Earwig earrings, Dad gets the Trotter edition SUV. [...] Their minds will turn to glop, so full of my dreck that they won't even be able to *imagine* life being different (Gerber 2002: 244, original emphasis).

One of the important aspects of the book is its critique of commercialization of a writer's creative work under the conditions of the global economy. According to Gerber, a successful writer loses her creative and personal freedom being forced to serve the capital which turns her into a money-making machine. The situation of J.G. Rollins becomes a symbol of a writer's exploitation. J.G. Rollins, who has written eight books about Barry, has increasingly greater difficulties in producing the next bestseller about him. Tired of her hero, she is thinking about giving up writing books about Barry. However, Fantastic, for whom Rollins is their “golden Mother Goose” (Gerber 2002: 171), cannot allow it and kidnap the writer. One of the most memorable scenes in the book is the description of Rollins' confinement in the Torture Chamber of Fantastic Books where the floor is electrified; whenever the writer drops below a certain number of words per minute, she gets an electric shock. The metaphor “bestselling writer = prisoner” / “publishing corporation = prison” symbolizes the rigid system of control and coercion which is imposed by publishing corporations on the best-selling authors through contracts and huge royalties and which makes the writers their hostages.

Gerber satirizes the inevitable practice of sequelling bestsellers. In this he continues the satirical tradition of W.M. Thackeray who ridiculed the spurious continuations of popular novels in his short story “Proposals

for a Continuation of *Ivanhoe* in a Letter to Monsieur Alexander Dumas by Monsieur Michael Angelo Titmarsh" (1846) which later served as a basis for his parody novel *Rebecca and Rowena*. According to Jack Zipes, in Western popular culture "one story is never enough, especially if it sells well and sits well with audiences. Repeat it, tweak it, and milk it until the ratings diminish (Zipes 2002: 177–8)". Gerber demonstrates how today this tendency is stretched *ad absurdum* with the creative process becoming mechanized and resembling a mass production when books, just like automobiles and other commodities, roll from the production line. It is worth pointing out that Gerber's critique of sequelling as a device used "to leech off" a massive pop culture phenomenon does not prevent him from producing a sequel and a prequel to his first Harry Potter parody, which can be seen as a parodic imitation of the detrimental practice but also as a way to use this practice (playfully and "shamelessly") for material benefits.

Gerber's book fictionalizes another distinctive feature of global culture – the thorough entanglement of the publishing industry with the other major culture industries, especially the film industry, and the promotion of text as an image through postmodern marketing strategies. Gerber maintains that Hollywood film adaptations deprive the child of an individual, personal and unique experience of communicating with the book; the reader's perception becomes vulgarized and standardized being mediated by the images imposed by the corporations:

When you're reading the books, you provide the pictures. So not only do you tell yourself the story in a way that is meaningful – Bumblemore looks like your favorite Uncle – you also exercise your imagination while doing it. [...] So say I'm a kid who sees the movie, then picks up the books. Who's making the pictures then? The movie people! And since movies are a business – and a pretty cynical one at that – the pictures that they give you will be the blandest, most mainstream ones they can come up with. They'll put some market-researched, audience-tested, focus-grouped crap into your head – and call it Barry Trotter (Gerber 2002: 263–264)!

Gerber's novel also reveals his deep concern with what Andrew Brown calls "the rapacity of copyright holders" (Brown 2006: w.p.). According to Gerber, the immediate cause for his writing the first Harry Potter parody was "some fan-unfriendly behaviour of Warner Bros, their excessively

zealous control of the Harry Potter brand (qtd. in Yates 2001)". Gerber's novels contain numerous jibes at rigid copyright law, which calls attention to the paradox of contemporary culture: "the collision of two contradictory tendencies [...]. On the one hand, more and more ideas are owned, sold, and protected; but at the same time, more and more of what is on sale has been copied with very small variations from other things also on sale" (Brown 2006: w.p.).

I would like to conclude my discussion of contemporary parody novels by considering the question about their role in the postmodern age posed at the beginning of this essay. As mentioned above, parody novels should be considered in the social context of contemporary popular fiction, which is a quintessential product of globalization. Critical opinion concerning popular literature (and popular culture at large) is divided. At one extreme there are those who consider popular culture to be a negative phenomenon in modern life; at the other end we find those who detail both its positive and negative aspects. In Scott McCracken's words:

The former see mass culture as an irresistible force, creating standard products for a standard consumer. They argue that it eliminates any spark of creativity in its audience. The latter are more cautious, understanding mass culture as a contradictory phenomenon, open to intervention and affording the opportunity for critical engagement by its audience (McCracken 1998: 19).

For example, Jack Zipes (following Jameson's ideas) sees popular literature as being dependent on the market conditions of the culture industry. He argues that in conditions when corporate conglomerates control the mass media and market demands, when the production, distribution and reception of books are driven by commodity consumption that at the same time sets the parameters of reading and aesthetic taste, for a book to be a success it is necessary to conform to the ideology of standardization and consumerism typical of the contemporary Western culture industry. Zipes maintains that all works of popular culture express dominant ideology, impose sameness and suppress difference:

In American and British culture, the quality of what rises to the top is always appropriated, and if the phenomenon does somehow contain some qualities that are truly different, they are bound to be corroded and degraded, turning the phenomenon against itself and into a homogenized commodity that will reap

huge profits until the next phenomenon appears on the horizon. Difference and otherness are obliterated in the process. What appears unique conceals the planned production of commonality and undermines the autonomy of judgment (Zipes 2002: 175–6).

According to this view, parody novels have been published and become successful because they themselves are conventional and have been calculated to conform to the popular taste.

However, every work of literature is ideologically heterogeneous and is made up of conflicting discourses. As Anthony Easthope argues, the view that “high” literature is authentic and “beyond” or in an inherently critical relation with ideology while popular culture remains inauthentic, merely a passive and “transparent” bearer of ideology is untenable as ideological content differs little in contemporary examples of high literature and pop genres (Easthope 1996). A similar idea is expressed by H. Porter Abbott who writes that “it is far from true that the more expensive public forms of narrative invariably eliminate the subversive and counter-cultural” (Porter Abbott 2003: 120) because “[m]ost narratives of any complexity can be read as efforts to negotiate opposing psychological and cultural claims (Porter Abbott 2003: 175)”.

As the discussion of parody novels in this essay has shown, the cultural work performed by literary parodies at the beginning of the new millennium is highly ambivalent. They are both ludic and satirical, undermining and upholding the conventions of popular literature; they are both original and parasitic, feeding off their precursor texts. Being aware of the dangers of commodification of writing, they are trying to free themselves from the restrictive influence of the global market system but are deeply implicated in it. They are both disruptive and conformist, combining a radical critique of globalization and shamelessly using the strategies they mock. No single political meaning can be attached to contemporary parody novels and it is impossible to say whether they are unequivocally conservative or radical. Globalization has proved to be a fruitful ground for parody, which can provide important insights into the world’s changing culture. Parody novels demonstrate the complicated relations between standardization and difference and the fact that, as Mark Currie observes, there exists the co-dependence of diversification and globalization, or sameness and difference – postmodern difference can be discernible only against the background of standardization (Currie 1998: 13–14). Contemporary parody novels are as

contradictory as the world from which they have emerged and upon which they reflect.

References

- Allen, G. (2000). *Intertextuality*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M.M. Bakhtin*. Ed. Michael Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Baldick, Ch. (1996). *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Beard, Henry N. and Douglas C. Kenney (2001). *Bored of the Rings*. London: Gollancz.
- Beard, H. (2004). *The Dick Cheney Code: A Parody*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Brown, A. (2006). The imitation game. *Guardian*, March 4.
<<http://books.guardian.co.uk/print/0,,329425183-116480,00.html>> (8 April 2010)
- Chomsky, N. (2002). On escalation of violence in the Middle East. Noam Chomsky interviewed by Tony Gabric. *The Croatian Feral Tribune*, May 7.
<<http://www.chomsky.info/interviews/20020507.htm>> (May 29 2010)
- Clements, T. (2005). *The Asti Spumante Code: A Parody*. London: Time Warner Books.
- Currie, M. (1998). *Postmodern Narrative Theory*. Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Dentith, S. (2000). *Parody*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Easthope, A. (1996). *Literary into Cultural Studies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ellis, J. (1982). The literary adaptation: an introduction. *Screen* 23 (1), 3–5.
- Gerber, M. (2002). *Barry Trotter and the Shameless Parody*. London: Gollancz.
- _____ (2003). *Barry Trotter and the Unnecessary Sequel*. London: Gollancz.
- _____ (2004). *Barry Trotter and the Dead Horse*. London: Gollancz.
- _____ (2005). *The Chronicles of Blarnia: The Lying Bitch in the Wardrobe*. London: Gollancz.

- Held, D. et al. (1999). *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Hutcheon, L. (1985). *A Theory of Parody: The Teachings of Twentieth-Century Art Forms*. London: Methuen.
- _____ (1988). *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Theory, Fiction*. London: Routledge.
- Jameson, F. (1991 [1984]). *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. London and New York: Verso.
- McCracken, S. (1998). *Pulp: Reading Popular Fiction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Polan, D. (1986). Brief encounters: mass culture and the evacuation of sense. In: Tania Modleski (ed.), *Studies in Entertainment: Critical Theories of Mass Culture*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Porter Abbott, H. (2003). *The Cambridge Introduction to Narrative*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rankin, R. (2007). *The Da-da-de-da-da Code*. London: Gollancz.
- Roberts, A. (2003). *The Soddit, or Cashing in Again*. London: Gollancz.
- _____ (2004). *The Sellamillion*. London: Orion.
- _____ (2005). *The Va Dinci Cod: A Fishy Parody*. London: Harper Collins.
- Rose, M. (1979). *Parody/Metafiction: An Analysis of Parody as a Critical Mirror to the Writing and Reception of Fiction*. London: Croom Helm.
- _____ (1993). *Parody: Ancient, Modern and Post-modern*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Stiglitz, J. and Andrew Charlton (2005). *Fair Trade for All: How Trade Can Promote Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Yates, E. (2001). Harry Potter and the fight against global capitalism. *Guardian Unlimited Books*, December 19. <<http://books.guardian.co.uk>> (8 April 2010).
- Zipes, J. (2002). *Sticks and Stones: The Troublesome Success of Children's Literature from Slovenly Peter to Harry Potter*. New York and London: Routledge.

Accepted for publication: October 5th, 2010

Олга Глебова

КЊИЖЕВНА ПАРОДИЈА У ПРВОЈ ДЕЦЕНИЈИ ДВАДЕСЕТПРВОГ ВЕКА

Сажетак

Прва деценија двадесетпрвог века обележена је „обнављањем“ пародијског романа које се манифестује кроз објављивање низа књига које се на овај начин односе према бестселерима. Есеј описује специфичности савременог пародијског романа, као и његово место унутар ширег контекста популарне књижевности, и настоји да објасни нарастајућу продукцију пародијског жанра у доба глобализоване културе.

Кључне речи: пародијски роман, популарна књижевност, доба глобализоване културе

Brian Willems
University of Split, Croatia

GROPING TOGETHER, AVOIDING SPEECH: ELIOT, GREENE, LACAN

Abstract

This paper examines how a being can be distanced from the world enough to formulate a question about it. In other words, how can one be in the world which one questions? What is important here is not how we know that we know something, but rather, how we know that we do not know something. In the literary domain, both T. S. Eliot and Graham Greene have created works which address these issues. Eliot's poem 'The Hollow Men' (1925) features a traumatic stuttering in the form of a repeatedly truncated question, while in Greene's novel *The Power and the Glory* (1940) a gap is opened by a refusal to name that which is welcomed into one's world. Both 'stuttering' and 'refusal' are considered essential in this analysis because they show how questions can be disruptive while still being lodged within the formulations of symbolic language, just as the answer is. To this end Jacques Lacan's thought will help develop a strategy for how to actually reside in such a traumatic moment of refusal, or what he calls the Real. In short this is done through strategies of resistance and withholding from within language itself. Put another way, fundamental questioning will be found in the refusal, stuttering and unnamings of things.

Keywords: T. S. Eliot, Graham Greene, Jacques Lacan, disruption, stuttering

One way to advance in the world is to question it. The activity of questioning is the basis of scientific, philosophical and political thinking. However, this raises the issue of how a being can be distanced from the world enough to formulate a question about it. In other words, how can one be in the world which one questions? What is important here is not how we know that we know something, but rather, how we know that we do not know something

(Mensch 2005: 1; Boyd 2009: 164). This problem of locating a profound relationship to one's world within the ability to question is found in how questions are formulated using the same symbolic code they are meant to investigate: language (Heidegger 1962: 19; Derrida 1991: 129-136n6; Critchley 1993; Willems 2010: 78-86). This essay aims to foreground ways in which the symbolic order is disturbed from within itself in order to open up moments of inquiry. In short, this is done through strategies of resistance and withholding from within language itself. Put another way, fundamental questioning will be found in the refusal, stuttering and unnamings of things.

In the literary domain, both T. S. Eliot and Graham Greene have created works which address this issue. Eliot's poem 'The Hollow Men' (1925) features a traumatic stuttering in the form of a repeatedly truncated question, while in Greene's novel *The Power and the Glory* (1940) a gap is opened by a refusal to name that which is welcomed into one's world. Both 'stuttering' and 'refusal' are considered essential in this analysis because they show how questions can be disruptive while still being lodged within the formulations of symbolic language, just as an answer is. To this end Jacques Lacan's use of 'The Hollow Men' in his essay 'The Function and Field of Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis' (1953) will help develop a strategy for how to actually reside in such a traumatic moment of refusal, or what he calls the Real. This residing will take the form of a foregrounding of the 'stupidity' (Ronell 2002) of who we always already are.

Greene's novel is being read in conjunction with Eliot's poem because the title of *The Power and the Glory* is the answer to a question 'The Hollow Men' has trouble asking. The question in Eliot's poem takes the shape of a number of alternations of a line from the Christian *Pater Noster*:

For Thine is the Kingdom

For Thine is
Life is
For Thine is the (Eliot 1991: 82)

In these lines Eliot provides an answer to a question before the question itself is posed: the answer comes first, in the form of the full line 'For Thine is the Kingdom.' This is then followed by the particular question of 'How does this line from the Lord's Prayer go?', which is formulated in the stuttering, unfinished, altered utterances of the same line. This then raises

issues of questioning in general. The way that Greene's novel 'answers' Eliot's question is that it takes its title by continuing the *Pater Noster*: 'For Thine is the Kingdom / the power and the glory.'¹

The importance of these lines in Eliot's poem lies in how they represent the way a questioning of language can be found within language itself. A supposedly unbroken use of language is represented by the full line of 'For Thine is the Kingdom.' The way that this text is set off from the rest of the poem, in the right-hand margin, and put in italics, indicates its role in relation to the stuttering attempts at grasping the question which follows (and this happens a number of times over in the poem). It indicates that one does not need to be somehow removed from the answer in toto in order to foreground questioning's power, although this too is an attempted strategy, in the work of the Zen kôan, for example (Ronell 2005: 116-129; Willems 2008: 25). In 'The Hollow Men' the symbolically constructed question is there, but put to the side. It is sidelined, perhaps for bad behavior. But nevertheless it is there, declaring its necessity in order for a more profound question to take place.

However, perhaps Eliot's inclusion of the question in its destabilizing wholeness illustrates how language actually never does anything but stutter, although often we move too fast through language to hear it. Perhaps this 'putting aside' of the question can be read as a call to slow down in a way. The function of slowing-down enacted by the poem is one of the main features of poetry, and is tied to the way that poems are about language rather than story (Agamben 1999: 34-5; Eagleton 2003: 87-91). This need to slow down can be seen, for example, in the difference between Paul Celan's '*Todesfuge*' ('Death Fugue', 1948) and his latter '*Engführung*' ('The Straitening', 1958). The first version was too easily appropriated, becoming a fundamental in the educational system, and thus was too quickly read. In response the more staggered and recalcitrant position of '*Engführung*' can be seen as a call for a slower reading (Celan 2002: 30-33; 114-127).²

¹ Michael Shelden argues that 'Once again Greene's admiration for T.S. Eliot led him to do some creative borrowing. *The Power and the Glory* is merely a prose extension of Eliot's vision of a "cactus land", peopled by lost souls who find themselves surrounded by broken images of an abandoned faith. The hollow men wander aimlessly in a landscape of dry grass and ruined buildings, with rats crawling over the rubble. They want to believe in something but have no faith left. They struggle with the phrase "For Thine is the kingdom", not remembering what comes next in Lord's Prayer. What comes next of course, is "*The Power and the Glory*"' (Shelden 1994: 263).

² In a 1958 speech Celan makes a statement that reflects the thesis of this essay, that one needs to go through language to 'enrich' it: 'One thing remained reachable, close and

In 'The Hollow Men' this slowing-down is enacted by a seeming non-cognizance of the answer in a stuttering of the asking. Thus the poem preserves not so much a question as a questioning: it shelters the performance of the question. This holding is a way, or a style, of not letting the poem move too easily forward, of slowing down 'the time of the poem' (Agamben 2005: 78-87). By 'slowing-down' I mean allowing for the time for the difficulties of the question to come forth. The clearing-away of the answer can allow for a space for the stuttering which perhaps always already accompanies the question to be heard; in other words, a holding-still of the question allows for the question's difficulty to become present. This presencing calls for a *weaker* (Lawlor 2007) position for the question than it would have in the strong symbiosis of a more traditional notion of Q&A. This weakness can function as an opening which allows the thought of the question to be unveiled, since the protective walls of the immediate answer are down (Ronell 2002). In this (perhaps Zen-like) sense the letting-be of weakness is actually a form of strength.

The reason that this weakness takes the form of a stutter is because it *takes time* to pose a question, to let the question come forth. This taking time can be seen as a *residing with the initial, or multiple forms of things*. This taking time from answering the question can problematize the question and let the question appear for what it is, a kind of initial truth in itself.

This call for an unveiling of the question in order to allow the veiled truth of questioning to come forth is Heideggerian in the sense of his reading of the unconcealing of truth, or of *aletheia* (Heidegger 2000: 203). This can be seen in some of his comments on 'silence' from a series of lectures on Nietzsche delivered at the University of Freiburg in 1937. It is here that Heidegger connects silence and thinking, which starts to develop the power of refusing to take a question at face value. Heidegger says that 'The utterance of thinking is a telling silence [*Erschweigen*]. Such utterance corresponds to the most profound essence of language, which has its origin in silence' (Heidegger 1991: 208).³ Residing in silence is, as the later Heidegger puts it, a kind of reservedness. It is not a refusal to participate

secure amid all losses: language. Yes, language. In spite of everything, it remained secure against loss. But it had to go through its own lack of answers, through terrifying silence, through the thousand darkneses of murderous speech. It went through. It gave me no words for what was happening, but went through it. Went through and could resurface, „enriched“ by it all' (Celan 2003: 34).

³ I have developed this thought in *Hopkins and Heidegger* (Willems 2009: 94-100).

but rather participating in the style of being reserved: ‘...silence must be *set* into work and word in the *style* of reservedness’ (Heidegger 1999: 9, my emphasis). What ‘style’ means here is that silence must take place as a part of speech. This is not avoiding language but letting language speak. This is similar to how the ‘full’ question in Eliot’s poem is very much a part of its disruption. In other words, in order to hear what is not being said, a saying is needed. It is needed in order to put the eruptive tension of silence into thought. A stuttering poetics is one place for this to happen.

But for ‘what’ to happen? Heidegger scholar Christopher Fynsk argues that it is the originary way that humans are given over to language, to the enunciation of language, that is heard:

language cannot but (not) say the relation for which it proceeds as it ‘speaks’ or is brought to language. Of course, language cannot ‘speak’ without an act of enunciation of some kind. Hence language’s ‘need’ for human speech, as Heidegger describes it. But humankind would not be capable of such originary ‘usage’ were there not a prior assignment of the human being to language – as assignment...language cannot come to language, cannot ‘speak’, without an act of enunciation on the part of a being whose own always prior exposure to language offers language its material site (Fynsk 2000: 55-6).

So perhaps the truth that the stuttering question reveals is one of enunciation, of the act, or gesture of speech rather than speech itself. This theory is substantiated by the lines following the disruption of ‘For Thine is the Kingdom’ in ‘The Hollow Men.’ The following lines point towards another feature underlying enunciation, repetition:

For Thine is the Kingdom

For Thine is
Life is
For Thine is the

This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
Not with a bang but a whimper (Eliot 1991: 82).

The repetition, or rhythm, in Eliot's poem demands the reader's attention to be focused on language, which again is one way to define poetry as a whole. In this sense stuttering and repetition are similar, in that they are both acts of unveiling which participate in a silence, refusal or slowing-down of language within the symbolic realm. However, what is now left to develop is in what way this unveiling can be profound for the writers and readers of literature. For this Graham Greene's novel will be of use.

As stated above, the *Pater Noster* from which Eliot quotes in 'The Hollow Men' continues thusly: 'For Thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory / Forever and ever.'⁴ 'The Power and the Glory' is the phrase that Graham Greene takes to title his novel. The reason Greene is being brought in here is because his novel *The Power and the Glory* is an example of showing what sort of mood, or attunement one should aim for while being a part of an unconcealed silence or stutter. This can be seen in two key scenes of the novel: one where the main character, an adulterating whiskey priest, is jailed, and the other being the last scene of the book.⁵ It will be shown that in both scenes the priest works hard to 'remain a question'.

The Power and the Glory functions as a modern hagiography of a whisky-addicted, bastard-fathering priest who clandestinely travels around a tightly controlled, imaginary Latin-American country where the Catholic faith and hard alcohol have been outlawed. Atheism and socialism are being instilled in the Catholic people of the country by the iron hand of the law. This whisky priest remains nameless throughout, as does his arch-enemy, the lieutenant chasing him across the country. However, these are the only two important characters which remain unnamed.

The priest, who is the last priest in the country, is continually reminded that he will become a saint, even if it is only because there are no other contenders for the position: everyone the priest meets, although most are scared to have him near for fear of being executed by the law, confirm his

⁴ Actually, the line 'the power and the glory' was not a part of the Vulgate form of the prayer, but only added later by the Cathars (Runcimen 1999: 166).

⁵ Other connections between the book and poem include how the whiskey priest's face is described as 'hollow,' including the first time he is described, and more explicitly called a 'hollow man' when he accepts a drink of brandy from a dentist (Greene 2003: 11). Two other characters are called hollow in the novel, one a Captain Fellows (whose daughter helps the priest) and, perhaps more significantly, his arch-enemy, the lieutenant, is also a 'hollow man' whom the priest is unable to hate while waiting in his cell to be executed (207).

saintly destiny, even though throughout the novel the priest slowly loses the signs and symbols of his priesthood: his smooth hands become rough, he adopts the clothes of a peasant, his shoes fall apart, he loses his briefcase and the mother of his illegitimate child smashes his bottles of wine used to consecrate the few masses he is able to say. In the language developed in the first part of this essay, the priest is slowly 'unveiled', meaning divested of the signs of his symbolic position, or of things that could be considered his phallus. In addition, having lost these outer signs of his station, the priest gives up the more inward signs of his profession, meaning he no longer keeps secret his sins of drink and fatherhood.

This divesting can be found in a scene near the middle of the novel. The priest is jailed for carrying a bottle of brandy (although his identity as a priest, and as the priest the police are searching for, remains unknown). In one sense this refusal to divulge who he is seems to be a stab at protecting his identity, contrary to the idea of his being uncovered as developed above. However, in the jail cell he immediately tells the inmates that he is a priest. He does this in order to rid the inmates of their idealized versions of him, of their idealized version of what a priest is. He especially targets one woman whom he sees as *pious*, a quality he does his best to remove:

The woman's voice said pleadingly: 'A little drink, father ... it's not so important.' He wondered why she was here – probably for having a holy picture in her house. She had the tiresome intent note of a pious woman. They were extraordinarily foolish over pictures. Why not burn them? One didn't need a picture... He said sternly: 'Oh, I am not only a drunkard.' He had always been worried by the fate of pious women: as much as politicians, they fed on illusion: he was frightened for them. They came to death so often in a state of invincible complacency, full of uncharity. It was one's duty, if one could, to rob them of their sentimental notions of what was good...He said in hard accents: 'I have a child' (Greene 2003: 127).

The priest needs to be unburdened from the images of piousness that are heaped upon him by believers like the woman he meets in prison. In order to try and rid himself of this symbolic role he disrupts it with the reality of his transgressions. This scene provides a key to understanding Heidegger's 'reservedness.' It is not a state of calm but of violence, of anxiety, of trauma. That is the priest's role in this scene: a trauma inducer. This

trauma is actually himself. Nameless, sinful and proud. The priest states that piety, which is firmly lodged in the symbolic exchange of 'correct' answers to (religious) questions, is dangerous and must be removed. This removal is enacted through a foregrounding of the aspects of his self that do not fit into his symbolic role. In this way he is foregrounded as a problematic question to the answer of 'priest' that those he encounters immediately associate with him. This is one of the reasons the priest's name is never given in the novel: he is to remain a question.

Eventually the priest succeeds in turning the woman against him. To make his point clear he sides with an act of impropriety in the crowded cell, namely a couple having sex in the corner:

Somewhere against the far wall [of the crowded cell] pleasure began again: it was unmistakable: the movements, the breathlessness, and then the cry. The pious woman said aloud with fury: 'Why won't they stop it? The brutes, the animals!'

'What's the good of your saying an act of contrition now in this state of mind?'

'But the ugliness ...'

'Don't believe that. It's dangerous. Because suddenly we discover that our sins have so much beauty.'

'Beauty,' she said with disgust. 'Here. In this cell. With strangers all round.'

'Such a lot of beauty. Saints talk about the beauty of suffering. Well, we are not saints, you and I. Suffering to us is just ugly. Stench and crowding and pain. That is beautiful in that corner to them. It needs a lot of learning to see things with a saint's eye: a saint gets a subtle taste for beauty and can look down on poor ignorant palates like theirs. But we can't afford to.'

'It's a mortal sin' (Greene 2003: 130).

The priest again warns against piety, but this time he does so by connecting it with beauty. Here beauty is shown as commonly being seen as a shutting out, as a saying 'no' to that which is not beautiful: to the ugly. Instead the priest describes a more subtle approach, that of being able to see the beauty in ugliness, or as described above, of seeing the real within the illusion of the symbolic. This happens through an interruption of received notions of self-aggrandizing propriety, which is the function of the priest in this book.

In an interview about the novel Greene discusses how the openness of the priest to that which is not traditionally constructed as pious is central: "...several of the themes, I hope, come out in the prison – that piety is not a religious feeling – and certain aspects of the priest, his readiness to trust murderers, and their response to his trust' (Donaghy 1992: 52)".⁶ What the priest is trying to describe as saintly behavior is an openness within the disruptive moment of trauma. This is the formula developed in the novel: be open within the stuttering disjunction of anxiety. In the jail scene this takes the form of having the saintly eyes to see beauty in the ugliness of the everyday. In fact, this openness is quite similar to what William James, in his *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, describes as necessary for sainthood: 'A shifting of the emotional centre towards loving and harmonious affections, towards "yes, yes", and away from "no", where the claims of the non-ego are concerned' (James 1961: 221). In order for this open 'yes' to occur the priest needs to strip himself of his 'role' as priest, which he disrobes through his 'transgressions' as a man. At the end of the novel Greene posits a strategy for enacting such a 'stripping.' It is similar to the strategy offered at the end of Eliot's poem: repetition.

At the end of the novel the whisky priest is executed. He goes to death just as he should, stripped of all outer distractions. However, he does feel some qualms about the life he led on earth, for he 'felt only an immense disappointment because he had to go to God empty-handed, with nothing done at all (Greene 2003: 210)'. But then there comes a second priest, perhaps inspired by the defiance of the first. This second priest also wanders throughout the country, looking for momentary shelter from the authorities. This second priest knocks on the door of the home of a mother who has been dutifully reading a story of the child martyr, young Juan, to her children. In the last words of Green's novel, the mother's son, who has never quite believed in the martyr's story, opens the door to the second priest:

'I am a priest.'

'You?' the boy exclaimed.

'Yes,' he said gently [this is no whisky priest], 'My name is Father—' But the boy had already swung the door open and put his lips to his hand before the other could give himself a name (Greene 2003: 222).

⁶ This is also true for much of Greene's other novels. See, especially, *A Burnt-Out Case* (1960).

The end of the novel offers a combination of both openness, represented in the literal opening of the home to the strange priest by the boy, and of repetition, as this second priest is also nameless, meaning a stand-in for the previous priest, and the following priests that will theoretically be made possible by the generosity (or perhaps the longing for a father) of the boy, who previously was a doubter. In one sense this is a very conservative ending about the role of belief, but on the other hand it describes a moment of openness to an unnamed otherness that is knocking at our door. In Lacanian terms the boy is opening up the door to an object which has no name, or more precisely, the Real. Hence the role of belief here is not conventional but radical, as Slavoj Žižek, in *On Belief*, says of Greene's work in general: 'the lesson of Graham Greene's novels is that religious belief, far from being the pacifying consolation, is the most traumatic thing to accept (Žižek 2001: 85-6)'.⁷

The reason Lacanian terminology is being used here is because it is one way to approach the interruption of non-linguistic being within the symbolic realm. In addition, Lacan makes use of the opening lines of 'The Hollow Men' in his essay 'The Function and Field of Speech and Language

⁷ Having a finite answer at the end of the story was a temptation too strong for the American film director John Ford to resist in his adaptation of Greene's book as *The Fugitive* (1947). At the end of a movie which is full of simplifications there is, in the final scene, this second priest appearing to a group of either widows or nuns hobbled together on their knees in prayer. The second priest opens the door of a clandestine place of worship and adamantly states his name, 'I'm the new priest, Father Sera' which seems to draw forth a choir of invisible angels and the triumphant swelling of Richard Hageman's score. In this way Ford attempts to restore the movement of question and answer to its more 'proper' place, ending the movie with an answer, with a name.

In another move from the novel, Ford decides to give us the name of the lieutenant chasing the priest around the country. This happens when the lieutenant is named by a woman he is trying to rape, and with whom he has already had an illegitimate daughter. In Greene's novel, the daughter is the child of the whisky priest, not the lieutenant. This is just one of a number of reversals between outlaw and law Ford enacts, including the lieutenant, at one point, mistaking his daughter for a boy and being corrected by the mother, an act Greene actually witnessed committed by a drunken priest while in Mexico. Greene recorded this incident in *The Lawless Roads* (1939), the non-fiction book he wrote immediately before *The Power and the Glory* and which provided the real-life inspiration for the whisky priest (Greene 1971: 105-30). By giving both the lieutenant and the second priest names, Ford draws a perhaps unintentional parallel between the two. However, by connecting the bad cop with the good priest Ford, in his adaptation of Greene's novel, actually leaves his finite answer at the end of the novel just as open as Greene does by not allowing the hermeneutic circle to close between good and evil.

in Psychoanalysis.’ The placement of this poem within the essay will help provide a clue as to why the stuttering language being described in this essay carries any kind of value at all.

Lacan’s use of Eliot’s poem once again highlights the unnamable. There is no hint as to author, title or providence of the poem when it appears in the essay. Although almost all of the other quotations are grounded, this is one which remains floating. In addition, Lacan attaches a line of his own, within parenthesis, at the end of the quotation:

We are the hollow men
We are the stuffed men
Leaning together
Headpiece filled with straw. Alas!
(and so on.) (Lacan 2002: 70, italics in original)

Leading up to unnamed interruption of Eliot’s poem, Lacan describes three paradoxes he sees in the relationship between the real and the symbolic. An illustration of the Real is provided with a child’s taking of milk from its mother’s breast. The child is able to do so without trouble because the taboo of incest has not yet been put in place. This taboo is absent because language is absent: there are not yet words for breast, milk or mother. It is not until ‘the name of the father’ is introduced that the structures of kinship are developed, the laws of marriage ties are obeyed and broken.⁸ Thus this is ‘the confusion of generations which, in the Bible as in all traditional laws, is cursed as being the abomination of the Word and the desolation of the sinner (66)’. The reason this ground is being gone over here is that Lacan uses ‘The Hollow Men’ in the context of getting

⁸ A similar turning away from the mother’s breast is found in a scene from Umberto Eco’s *The Mysterious Flame of Queen Loana* (2004). Yambo, an antiquarian book dealer who has lost his ‘explicit memory’, retains his sense of self only by recalling words from the books he has read. As he tries to regain his identity by exploring the masses of paper stored at his childhood home, he accidentally discovers the origin of his sexuality in the exposed female legs of comic books: ‘Whether that was the most erotic image I had ever seen I could not say, but surely (since the date of the *Corrierino* was December 30, 1936) it was the first. Nor could I guess whether, at four years of age, I had had a physical reaction – a blush, an adoring gasp – but surely that image had for me been the first revelation of the eternal feminine, and indeed I wonder whether after that I was able to rest my head on my mother’s bosom with the same innocence as before’ (Eco 2006: 246-8).

beyond a 'wall of language' (Lacan 2002: 70), much as Eliot's poem does in providing the wall (question) along with its cracks (the stutters).

The three paradoxes Lacan discusses are madness, the privileged position of the psychoanalyst in discovering the patient's language through her/his speech in the form of symptoms, inhibition and anxieties and thirdly how the relationship between language and speech is that of how a subject has lost their meaning 'in the objectifications of discourse' (Lacan 2002: 69).⁹

The most important paradox in this context is that of madness,¹⁰ because it is here that Lacan inserts Eliot.¹¹ In discussing the triad of ego, superego and id, Lacan states that it functions as a kind of over-verbalization, as a wall that blocks access to something more profound: 'Here it is a wall of language that blocks speech, and the precautions against verbalism that are a theme of the discourse of 'normal' men in our culture merely serve to increase its thickness' (Lacan 2002: 70). By verbalizing trauma we set it into the more familiar patterns of our own Reality. That is why an 'understanding' of the relationship between the (potentially, relatively) high standard of living in some cities and the destitution of urban slums as reciprocal in a way buffers us from the actual trauma of those who are suffering for our wealth, or at least ease (Žižek 1989: 69). It is at this point that Lacan, after a diatribe against the amount of 'words' that are produced by our culture (Lacan 2002: 70), inserts Eliot.

After the quote he discusses a way 'out' of this reification. It is to have your language ripped out of you by something greater, more terrible, even larger. This is where 'the mad subject is spoken rather than speaking' (ibid.). Hence the eruption of a supposedly 'true speech' (ibid.). This is the

⁹ 'The Hollow Men' also makes an appearance in Francis Ford Coppola's *Apocalypse Now* (1979) in a similar guise. See my 'The Language of Interpretation in Filmic Adaptation' (2006) for analysis.

¹⁰ On madness see also, for example, Philippe Lacoue-Labarthe's *Typography* (Lacoue-Labarthe 1989: 41-7).

¹¹ The second paradox is that it is illness, the symptom (or what in later Lacan becomes the *sinthome*) which allows the analysis a way into language. Lacan calls it, in contrast to madness, 'fully functioning speech' (Lacan 2002: 69), and gives it a long list of names, perhaps to indicate the historical pervasiveness of the concept: '[h]ieroglyphics of hysteria, blazons of phobia...oracles of anxiety...' (ibid.). The third paradox in Lacan's essay is that of the alienation of the subject in the discourse of analysis, lost in the terminology of their illness, of what Lacan sees as the passage of the *ce suis-je* to the *c'est moi*, a subject that no longer has a sense of purpose in the chaotic world, an alienation of nature in culture.

bone stuck in the throat in the face of trauma (Žižek 2001: 117). Once you can verbalize a terrifying experience, that experience is no longer Real, but Symbolic. But what Eliot's poem teaches is that there is a way into the Real through the Symbolic, and that is when the constructedness of Reality is disrupted, unnamed, silent, stuttered or repeated. And what Greene offers is a way to reside within the moment of interruption. It is not that of a calm reservedness, but rather of a violent disrobing, a disengaging with the pious elements of one's existence.¹²

In other words what is needed is to be hollow. Not to be removed from the realm of the symbolic but to be the absent figure that engenders a new symbolic. This is to be a fallen signifier, a kind of filled vacancy. A space filled with straw. For although in 'The Hollow Men' 'There is neither hope nor despair: merely a vacancy' (Moody 1994: 121), this vacancy is disruptive, truncated, and stuttering. It is work. As the poem says: 'We grope together / And avoid speech (Eliot 1991: 81)'.

References

- Agamben, G. (1999). *The End of the Poem: Essays in Poetics* (D. Heller-Roazen, trans.). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- _____. (2005). *The Time That Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans* (P. Dailey, trans.). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Boyd, B. (2009). *On the Origin of Stories: Evolution, Cognition, and Fiction*. Cambridge; London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Celan, P. (2003). *Collected Prose* (R. Waldrop, trans.). Manchester: Carcanet.
- _____. (2002). *Poems of Paul Celan* (M. Hamburger, trans.). New York: Persea Books.
- Critchley, S. (1993). The Question of the Question: An Ethico-Political Response to a Note in Derrida's *De l'esprit*. In: *Of Derrida, Heidegger, and Spirit* (D. Wood, ed.). Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 93-102.
- Derrida, J. (1991). *Of Spirit: Heidegger and the Question* (G. Bennington and R. Bowlby, trans.). Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press.

¹² In this sense we come close to Bataille.

- Donaghy, H. (ed.) (1992). *Conversations with Graham Greene*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi.
- Eagleton, T. (2003). *After Theory*. London: Penguin.
- Eco, U. *The Mysterious Flame of Queen Loana* (G. Brock, trans.). London: Vintage Books.
- Eliot, T. S. (1991). *Collected Poems: 1909-1962*. Orlando: Harcourt Brace & Company.
- Fynsk, C. (2000). *Infant Figures: The Death of the Infans and Other Scenes of Origin*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Greene, G. (1963). *A Burnt-Out Case*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- _____. (1971). *The Lawless Roads*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- _____. (2003). *The Power and the Glory*. New York: Penguin.
- Heidegger, M. (1962). *Being and Time* (J. Macquarrie and E. Robinson, trans.). Oxford; Cambridge: Blackwell.
- _____. (1999). *Contributions to Philosophy (from Enowning)* (P. Emad and K. Maly, trans.). Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- _____. (2000). *Introduction to Metaphysics* (G. Fried and R. Polt, trans.). New Haven; London: Yale University Press.
- _____. (1991). *Nietzsche: Volumes One and Two* (D. F. Krell, trans.). New York: HarperCollins, 1991.
- James, W. (1961). *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*. New York: Collier Books.
- Lacan, J. (2002). The Function and Field of Speech and Language in Psychoanalysis. In: *Écrits: A Selection* (B. Fink, trans.). New York; London: W. W. Norton and Company.
- Lacoue-Labarthe, P. (1989). *Typography: Mimesis, Philosophy, Politics* (C. Fynsk, ed.). Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Lawlor, L. (2007). *This is Not Sufficient: An Essay on Animality and Human Nature in Derrida*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mensch, J. R. (2005). *Hiddenness and Alterity: Philosophical and Literary Sightings of the Unseen*. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press.
- Moody, A. D. (1994). *Thomas Stearns Eliot*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ronell, A. (2002). *Stupidity*. Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- _____. (2005). *The Test Drive*. Urbana; Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Runciment, S. (1999). *The Medieval Manichee: A Study of the Christian Dualist Heresy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Shelden, M. (1994). *Graham Greene: The Man Within*. London: Heinemann.
- Willems, B. (2008). Avital Ronell: The Work of Survival. *artUS*, 23, 22-25.
- _____ (2010). *Facticity, Poverty and Clones: On Kazuo Ishiguro's Never Let Me Go*. New York; Dresden: Atropos Press.
- _____ (2009). *Hopkins and Heidegger*. London; New York: Continnum.
- _____ (2006). The Language of Interpretation in Filmic Adaptation. In: *Language and Media* (J. Granić, ed.). Zagreb; Split: Croatian Society of Applied Linguistics.
- Žižek, S. (2001). *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan In Hollywood and Out*. New York; London: Routledge.
- _____ (2001). *On Belief*. London: Routledge.
- _____ (1989). *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. New York; London: Verso.

Accepted for publication: October 5th, 2010

Брајан Вилемс

ОТКРИВАЊЕ СМИСЛА ПОВЛАЧЕЊЕМ ИЗ ЈЕЗИКА: ЕЛИОТ, ГРИН, ЛАКАН

Сажетак

У есеју се испитују могућности бића да себе измести из света у довољној мери да би се створио простор за његово преиспитивање. Другим речима, поставља се питање како човек може бити део света чије вредности преиспитује? Проблем, дакле није у томе како да сазнамо да нешто знамо, већ на који начин да схватимо да нешто не знамо. У књижевности овим питањима бавили су се Т. С. Елиот (T.S. Eliot) и Грахам Грин (Graham Greene) између осталих.. Елиотови стихови у песми „Шупљи људи“ (“The Hollow Men”, 1925) подражавају муцање као израз болног искуства стварности у облику непрестаног понављања питања која су израз осећања осујећености. У Гриновом роману *Моћ и слава* (*The Power and the Glory*, 1940) провалија између речи и смисла отвара се одбијањем да се прихвати и именује придодница у „познатом“ и „заувек датом“ универзуму. Анализа се у есеју заснива на реченичним секвенцама које представљају примере „муцања“ и „одбијања“ а који, према уверењу аутора, јесу неубличена питања. У свом истраживању аутор покушава да покаже да чињеница њихове неубличености не укида њихов симболички

смисао. Теоријски оквир у коме се развијају стратегије бића за стварање прибежишта у трауматичним моментима „одбијања“ могла би пружити филозофија Жака Лакана (Jacques Lacan), односно перцепцијски простор који Лакан назива Стварним. Укратко, ове стратегије свде се на уздржавање и повлачење из језика. Другим речима, суштинско преиспитивање одвија се путем одбијања, муцања и одустајања од именовања објеката.

Кључне речи: Т. С. Елиот, Грахам Грин, Жак Лакан, одбијање, муцање, прекид, одустајање, уздржавање

Elisabetta Zurru
University of Genoa, Italy

A LINGUISTIC AND MULTIMODAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHARACTER OF ANTON CHIGURH IN *NO COUNTRY FOR OLD MEN*

Abstract

This paper investigates the interaction between linguistic and multimodal analysis in the case of the consideration of prototypically multimodal products, such as films. In particular, the characterization of the figure of Anton Chigurh in *No Country for Old Men* will be used as a case study.

Key words: linguistic analysis, multimodal analysis, *No Country for Old Men*

Introduction

Film studies (Bordwell and Thompson 2001; Monaco 2000; Nelms 2007) have contributed extensively to shed light on the mechanisms through which directors guide viewers' reading of films, for example by arranging the film's "syntax" (Monaco 2000: 172). In particular, Bordwell and Thompson (2001: 156) have identified four elements which influence the way audiences react to the film, at the macro-level, and to the shot, at the micro-level, namely setting, make-up, lightning, and staging (*viz.* movement and acting). These are, therefore, elements which should be taken into attentive consideration when dealing with film analysis. On the other hand, it would be difficult to deny the paramount importance another

element – language¹ – has in film-making, so that, when considering a film, the value of a careful consideration of its linguistic element should not be underestimated. It is therefore logical to conclude that multimodality constitutes a prototypical feature of films, being so many different modes of expression (language, image, sound, acting, lightning, shooting techniques, and so on) essential to the final result.

At the micro-level, the construction of single characters represents the counterpart of the construction of the macro-level product – the film itself. In general, their characterisation is achieved both through non-verbal elements (first and foremost the four elements identified by Bordwell and Thompson – setting, make-up, lighting, movement and acting) *and* through verbal elements, which are essentially constituted by the characters' linguistic habits and communicative behaviour.

As a consequence, when investigating the way in which a particular character has been constructed in a film, the linguistic analysis of the character's speech should be integrated by the investigation of the multimodal elements contributing to its characterization.

In the film *No Country for Old Men* (2007), an extremely important role is assigned to the character of Anton Chigurh, whose characterization relies extensively on both verbal and non-verbal elements. Indeed, if his actions immediately reveal *what* he does, (the film opens with Chigurh strangling a deputy with the shackles he is wearing), his words and communicative behaviour help reveal *why* he acts in that way. In particular, the first long-lasting conversation² involving Anton Chigurh is particularly helpful to induce the psychology of the character.

¹ This constitutes a general statement and exceptions to this statement can be immediately traced. *2001 Space Odyssey* (1968), for example, does not rely on language (*viz.* a system of signs defined as words) as it relies on music and innovative shooting techniques. On the other hand, the so-called 'action-movies' usually make an extensive use of audio-visual special effects and do not so much focus on the linguistic side of the film. However, language *generally* constitutes an integral part of the film, which interacts with its non-linguistic elements and contributes substantially to the 'final product'.

² The conversation which will be analysed in this paper is in actual fact preceded by another conversation involving Anton Chigurh and an unknown driver. However, this conversation a) is much shorter, (offering therefore less material to analyze in order to arrive at a detailed interpretation of the linguistic behaviour of the character), and b) is part of the co-text of the conversation considered above, namely constitutes support material which can (and will) be used to confirm (or disconfirm) the conclusions to which the analysis of the above conversation will lead.

In other words, even though, by the moment this conversation takes place, viewers already know that Chigurh is a killer, the conversation is of paramount importance in building his personality at the very linguistic level. Indeed, the development of the communicative exchange, the very tone the character imprints on the conversation, his general linguistic behaviour, together with all the other multimodal elements necessarily present in the filmic representation of a conversation (e.g. the movement of the camera, the character's appearance, the setting, and so on), greatly contribute to complete the picture of Chigurh's personality, which his preceding actions had only partially introduced.

In this paper I will analyze the said conversation through Stylistics (Leech and Short, 1981; Short, 1996; Culpeper, Short and Verdonk, 1998; Douthwaite, 2000; McIntyre, 2008), **Conversation Analysis** (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson, 1974) and Pragmatics (Grundy, 2000; Huang, 2007), concurrently taking into account the multimodal elements contributing to compose it into the final product (O'Halloran, 2004; Rose 2007), in order to show the attentive characterisation of the killer and the way through which his actions are explained by his psychology, which is, in turn, explained by his very words.

The text

The conversation to be analysed involves the characters of Anton Chigurh (hereafter AC)³ and of an unidentified shop assistant (hereafter SA). The scene is set in a country store. Viewers can guess the place because a) the external shot preceding the conversation shows a couple of small and basic buildings near each other surrounded by the desert, and b) because of the things on sale which can be found in the immediate surroundings of the shop assistant – the rest of the store is never shown. Any non-verbal information is provided between square brackets.

[SA occupies the frame; then AC appears after having been introduced by the sound of his slow footsteps. They share the frame now, but only AC's back is shown]

1. AC: How much?

³ By this point in the film, the name of the man has not yet been given. However, his name is introduced here for ease of comprehension.

2. SA [writing on a small notebook and not looking at AC, but only at the things in his hands]: 69 cents.
3. AC [close-up on AC, who looks out of the window, presumably at his car]: And the gas?
4. SA [SA and AC share the frame now, AC's back is shown; SA keeps writing and not looking at AC]: Y'all getting any rain up your way?
5. AC [SA's back is now shown; AC holds his head up to stare at SA and starts eating the peanuts he hasn't paid for yet. He does not look happy]: What way would that be?
6. SA: Well, I seen you was from Dallas.
7. AC: What business is it of yours [SA occupies the frame now. For the first time he stops writing and looks at AC, an expression of surprise on his face] where I'm from, [camera on AC], friend-o?
8. SA [SA occupies the frame now, still surprised; AC's back is shown]: Well, I didn't mean nothing by it.
9. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown]: You didn't mean nothing? [AC smiles, mocking SA]
10. SA: I was just passing the time [SA's front and AC's back are shown; SA looks at AC intently]. If you don't want to accept that, I don't know what else I can do for you [AC occupies the frame for a moment – he seems to be getting nervous. Then SA is framed again, he goes back to writing on the notebook in his hands]. Will there be something else?
11. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown]: I don't know. Will there? [AC is still eating and staring at SA]
12. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown; SA looks uncomfortable – he coughs before speaking again]: Is something wrong?
13. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown; AC is still eating. He mocks surprise when he speaks]: With what?
14. SA: With anything.
15. AC [camera on SA first, then on AC, who smiles]: Is that what you're asking me? Is there something wrong with anything? [AC keeps eating]
16. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown; SA looks almost desperate]: Will there be anything else?
17. AC: You already asked me that.

18. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown. SA stops looking at AC and looks down, while AC keeps staring at him]: Well, I need to see about closing now.
19. AC: See about closing?
20. SA: Yes, sir.
21. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown]: What time do you close?
22. SA: Now. We close now.
23. AC: "Now" is not a time. What time do you close?
24. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown. SA indicates the outside with a gesture of his left hand]: Generally around dark. At dark.
25. AC [close-up on him, who whispers]: You don't know what you're talking about, do you?
26. SA: Sir?
27. AC [looking almost exasperated]: I said you don't know what you're talking about. [close-up on SA, who looks petrified. Then close-up on AC] What time do you go to bed?
28. SA [close-up on SA, confused]: Sir?
29. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown. AC is still eating, his tone of voice becomes now louder and harsher]: You're a bit deaf, aren't you? I said, what time do you go to bed?
30. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown. SA seems to be struggling to find the answer]: Oh... Somewhere around 9:30. I... I'd say around 9:30.
31. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown. AC keeps eating]: I could come back then.
32. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown]: Why would you be coming back? We'll be closed.
33. AC: Yeah, you said that.
34. SA [looking down]: Well, I got to close now.
35. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown]: You live in that house out back?
36. SA [hesitating]: Yes, I do.
37. AC [still eating]: You lived here all your life?
38. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown]: Well, this is my wife's father's place, originally.
39. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown. AC coughs because the food seems to be gone the wrong way]: You married into it?

40. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown. AC keeps eating]: We lived in Temple, Texas for many years. Raised the family there, in Temple [camera on AC, SA's back is shown]. We come out here about four years ago.
41. AC: You married into it.
42. SA [close-up on SA, who smiles, embarrassed]: If that's the way you want to put it.
43. AC [close-up on AC]: Well, I don't have some way to put it. That's the way it is. [AC finishes eating and lays the empty packet on the desk. Extreme close-up on the packet slowly regaining its original shape after AC has crumpled it completely. Then close-up on SA looking at the packet]. What's the most you ever lost on a coin toss?
44. SA: Sir?
45. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown. AC articulates his words clearly when he speaks]: The most you ever lost on a coin toss.
46. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown]: I don't know. I couldn't say.
47. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown. AC throws a coin in the air and then lays it on the desk]: Call it. [AC whispers]
48. SA: Call it?
49. AC: Yes.
50. SA: For what?
51. AC: Just call it.
52. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown. SA looks seriously worried]: Well, we need to know what we're calling it for here.
53. AC: You need to call it. I can't call it for you, or it wouldn't be fair.
54. SA: I didn't put nothing up.
55. AC: Yes, you did [camera on AC, SA's back is shown]. You've been putting it up your whole life. You just didn't know it. [camera on SA, AC's back is shown. SA still looks seriously worried] You know what date is on this coin?
56. SA: No.
57. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown]: 1958. It's been travelling 22 years to get here. And now it's here. And it's either heads or tails. And you have to say. Call it.
58. SA [camera on SA, AC's back is shown. SA looks at the coin]: Well, look, I need to know what I stand to win.

59. AC: Everything.
60. SA: How's that?
61. AC [camera on AC, the expression on his face becoming hard and the tone of his voice threatening; SA's back is shown]: You stand to win everything. Call it.
62. SA [camera on SA, who looks at AC for a few moments, then at the coin. He takes a breath and then faces AC, whose back is shown]: All right. Heads, then.
63. AC [camera on AC, who looks at SA for a moment – SA's back is shown. Extreme close-up on AC's hand, showing the side of the coin which is up (heads). Camera on AC again]: Well done. [AC passes the coin to SA. Close-up on SA, who is going to put it in his pocket. Then camera on AC, SA's back is shown] Don't put it in your pocket, sir. Don't put it in your pocket. It's your lucky quarter.
64. SA [close-up on SA, who looks down at the coin]: Where do you want me to put it?
65. AC [camera on AC, SA's back is shown]: Anywhere, not in your pocket. Or [AC looks out of the window] it'll get mixed with the others and become just a coin. [close-up on SA, speechless. Then camera on AC, SA's back is shown]. Which it is.

[AC goes away with slow footsteps. Viewers are left with the speechless SA looking at AC going away]

The analysis

The conversation is introduced by an external shot, which underlines the state of desolation and silence (*viz.* absence of any sign of 'city life', including the presence of people – or witnesses) of the setting in which the conversation will take place.

The first character introduced by the camera is that of a shop assistant, whose name or identity viewers do not and will never know – this is the first and last time the character is introduced in the film. However, he is not the first speaker to take the floor. A second speaker, AC, takes the floor instead⁴.

⁴ He looks like an ordinary man who is still relatively young, wearing ordinary clothes but with what looks like a demanding hairstyle: his hair is indeed medium-length and appears to have been

AC does not open the conversation with the first part of the ‘canonical’ adjacency pair which is usually deployed to establish contact with an interlocutor, namely by greeting SA, but immediately reaches the core of the argument, asking for the price of the packet of peanuts in his hands [1]. However, since, (at least at the beginning), this exchange can be identified as a ‘business transaction’ between a shop assistant and a customer, the absence of an initial greeting can be interpreted in two ways: a) it is not striking because it constitutes a typical pattern of goal-oriented conversations having a very specific purpose (that of paying for a packet of peanuts as soon as possible and going back to one’s journey), or b) it is striking because, being the first contact between strangers, politeness is taken for granted, and even a very brief greeting is expected.

In general terms, considering the linguistic structure of [1], namely a direct speech act in the form of an incomplete but meaningful question, (the grammatically complete, unmarked one being “How much is it?”), and the concurrent behaviour of SA might lead us to conclude that the main reason behind such a time-saving *incipit* is that AC might be in a hurry. The shop assistant’s behaviour is, in turn, not very polite in general terms, since he appears too busy with his notebook to even look in AC’s face. In [2] he only looks at the packet in AC’s hands and completes the first adjacency pair [1-2] by deploying a similar non-grammatically complete but meaningful reply, providing the price of the food. [3] represents a twin turn with [1], being a non-grammatically complete sentence meant to convey an understandable meaning and to keep the conversation going. The aim is still completely goal-oriented: AC means to end the transaction and go back to his business.

Turn [4] represents, on the other hand, the turning point in the conversation.

Rather than duplicating his behaviour in [2] and completing the second adjacency pair [3-4] by providing the preferred response (a reply informing AC of the total price to pay), SA opts for a turn which, in actual fact, is meant to start an insertion sequence, (presumably before reaching

done (probably straightened) into a very orderly hairstyle (the comparison with the very short and easy-to-be-done hairstyle of the shop assistant is immediate). The visual ‘communicative function’ behind this hairstyle is not of paramount importance in this conversation, but it is probably worth mentioning it here, since it will soon become clear, as the film develops, that it is meant to constitute the first visual impact of Chigurh’s methodical behaviour, namely that of man who never fails to do what he has set off to do and always finds the time to take good care of details, starting with his hairstyle, which is always perfectly in order.

what he expects to be the end of the conversation, namely being paid and seeing the customer leave the shop). For this purpose, he chooses one of the most typical and non-committal subjects of conversation between strangers in the western world: he asks about the weather. AC's reaction in turn [5] is immediately signalled by a change in expression, which becomes suddenly hard⁵. This change of facial expression is accompanied by two additional non-verbal elements which reinforce the impression that something 'problematic' has just happened: AC starts staring at SA and starts eating the peanuts he still has not paid for, both deeds being considered slightly impolite in Western society, (the second one, if one wanted to take it to its extreme, could even be considered synonymic with theft, thus constituting an additional clue useful to unveil the criminal inclination of the man). The verbal counterpart of this physical behaviour is not meant to provide an answer to [4] at all, but it is represented by an additional question exploiting epistemic modality to ask for further clarification of SA's preceding turn. The new adjacency pair [4-5] is thus not completed but a new one [5-6] is created by AC.

Many reasons could justify the linguistic choice made by AC in [5]. In general terms, when one does not reply to a direct question and answers with another question, one does not want to answer the first question at all. Furthermore, that AC opts to ask for further information ("What way would that be?" = "What is it exactly that you know about my way?") could be concurrently meant to underline that SA should mind his own business⁶. [6]

⁵ It could be objected that the interpretation of non-verbal signs in conversation is highly subjective and should be, therefore, left out of the analysis. However, this choice cannot be made in this case for a variety of reasons. To start with, as already mentioned, a film is a multimodal product which is forced by its very nature and space/time restrictions to rely on visual/non-verbal elements as much as it relies on linguistic elements (if not even more in some cases). Quite often this makes it impossible to overshadow the visual component of the film. The conversation considered here, in particular, relies on AC's appearance and expressions so much that they *do* constitute part of the text (and an essential one if we consider that Xavier Bardem, the actor performing Chigurh, won the Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor). With regard to the 'subjectivity' of the judgement, it is, alas, a concept scholars need to co-exist with, particularly when dealing with a multimodal product. However, the interpretation of non-verbal elements in this exchange has been carried out opting for the maximum objectivity possible. Indeed, it has been done exploiting the Knowledge of the World (KOW) which the actors and directors of the film, on the one hand, and the writer of this paper, on the other, share, as members of the 'Western' society which has produced and realised the film and in which the film itself is set.

⁶ Considering the exchange outside context, this represents a general interpretation: a complete stranger in a desolate place asks about one's business and one, who does not like the query, remarks that the stranger should not ask similar questions. If, on the other hand, we take the

completes the adjacency pair [5-6], for it constitutes the preferred response: the answer is meant to explain the degree of knowledge SA has about AC's way. Two main considerations can be made here, regarding a) the 'informal' linguistic style of the answer, (which is non-grammatical in canonical terms – "Well, I've seen you are from Dallas" being the grammatically correct one), and b) the directness of the answer itself, which respects all the maxims of the Cooperative Principle. These two elements clearly show that SA is 'chatting', namely considering the exchange to be just a pastime (which he himself will make obvious in [10]).

[7] represents a second turning point. From this turn on, a 'new' conversation, radically different in nature, starts. The consideration made above, (about [5] representing an indirect way to suggest SA should mind his own business), is confirmed in [7], which is constituted by two Face Threatening Acts (FTAs – Brown, Levinson: 1987). The first ("What... from") is a bald-on-record FTA towards SA's positive face, and the second ("friend-o") is a marker of identity used sarcastically to mean exactly the opposite of what it apparently claims, namely that the two are not friends with each other at all, (distance rather than closeness is underlined), thus constituting a second FTA directed towards SA's positive face reinforcing the first FTA. The impolite power of this turn is underscored through multimodal and non-verbal means in SA's reaction. Indeed, in the course of turn [7], the camera moves from AC to SA⁷, so that viewers can see clearly a) that SA suddenly stops writing and starts considering his interlocutor more interesting than his notebook (this being the first time SA looks AC in the eyes), and b) the expression of surprise on SA's face,

context and co-text into consideration, we know that, by this point in the film, Chigurh has killed two people already, one of whom was a policeman. Therefore, any sign of 'intrusion' into his runaway represents a danger, to which he reacts instantly (and we will see, as the film develops, that murder represents his 'usual reaction'). Once again, if we take the whole film into consideration, the turn constitutes another clue of Chigurh's lethally dangerous personality. On the other hand, if we consider only the exchange above, that AC performs [5] to answer a general question about the weather, rather than replying with a simple "Yes" or "No", (a possibility offered by the directness of [4]), immediately triggers suspicion in the viewer, for it represents, at the very least, a sign of a quick-tempered personality – in actual fact, the only character in the film who claims he is a friend of Chigurh, Carson, will describe him as a man who "doesn't have a sense of humour".

⁷ That the camera constantly moves from one interlocutor to the other, closing-up on one of the two in some moments of the exchange, is a means the directors use to visually underline the 'struggle' between the two interactants. In the body of the paper, it will be underlined in those cases where it is of major importance.

probably aroused by what SA considers to be an unexpected and possibly unnecessary impolite turn in the conversation, since, as underlined above, what SA was doing until this point was ‘chatting’, (while AC’s linguistic and non-linguistic disinclination to ‘chatting’ had already started in [5]). The camera then moves back to AC before he utters the second FTA, in order to further underline the degree of unfriendliness AC means to convey with this second and sarcastic FTA. SA’s confusion, derived from turn [7], is expressed in [8], where SA is framed again, while he provides an answer which flouts the maxims of Relevance and Quantity (Grice, 1975), constituting a justification of SA’s intentions, (or lack of negative intentions), rather than the expected answer to [7], (e.g. “It is not my business at all, sir.”).

AC’s dissatisfaction to SA’s reply is presented in [9] where AC mocks SA by a) repeating SA’s words, and b) smiling while doing it. Note that the repetition performed by AC is, grammatically speaking, a question constructed in the form of a statement, which is a domineering form of expression (Douthwaite 2000), meant to underline the dominant role AC has already adopted in the exchange, (and will adopt until its end): he is the first to speak, the first to impose an impolite tone to the conversation and the one who, when apparently performing an interrogative, claims rather than asking – he already knows, he does not need to ask.

As already mentioned, [10] is meant to provide a further justification reinforcing both [6] and [8], (“I was just passing the time”), and a concurrent attempt to bring the conversation to an end by a) underlining the impossibility for SA to say anything more than he has already said (“If you ... do for you”), and b) bringing it back to a ‘business transaction’ (“Will there be something else?”), which, together with the fact that SA goes back to writing in his notebook, makes it clear that SA thinks the conversation should be closed. Just as in [9], in [11] AC does not seem to be satisfied with SA’s turn [10], since he does not complete the adjacency pair by providing an answer to SA’s last question, but reopens the conversation, by formulating another question, thus flouting the maxims of Quantity and Relevance (Grice 1975) and concurrently implying “something else” has to be said. Turn [12] represents the verbal realisation of the suspicion that the tone the conversation has had so far must have generated in SA, namely that there must be “something wrong”, which is translated by an uncomfortable SA, (note that he coughs before speaking), into a direct speech act, to which AC answers in [13] signalling dissatisfaction, (*viz.*

non-acceptance of SA's implicit apology), by mocking surprise to SA's question, thus pretending his communicative behaviour should not have generated it. Note that, once again, AC asks a question when he should give an answer, thus forcing SA to complete the new adjacency pair AC has opened.

Turns [14]-[17] construct an ascending climax of non-communication. [14] replies to [13] with a general answer, (once again he gives an answer rather than receiving one), meant to underline SA's increasing confusion before AC's linguistic and communicative behaviour. Turn [15] reopens the conversation again. Indeed, if we consider [13-14] as an insertion sequence which has been completed by SA in [14], then the sequence opened in [12] could/should be closed in [15] by AC with the expected response, namely an answer, (e. g. "No, there isn't"/ "Yes, there is").

AC asks not one, but two questions instead, refusing once again to give answers. Note that in [15] AC smiles again before speaking and keeps eating, thus signalling his amusement. For the third time in the exchange, (consider [8-9] and [10-11]), AC uses the same words used by SA against SA himself, asking SA the very same questions SA has asked AC. Note, also, that, while AC never provides the answers, SA provides them all. Turns [16-17] clearly show the impasse the interactants have reached, from SA's standpoint, since SA, (who looks on the verge of desperation), repeats the final question of turn [10] and AC does not lose the chance to underline the redundancy (uselessness?) of his linguistic selection, ([17]).

In an attempt to close the conversation for the third time (consider [10] and [16]), SA starts a pre-closing sequence in [18], by claiming it is almost time to close the shop (*viz.* time for AC to leave him alone), to which AC replies with another example of blatantly domineering mode of expression: he asks another question rather than giving an answer, (even a non-verbal one, since he could simply pay and leave), using SA's words against him. SA's reaction in [20] constitutes another confirmation of the passive role he has had to adopt in this exchange, since, once again, he answers rather than being answered, and deploys a very formal term of reference ("Sir").

AC does not allow the conversation to finish, and in [21] he reopens it adopting the same strategy as before: he asks a question, and an extremely redundant one, for a) the communicative function in [21] is the same as in [19], and b) he already knows the answer because SA has provided it in [18]. To a redundant question SA replies with a redundant answer in [22],

by repeating the piece of information he already had given in [18]. Note that in [18] the adverb “now” bears end-focus, while in [22] it is up-shifted (Arts and Arts, 1982) to the level of sentence (“Now”) in the first part and is repeated in the following sentence, where it bears end-focus again – the urgency SA feels to stop this conversation is clear.

AC finds again the way not to bring it to an end in [23]. It is important to underline here that his linguistic behaviour in this turn resembles that of a father with a ‘naughty child’ who has just said something ridiculously obvious. Note, however, that a) SA is clearly much older than AC (so that the roles, in ‘unmarked’ terms, should be inverted), and b) the redundancy expressed by SA in [22] is, as already mentioned, the product of the redundancy expressed by AC in [21] – to put it loosely, the redundancy of SA’s turn is in fact AC’s ‘fault’. However, it is SA’s inconsistent reply which is at stake in [23], where AC places SA’s final urgency-expressing word in thematic position to make it the grammatical subject of a negation, implying SA has given a blatantly obvious (*viz.* communicatively pointless) answer. AC then repeats turn [21].

Turn [24] differs with regard to [22] only in the linguistic selection, since the propositional meaning is the same, namely “now” (which is confirmed by the gesture of SA’s hand indicating the window – the approximation of dark). It is interesting to note, that the linguistic structure of turns [22] and [24] constitutes a chiasmus, since they are both constituted by two sentences linked through parataxis, but the time adverbial which represents the repeated element (“Now”, “dark”) is up-shifted to sentence first and then repeated in end-focus in [22], while in [24] the opposite happens, which makes the focus even more marked, since the last element of the turn is phonologically salient and, being a prepositional phrase up-shifted to sentence, is assigned even greater salience. Therefore, while trying not to appear redundant, SA does not make any change in the information he provided and opts for a selection which, even if deploying a different linguistic exponent, still conveys the tone of urgency of SA’s preceding turn [22].

The ‘trick’ does not work, however, since starting from [25] the tone of impatience in AC’s words and deeds becomes stronger. To start with, he is framed in close-up while whispering, (a behaviour which is synonymous here with an attempt not to lose one’s temper too quickly), and then utters a statement (= 100% certainty) with a concluding rhetorical tag question, whose expected answer is “No, I don’t”. The statement is a heavy one,

since SA is ‘accused’ of having been talking in vain up to this point, as if he had failed to understand the real meaning of the exchange – which is probably true, since, even if the conversation is ‘weird’ enough for SA to want to finish it as soon as possible, he still does not know he is conversing with the man who incarnates death in the film⁸. To this it should be added that [25] flouts three out of four maxims of the Cooperative Principle: Quantity, Relevance and Manner.

To such an emblematic question, SA does not reply at all, but opts for a polite interrogative indirectly asking for further clarification ([26]). In the first part of [27] AC does not clarify but simply repeats himself, again using repetition in order to further diminish SA’s status, who is again treated as a ‘simple’ child who does not pay enough attention to the conversation taking place. In the second sentence of the turn he deploys the same linguistic structure of [21] and [23] to ask about the time, the only difference being that the question in [27] is not justifiable on a general social basis.

If, indeed, it is understandable that a customer would ask at what time the shop closes, it is not common or polite that an unknown customer asks at what time the shop assistant he is talking to, but has never met before, goes to bed. In other words, the question is too direct and too personal to be ignored and/or ‘liked’ (and, since a reaction of uneasiness is expected, a close-up of SA is shown just before AC asks the question, so that the force of SA’s discomfort is also underlined visually). Note that SA is too confused and, probably, too worried to perform any consistent utterance and limits himself to repeating the same linguistic selection as [26]. This time, however, the communicative function is different, for SA is not asking for clarification, but he is expressing his confusion and dislike for the question. In any case, repetition works against SA again, for its deployment makes SA look too weak to react, particularly if we consider how personal, namely usually avoided among strangers, the question is. Furthermore, if we recall turns [6-7], it can be noted that AC has blatantly told SA to mind his own business for simply asking about the weather, while, when asked about his sleeping routine, SA cannot do much better than perform a one-word question, with a polite term of reference referring

⁸ Towards the end of the film, Chigurh’s friend Carson has a conversation with Llewellyn, the man Chigurh is chasing after. Three turns are particularly interesting here:

Carson: Don’t worry, I’m not the man who’s after you.

Llewellyn: I know that. I’ve seen him.

Carson: You’ve seen him? And you’re not dead?

to the man who has asked such an impolite question. Turn [28] is therefore another clear indication of how SA's status has been diminished so far, which has rendered him almost powerless.

The diminishing process is further amplified in [29], where, after having treated him as a naive child until this point, AC suddenly treats SA as an impaired old man, ascribing him one of the impairments typical of old age: deafness. This FTA towards SA's positive face is followed by the repetition of the (very personal) question constituting the preceding turn, which constitutes an FTA towards SA's negative face, trying to oblige him to divulge personal information he might want to keep to himself. Here, the repetition has a twofold aim, namely that of treating SA as a simple child and as an impaired old man at the same time.

[30] could represent the chance for SA to respond to such a behaviour properly, by telling AC the information he wants to know will not be given. Instead, it represents the final step in the process initiated by AC, since not only does SA answer a question containing such a range of FTAs, but he also provides the information requested – although hesitantly, being he well aware of the uncommonness of such a situation. What might have been suspected in [27] and [28], namely that the curiosity about SA's sleeping timetable is not curiosity at all but hides a different aim, is realised in [31], where AC claims he could (would?) come back at 9.30 that night. A few points should be noted here. To start with, this is the first statement after a series of six questions, which makes [31] the sentence expressing the higher degree of certainty, (even higher than [25], which was concluded with a question, albeit a rhetorical tag). [31] might, therefore, be expressing an intention rather than a simple statement of fact, “could” being synonymic with “would” rather than with “be able to”. Furthermore, to make sure about SA's sleeping time and to claim that one will come back at that very time, means one does not want to find SA still up, but hopes to find him asleep. And, if SA is sleeping, why should one come back to see him? Maybe because one does not want to *see* or *talk* to SA at all – maybe one wants to do something else, something which will be facilitated if SA is asleep.

[31] is, at the very least, worrying. SA must follow the same line of reasoning because he himself asks in [32] about the reason for such a claim and, again, is forced to act redundantly, by underlining the shop is about to close, and will be closed at night – which is not ignored by AC, who is again ready to underline how redundant SA has just been ([33]). While

keeping the pressure up, the utterance also fails to answer SA's question, increasing SA's uneasiness.

[34] exploits the same strategy as [23], (which, in turn, had also been preceded by a turn by AC stressing the repetition in SA's speech; cf. [22]), namely to try and put an end to a conversation which has apparently reached its 'bottom', by claiming the urgency to close ("now").

Just as in [21], AC does not allow the conversation to finish, but asks another question to keep it going. The nature of [35] is, again, personal, besides representing another piece of the puzzle AC is completing about SA's life. Indeed, he asks about SA's house, but, note that, once again, he is not 'asking for information', but asking for *confirmation*, (the question is, in actual fact, a statement concluded with a question mark, it is not a question in strict grammatical terms). He must have deduced, because of the desolation around the store, that SA must live in the building nearby – confirmation which he receives from SA, who answers with a positive short answer ([36]).

[37]-[38] represent a couple of twin turns with [35]-[36], in the sense that AC asks for further personal information, and SA, who has already attempted to bring the conversation to an end twice, ends up providing the information requested. [39] hints and [41] claims that SA has in actual fact married his wife in order to take possession of the store, (thus diminishing SA's status even further and depicting him as a 'social climber'), which forces SA to give a justification of his conduct, ([40]), – if we agree one should justify his/her life with a complete stranger –, and to surrender to AC's line of reasoning in [42], even if not completely, since SA implies the conclusion is a subjective one ("the way *you* want to put it").

[43] represents another strategy with which AC aims at providing further support to his dominant role, by denying the subjectivity implied by SA's preceding turn [42], and claiming it as a statement of fact, ("the way it is").

[43] is also of paramount importance for two more reasons.

The first is represented by the visual metaphor (Yus 2009: 147 ff.) of the crumpled packet of nuts which AC lays on the desk. That it is framed in extreme close-up while trying to regain (in vain) its original shape and that SA is closed-up while watching this ongoing process intently is another indication of AC's verbal and non-verbal domination in the exchange, AC being the one who has reduced something to an unnatural shape, (which is the usual status of anything/anyone AC has met), and left a powerless SA to

watch the process. Secondly, the end of the turn is represented by another question, possibly more peculiar (and suspicious) than the previous ones. Indeed, this question: a) flouts the maxim of Relevance, b) violates the maxim of Tact (Leech, 1983), and c) constitutes an on-record FTA directed towards SA's negative face. Furthermore, the theme of the coin toss (*viz.* Fate influencing human conduct) is introduced.

The surprise and confusion generated by the final question of turn [43] is made blatant in SA's reaction in [44], where he adopts the strategy he has already used in [26] and [28], a single term of reference up-shifted to the level of sentence (= interrogative) meant to signal lack of understanding (or refusal to understand) on the part of SA. In [45] repetition is deployed again, AC articulating his request, (which has, in actual fact, become a claim after the elision of the *wh*- word), very clearly – just as if he were talking to a kid (or an impaired old man). Although the grammatical structure is that of an affirmative sentence rather than that of a question, turn [45] obtains its response, for SA again furnishes the information requested without even having technically been asked, which is unsurprising by this point. What can be inferred by [46] is that SA must have not lost too much on a coin toss, for he has no memory of any specific/important loss.

[47] represents the beginning of the last part of the conversation. Chigurh acts as the catalyst of Fate: he throws a coin in the air, lays it down on the desk and, after whispering, (as if to signal the distance from the act and the sense of obligation he feels towards it – one whispers when one is going to do something he/she would not do if they could choose otherwise), performs a bald-on-record FTA by ordering SA to call it. It is SA in [48] who exploits repetition, but note that his goal is not that of mocking AC or diminishing his status, (which is the intent AC wishes to achieve when he deploys this strategy) – confusion and need to understand bring SA to perform another indirect speech act asking for clarification. The answer SA obtains in [49] is a straightforward one-word answer, namely another adverb up-shifted to the level of sentence, thus loaded with great salience: there is no choice but to call it. As an answer to this, SA again employs a different linguistic selection than the preceding one, but, even if directly this time, he conveys the same communicative function ([50]). The same can be said for turn [52], which constitutes a further step in the climax of directness SA is constructing. To SA's confusion, which he tries to fight by asking questions more and more directly, AC once again replies

in [51] by repeating his preceding order, ([47]), and, just as SA's linguistic selection in [50] is more direct than before, AC's selection in [51] becomes stronger thanks to the addition of the adverb "just" in thematic position, which stresses the necessity to obey the order. The main collateral effect, which will always be obtained by AC throughout the remaining part of the exchange, is not to give SA the answer representing the expected response to the question in [50].

[53], besides representing another element in the climax of directness AC is constructing in response to SA's communicative behaviour, ("You need to call it"), re-introduces the theme of Fate, of the inevitability of one's destiny, ("I can't call it for you, or it wouldn't be fair"), and of the necessity, (the verb "need" becomes suddenly value-loaded), to accept the consequences of one's choices – like that of asking a question about the weather when one could simply answer a question about the price of the gas.

[54] and [55] continue to deploy the same structure, which has become, by this point in the conversation, the communicative 'habit' of each character. SA renders his previous turn even more explicit and performs a direct speech act to underline what he has claimed in [50] and [52] and, in [55], AC replies to [54] flouting again the maxim of Manner, ("You've been...know it"), and exploiting the theme of Fate once again, by asking SA about the date on the coin – which is further clarified in [57] by declaring the date. Note that, besides constituting the only precise time reference which sets the film in the year 1980, the date "1958" constitutes a sentence on its own, hence is highly salient. The number of years it's been "travelling" (viz. meeting other people's destinies) is then introduced. The structure becomes then very regular: three subsequent sentences linked through parataxis and through the conjunction "And" as the first element of each sentence, which creates a regular rhythm, a *crescendo* each time giving the impression that a new piece of information of equal importance is about to be introduced. Furthermore, the three sentences all constitute a flouting of the maxim of Quantity, since they say more than is strictly necessary, and create a highly redundant structure, since a) that the coin is in front of them is clear; b) that a coin has either heads or tails is equally clear; c) that SA has to say it has become clear in turns [47]-[55], in spite of SA's repeated attempts to put the moment off. Turn [55] is closed with the repetition of turn [47], signalling all the attempts made by SA to avoid the call were useless.

Turn [58] is particularly interesting. In fact, it exploits reformulation again, since the propositional meaning is not so different from all of SA's turns from [50] to [54]. However, it is interesting to note that the verb "win" bears end-focus here, signalling SA thinks, (maybe, hopes), he is going to *win* something. AC replies with a one-word sentence, ([59]), which is therefore phonologically, semantically and pragmatically highly salient. Furthermore, to claim that one is going to win everything is equal to claim that, in case of failure, one is going to *lose* everything. The tone of threat that was implicit in [31], [35] and [53] is made explicit here, which cannot be ignored by SA, who apparently asks for clarification in [60] but, in actual fact, performs an indirect speech act to convey his disbelief as to a toss which would allow him to win "everything".

[61] has a deep emotional impact reached through a variety of means. First of all, the camera is on AC, so that the hardening of the expression on his face is visually immediate. The other important non-verbal element consists in the sudden change in AC's tone of voice, which conveys all the impatience and threat that was implicit in AC's previous verbal selections. With regard to the linguistic aspect of the turn, two utterances are emitted here. The first represents an extension of AC's preceding turn [59], the one-word sentence being turned into a complete SVO sentence – the keyword "everything" still bearing end-focus, hence salience. The second part of turn [61] is the fourth repetition of the bald-on-record FTA "Call it".

The continuous repetition of this order and the insistence on the part of AC not to let SA 'escape' from the exchange, concurrently diminishing his status and leaving him verbally defenceless, brings about its final effect in [62].

The camera moves on SA to signal how crucial the moment is and suspense music can be heard for the first and only time in the scene. SA has finally realised the conversation was not meant to be a 'chat' at all, and that his interlocutor has verbally cornered him, forcing him to stand in a position of subjection. His subjection is once again expressed verbally when, after taking a breath, (quite probably meant to signal he really must have realized the danger standing before him – note also his verbal selection "All right *then*"), SA gives the expected response: heads.

[63] opens with an intense non-verbal element, the moment when AC and SA face each other before AC looks at the coin and unveils SA's fate. The first sentence of the turn seems to signal the end: SA has done well: he will live.

However, AC still does not seem to be fully satisfied, for he has one more order to give. In spite of the fact that AC uses the polite and formal term of reference “Sir” for the first time in the exchange, (which suggests SA must have grown in AC’s consideration), the patronizing tone AC has been using during the whole conversation is deployed again, by a) exploiting repetition, and b) concluding the turn with a statement of fact which, thanks to AC’s intonation, is presented as something obvious SA has again failed to notice. SA’s reaction in [64], which represents SA’s last verbal turn in the conversation, is to ask AC for advice as to where he should put the coin, stressing the fact that, even if he has won “everything”, he has maintained his role of subjection until the end.

Besides being the first character to take the floor, AC is also the last character to speak, ([65]). Particularly interesting is AC’s last utterance “which it is”. Thus, a) since it represents the closing turn, (hence it is pragmatically and psychologically salient), b) since it is a subordinate clause up-shifted to the rank of sentence, (hence, again, salient and foregrounded – Douthwaite 2000), and c) since it flouts the maxim of Quantity once again by providing obvious information, it reduces the whole conversation to a game decided by what is, after all, “just a coin”, but a very important one – which would certainly have been amusing for the shop assistant, if his life had not been in danger.

The scene is brought to an end when AC walks away, (in this way, parallelism, hence foregrounding, is created, for the sound of his slow footsteps closes the conversation as it had opened it), and a speechless SA is assigned the ‘last’ turn in the conversation, constituted by attributable silence – he has not been assigned the right to speak at the beginning, he has been deprived of such a right in the end.

Conclusion

A very long and multifaceted conversation has been subjected to a necessarily brief linguistic and multimodal analysis. The analysis of the text, which has been supported in some points by the consideration of the co-text, has revealed the mechanisms deployed in the film to construct and express the psychology of the character of Anton Chigurh at the linguistic and non-linguistic level.

He is depicted as a man who is not ready to accept any kind of intrusion in his life, not even the smallest, and is ready to react instantly, should this happen. A man who is able to translate domination into words and to corner his 'victim' on more than one occasion, until his aim has been reached. He is, in actual fact, the only character in the exchange who asks personal questions and obtains the relative answers, besides being the only one who performs all the Face Threatening Acts present in the exchange – the threat to politeness being the least important on this occasion. Furthermore, the repetition of the strategies he deploys to obtain his short-term and long-term goals, (e.g. to ask questions when he should provide answers, to exploit the repetition of SA's words against him, and so on), is also indicative of how methodical his *modus operandi* is.

It is also important to note his adherence to Fate, or, to put it in different terms, his belief that he is the 'tool' through which Fate operates, which, on the one hand, allows him to think he is right to act the way he does, (or not to have any other choice – consider the whispers in [25] and [47]), and, on the other, to distance himself from his actions, which, being driven by some superior force, always tend to be someone else's fault ("You need to call it. I *can't* call it for you, or it *wouldn't be fair*".)

To sum up, although the rest of the film has been on more than one occasion precious to support and/or confirm the investigation of the conversation presented above, the conversation in itself, together with its non-verbal elements and its multimodal rendering, is enough, when subjected to linguistic and multimodal analysis, to infer the personality of the character.

References

- Aarts, F. and J. Aarts (1982). *English Syntactic Structures*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Bordwell, D. and K. Thompson (2001). *Film Art: An Introduction*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Brown, P. and S. C. Levinson (1987). *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Culpeper, J., M. Short and P. Verdonk (eds.) (1998). *Exploring the Language of Drama: From Text to Context*. London: Routledge.

- Douthwaite, J. (2000). *Towards a Linguistic Theory of Foregrounding*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Grice, H.P. (1975). Logic and Conversation. In: P. Cole and J. L. Morgan (eds.) *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*. New York: Academic. 41-58.
- Grundy, P. (2000). *Doing Pragmatics*. London: Arnold.
- Huang, Y. (2007). *Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leech, G. (1983). *Principle of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Leech, G. and M. Short (1981). *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose*. London: Longman.
- McIntyre, D. (2008). Integrating multimodal analysis and the stylistics of drama: a multimodal perspective on Ian McKellen's *Richard III*. *Language and Literature* 17(4): 309-334.
- Monaco, J. (2000). *How to Read a Film: Movies, Media, Multimedia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nelmes, J. (ed.) (2007). *Introduction to Film Studies*. London & New York: Routledge.
- O'Halloran, K. L. (ed.) (2004). *Multimodal Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum.
- Rose, G. (2007). *Visual Methodologies*. London: Sage.
- Sacks, H., E. A. Schegloff and G. Jefferson (1974). A Simplest Systematics for the Organisation of Turn-Taking for Conversation. *Language* 50: 696-735.
- Short, M. (1996). *Exploring the Language of Poems, Plays and Prose*. London: Longman.
- Yus, F. (2009). Visual Metaphor versus Verbal Metaphor: a Unified Account. In: C. J. Forceville and E. Urios-Aparisi (eds) *Multimodal Metaphor*, Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 147 – 172.

Accepted for publication: October 5th, 2010

Елизабета Зурру

ЛИНГВИСТИЧКА И МУЛТИМОДАЛНА АНАЛИЗА У КОНСТРУКЦИЈИ
КАРАКТЕРА АНТОНА ШИГАРА У ФИЛМУ *НЕМА ЗЕМЉЕ ЗА СТАРЦЕ*

Сажетак

Предмет овог есеја јесте интеракција између лингвистичке и мултимодалне анализе у случају иманентно мултимодалног производа као што је филм. Анализа се односи на карактеризацију Антона Шигара у филму *Нема земље за старце*.

Кључне речи: лингвистичка анализа, мултимодална анализа, филм'-мултимодални производ, *Нема земље за старце*

Rosemary Peters
Louisiana State University, USA

THE NO. 1 PARISIAN DETECTIVE AGENCY: VIDOCQ AND THE "THIRD SPACE" OF THE PRIVATE POLICE

Abstract

Eugène-François Vidocq (1775-1857) has entered cultural legend mostly for his exploits in the criminal world and the unlikely fact of having risen from a hard-labor convict to the Chief of Police in Paris. After his years directing the Brigade de Sûreté – a new branch of police work dedicated to prevention and public safety – Vidocq opened the first private detective agency, in 1833. This article discusses his work with the police and then as a private detective, both historically and theoretically, and argues that Vidocq created essentially a new "third space of discourse" for nineteenth-century law-enforcement. Vidocq was on the side of neither the state police nor the criminals he was hired to track down, yet he was uncannily allied with both. He thus found himself at the head of a new kind of (textual and cultural) agency in which he was forced to redefine the work, both practical and ideological, of *dépistage* (following traces). Includes four images.

Key words: criminal world, convict/policeman/detective, textual and cultural redefiniton, „third space of discourse“

Eugène-François Vidocq, a thief/forgery and hard-labor convict later turned policeman and private detective, was the real-life inspiration for literary characters in the French, British and American traditions, including Honoré de Balzac's Vautrin (*Le Père Goriot*, *Illusions perdues*, *Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes*), Victor Hugo's Jean Valjean and Javert (*Les Misérables*), Alexandre Dumas père's Jackal (*Les Mohicans de Paris*), Charles Dickens's Jiggers and Bucket (*Bleak House*), Wilkie Collins's Count Fosco (*The*

Woman in White), Edgar Allen Poe's Dupin ("Murders in the Rue Morgue", "The Purloined Letter"), Emile Gaboriau's Lecoq (*L'Affaire Lerouge*), Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes, and numerous characters (and some of the plotline) from Eugène Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*. His story has also inspired at least two televised series ("Les Aventures de Vidocq" in 1967, "Les Nouvelles aventures de Vidocq" in 1973 – plus TF1's téléfilm "Vidocq: Le masque et la plume" which aired in May 2010), four movies (Jean Kemm's *Vidocq* in 1923, Jacques Daroy's *Vidocq* in 1938, Douglas Sirk's *A Scandal in Paris* in 1946, and Pitof's *Vidocq* in 2001, starring Gérard Depardieu), a handful of comic books, a board game, a 1952 radio show starring Charles Boyer, a techno-punk song by the band Zilverface, and even an "app" for the iPhone and iPod Touch. His life story holds a unique place in the European nineteenth-century tradition, engendering multiple narratives of trickery, double identities, redemption, and criminal fascination. Indeed, the story of his criminality and subsequent rise to success has become much more a thing of popular legend than his own writings or his other work (police work, factory ownership, private detective).

Alternately called "le Napoléon de la police" ('the Napoleon of the police'),¹ a force of nature, and "notre contemporain" ('our contemporary'),² Vidocq led a life worthy of picaresque narrative. According to Alphonse Boudard's brief biography accompanying the commentary on Vidocq's 1844 *Considérations sommaires*, Vidocq "a fait tous les métiers, ou Presque" ('held every occupation, or almost' – Boudard, 51): baker's son, thief, circus acrobat, transvestite, corporal (then deserter) in the Bourbon Infantry, forger, disguised nobility, and womanizer, all before the age of twenty. He was a "garçon audacieux, capable d'entreprendre n'importe quoi, n'importe quand et dans n'importe quel lieu" ('an audacious boy, capable of undertaking anything, at any time and in any place' – Boudard, 54). At twenty-one years of age, after being caught red-handed committing a forgery which helped a condemned man escape from prison, Vidocq was condemned to prison himself for the first time, to eight years of *travaux forcés*, or hard labor, from which he escaped. He was subsequently found and captured, and escaped again, a handful of times. Upon recognition and recapture in Lyon, in 1809 he met with the head of police there and

¹ Jean Savant, *Le Vrai Vidocq* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1957), back cover notes. All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Subsequent references in the text.

² Alphonse Boudard, "Vidocq, notre contemporain." In Eugène-François Vidocq, *Considérations sommaires sur les prisons, les bagnes et la peine de mort*. (Paris: Mille et une nuits, 1999)

suggested a deal. In exchange for his freedom, he would help the police by informing on his former partners in crime, agents of the criminal underworld. "Être neutre, vivre en paix lui étant interdit, il doit choisir: le bagne ou la police" ('Remaining neutral and living in peace being forbidden to him, he must choose: the prison or the police' – Savant, 1957: 22). Though an unlucky criminal, Vidocq proved a brilliant informant and criminal spy. One biographer writes, "Il apparaît que Vidocq a le génie de la police. Il n'agit pas en mouchard, mais en détective" ('It becomes clear that Vidocq is a police genius. He acts not as a gangster, but as a detective' – Savant, 1957: 22). In 1810 he was appointed into the service of Dubois, Préfet de Police de la Seine, under the Minister of Police Fouché; and, after a few months, was granted independence and the right to create the Brigade de la Sûreté, a "preventive" rather than "repressive" police force (Savant, 1957: 23) that would act alongside the "political police" (Savant, 28) and improve crime control by revolutionizing police methods.

His trajectory from convict to Chef de la Brigade de Sûreté is celebrated in both history and literature. As head of the Sûreté, arguably the forerunner of most modern departments of criminal investigation, Vidocq insisted on his agents' (a) being former convicts themselves, arguing that their status as criminal insiders gave them privileged knowledge into the workings of criminal networks, and (b) working undercover, the more effectively to enter known criminal spaces and gather information. As such, Vidocq's Brigade de Sûreté (he headed the organization from 1812 to 1827, when political pressures forced him out of the office) became the precursor for the institutions of modern criminology and private detection. When reprisals and political turmoil in the years immediately before the revolution of 1830 forced Vidocq to leave the Sûreté, he retired briefly to Saint-Mandé (north-east of Paris), where he opened a paper factory; then, in 1832, he returned to the police for a short time before founding, in 1833, France's first private-detective agency. In each of these later pursuits, Vidocq maintained his philosophy from the Sûreté years and employed ex-convicts. My point in providing these details is not to recount Vidocq's already fabled biography,³ but rather to examine him within the contexts

³ Interested readers can consult James Morton, *The First Detective: The Life and Revolutionary Times of Vidocq, Criminal, Spy and Private Eye* (London: Ebury Press, 2004); Dominique Kalifa, *Crime et culture au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Editions Perrin, 2005); Jean Savant, *Le Vrai Vidocq* (cf note above); Samuel Edwards, *The Vidocq Dossier: The Story of the World's First Detective* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1977); and of course Eugène-François Vidocq, *Mémoires*, edited and with an introduction by Francis Lacassin (Paris: Editions Robert Laffont, 1998).

of both the early part of the nineteenth century and the development of a criminal culture and literary tradition that transcends the underworld where it is born, to inform – and ultimately, to infiltrate – the “overworld”, the world of dominant society.

Like many contemporaries,⁴ Vidocq showed himself preoccupied by the necessity of establishing classifications, mostly criminal. He began not with persons but with institutions. Held in the Bicêtre (Paris) for seven months before being conveyed with the other *forçats* to Brest, Vidocq “répertorie les catégories d’institutions pénitenciaires ... il les connaît par tous les bouts, comme il connaît la psychologie des délinquents, par expérience” ([Vidocq] indexes categories of penitentiary institutions ... he knows them inside-out, like he knows the psychology of criminals, by experience’ – Boudard, 54). From prison-types, Vidocq could extrapolate criminal types. At his trial, the convict noticed “le mélange des incarcérés dans un même local: voleurs, forçats en rupture de ban, détenus pour dettes, enfants ... ‘et même aliénés’” (‘a mixture of incarcerated criminals in one place: thieves, parole-breakers, debtors, children ... “and even mad people”’ – 54).

Vidocq occupied his mind with separating people into categories, all of which he evaluated – those who give in to the “habitude de la pédérastie” (‘the habit of pederasty’), those whom the isolation of prison renders misanthropic, those it would be useful to have in his debt, those whom it would be better to deal with carefully. This work, begun during his own years within the prison population, would prove useful to him once he was integrated into the penal machine on the other side of the equation. Indeed, as Chef de Sûreté, Vidocq developed a system of anthropometrics, by which he measured and evaluated known criminals (memorizing and cataloguing their facial features), for the dual purpose of identifying those individuals and predicting (and therefore preventing) criminal behavior in individuals with similar features. This system – documented obliquely in Vidocq’s *Mémoires*, and still partially in use today by the French police

⁴ Early-nineteenth-century writers, including Balzac, Hugo and Sue, demonstrated a marked interest in the possibilities of applying research undertaken in zoological and botanical circles to human types as well. Thus, Balzac dedicated his 1835 novel *Le Père Goriot* to Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, the anatomist credited with recognizing an organized system of interconnected elements in all forms of animal life, which could be broken down into types and categories depending on the specific animal. Vidocq, like Hugo and Sue after him, will take this work of typology into the sociological realm and apply its principles to the criminal underworld.

– is a clear predecessor of later systems elaborated by, for example, Cesare Lombroso⁵ or Auguste Bertillon (1853-1914), who

realized that the methodology of measuring the outside of human bodies could be somewhat modified to suit the purposes of police departments. Since the police's interest lay precisely in individualizing the criminal, ... Bertillon devised techniques for relegating to the background that which is common to the group and highlighting instead that which is unique to the individual – the non-racial features that allow us to recognize someone walking down the street as Mr X.⁶

Before Bertillon began his work with the Préfecture de Police, though, Vidocq had already devised methods by which his detectives for the Sûreté could identify criminals, study ballistics, recognize and distinguish between shoe casts: all elements of paying attention to the clues criminals left behind in order to solve crimes. In many ways, Vidocq's pioneering work for the Sûreté in the first decades of the nineteenth century serves as an astonishing antecedent of the fin-de-siècle fictions about Sherlock Holmes, not to mention twenty-first-century crime dramas like CSI.

Just as clearly as he understood criminal types and typing, Vidocq evaluated the laws, the relative justice or injustice of the French penal system during his life. For example, "La peine de mort est une peine immorale" ('The death penalty is an immoral punishment' – Boudard, 55), Vidocq wrote in his *Mémoires*. We can note that this is not a de-classifying judgment: the death penalty is not *amoral* but *immoral*, that is, within the limits of understood morality but contradicting the acceptable. Syntactically, Vidocq participated in the nineteenth-century fascination with classification: his words were carefully chosen to delineate the specific placement of the death penalty within the appropriate echelon of morality. Chapter XLV of his *Mémoires* is concerned in part with classifications of thieves, and offers a succinct critique of the penal system in Restoration France. "Nos codes établissent des peines correctionnelles; et les pires de tous les coupables ne sont pas ceux qui les ont encourues, mais ceux

⁵ Lombroso's *L'uomo delinquente* ('The Criminal Man,' published in 1876) put forth the idea of criminal types as related to biological determinism, destined for criminal activity by their own physiognomy.

⁶ Mariana Valverde, *Law and Order: images, meanings, myths* (Piscataway, New Jersey: Rutgers U P, 2006), 73.

qui les ont subies. D'où vient que nous allons ainsi en sens inverse du but? C'est que maltraiter n'est pas corriger; c'est au contraire pervertir et corrompre de plus en plus la nature humaine" ('Our codes establish correctional punishments; and the worst of all the guilty are not those who have incurred them, but those who have suffered their existence. How has it happened that we thus move in the opposite direction from our goal? Mistreating is not correcting; on the contrary, it is perverting and corrupting human nature more and more.' – Vidocq, 507-08).⁷ Once again, his philosophy of punishment practices is well before its time, a harbinger of both contemporary sociological texts (for example, Victor Hugo's 1829 social "fiction" against the penal system, *Le Dernier jour d'un condamné*, or H. A. Frégier's 1840 *Les Classes dangereuses*) and future work that would revise the penal code and prison structure (in France, this work began in 1832 and continued throughout the nineteenth century).

Michel Foucault examines a similar classificatory phenomenon in his *Discipline and Punish*. In his description of the last hard-labor chain gang, from 1836, Foucault focuses on the gang's departure from Paris and the festival atmosphere that accompanied its passage through every town on the way to its ultimate destination; he even calls the passage of the chain-gang "a saturnalia of punishment, a penalty turned into a privilege."⁸

It also had the dimension of a public spectacle; according to the *Gazette des tribunaux*, over 100,000 people watched the chain gang leave Paris on 19 July: ... Order and wealth come to watch from a distance the passing of the great nomadic tribe that had been put in chains, that other species, "the race apart that has the privilege of populating the convict-ships and prisons (Foucault 1977: 258, Further cited as: DP)".

The notion of the criminal population as a "race apart" echoes nineteenth-century anthropological and sociological studies that brought "new lifeforms" into the spotlight, as the military expanded in Africa and Asia and the French were confronted with human forms that challenged their preconceptions – Saint-Hilaire, mentioned above, studied the "Hottentot

⁷ Eugène-François Vidocq, *Mémoires and Les Voleurs*. (Paris: Editions Laffont, 1998)

⁸ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Random House, 1977), 261.

Venus"⁹; Maxime du Camp, Léon Heuzey and Arthur Rimbaud left France at different points for Middle Eastern and African destinations with the objective of sending back "curiosities."¹⁰ These outward-looking explorations, in the name of Empire, found a contemporary echo in *inward*-looking anthropological studies that brought unknown populations from within the Hexagon itself into the light of critical scientific focus. The criminal type, then, began to be seen as a separate race or species, a different kind of lifeform that, like discoveries from Egyptian, Byzantine and Ethiopian soil, brought the metropolitan French face-to-face with difference. Many species go into composing this "race apart", as Foucault goes on to delineate:

One sought to rediscover the face of the criminals who had had their glory; broadsheets recalled the crimes of those one saw pass; newspapers provided their names and recounted their lives; sometimes they provided a description of their persons and dress, so that their identity might not pass unnoticed: like programmes for spectators. People also came to examine different types of criminals, trying to decide, according to facial appearance or dress, the "profession" of the convict, whether he was a murderer or a thief: it was a game of masquerades and marionettes, which was also, for more educated eyes, something of an empirical ethnography of crime (*DP*: 259).

It was precisely this "criminal ethnography" that fascinated so many nineteenth-century writers, Vidocq included: at the time that biologists and sociologists were looking outside national boundaries to study and classify races and species, novelists and early psychiatrists looked *inward*,

⁹ For more information on the Hottentot Venus, a slave of the Khoisan tribe who arrived in France aboard a marine vessel in 1810, see Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully, *Sara Baartman and the Hottentot Venus: A Ghost Story and a Biography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008); see also Sander L. Gilman's "Black Bodies, White Bodies: Toward an Iconography of Female Sexuality in Late Nineteenth-Century Art, Medicine, and Literature" in Henry Gates's edited volume, *Race, Writing and Difference* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 223-261.

¹⁰ Maxime du Camp, writer and photographer, led an expedition to Egypt from 1849-51, along with his friend Gustave Flaubert; Léon Heuzey, head curator of the Louvre, led an archaeological mission in 1861 to the north-eastern regions of Greece and was instrumental in uncovering the lost tombs of Alexander the Great's family; Arthur Rimbaud, poet and trader, left France in 1881 to spend the last decade of his life in the desert between Aden and Harare. The term "curiosities" comes from Rimbaud's letter to his family of 6 May 1883, in which he promises to send home "des choses curieuses."

into cityscapes, hospitals, prisons, and workhouses. Wilderness and wild behavior perceived in exotic locations were transposed onto the shadier activities of the urban theatre. Armand Lenoux, writing the introduction for Emile Gaboriau's *L'Affaire Lerouge*, explains that "Entre *Le Dernier des Mohicans* (1826) et *Les Mohicans de Paris*, d'Alexandre Dumas (1854), une des plus solides métaphores du XIX^e siècle a eu le temps de fleurir et de fructifier: les bas-fonds des grandes cités sont les territoires de chasse des Indiens des villes et la loi de la Prairie règne sur ces Sioux, ces Apaches, ces Mahulots suburbains" ('Between *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and Alexandre Dumas's *The Mohicans of Paris* (1854), one of the strongest metaphors of the 19th century had the time to flourish and bear fruit: the slums of large cities as the hunting-ground for city Indians, the law of the Prairie reigning over these suburban Sioux, Apaches, and Mahulots' – 6).¹¹ Balzac used his "ethnographic" findings to populate his richly textured storylines with complex, and believably criminal, characters; Hugo, for purposes more along the lines of social policy; Vidocq, to explain, justify, illuminate, and exemplify his life. Many of the precepts about prison that Foucault brings to light in the twentieth century can already be found in Vidocq's work in the nineteenth. Foucault, for instance, asserts, "La détention provoque la récidive" ('detention causes recidivism' – *DP*: 265), in a list of criticisms about the institution of the prison; Vidocq embodied – and might as well have composed – this principle. Even after his eventual liberation from the prison system, he continued to associate himself with its population, on both sides of the bars – infiltrating the Parisian criminal underworld while maintaining professional contacts with the very judicial representatives who were once his jailers. As if to prove the duplicity of Vidocq's post-prison life, Foucault goes on to explain that "The prison makes possible, even encourages, the organization of a milieu for delinquents, loyal to one another, hierarchized, ready to aid and abet any future criminal act (*DP*: 267)". This precept can be seen also in Sue's *Les Mystères de Paris*, in which both inmates and un-incarcerated criminals operate a canny organization with a communications network, a system of leadership, and an almost Masonic secret knowledge of the workings of the city. Vidocq, of course, turned these "complicités futures" to his own advantage – first, by offering up his former comrades in crime to the state

¹¹ Armand Lanoux, preface to Emile Gaboriau, *L'Affaire Lerouge* (Paris: Librairie Générale française, 1961), 5-12.

police; then, later, by making them complicit in his post-Sûreté endeavors, the paper factory and then the private detective agency.

While working for the Brigade de la Sûreté – and therefore under the watchful eye of the official State police – Vidocq used contacts from his own days as a convict in order to infiltrate the criminal underworld of Paris and serve up criminals (some, former comrades) to the law. His reputation as a member of the criminal society preceded him, within both the Police and the criminal underworld: “J’avais été un voleur célèbre, il n’y avait sorte de crimes que je n’eusse commis: tels étaient les bruits qu’ils se plaisaient à accréditer” (‘I had been a famous thief, there was no sort of crime I had not committed: such were the rumors they [dissatisfied policemen, and thieves] took pleasure in believing’ – Vidocq: 306). Vidocq goes on to explain that, while his checkered past created enemies for him among the officers of the Police (who, he declares, were jealous of his successes in capturing outlaws in the city), it earned him the respect of the very criminals he captured:

Les voleurs du moins étaient persuadés que j’avais, comme eux, exercé le métier; en le disant ils étaient de bonne foi. Avant de tomber dans mes filets, il fallait bien qu’ils puissent supposer que j’étais un des leurs; une fois pris, ils me regardaient comme un faux frère; mais je n’en étais pas moins, à leurs yeux, *un grinche de la haute pègre* (voleur du grand genre); seulement je volais avec impunité, parce que la police avait besoin de moi.

The thieves at least were convinced that I had, like them, practiced this trade; in saying so they acted in good faith. Before they fell into my nets, they had to be allowed to think that I was one of their own; once taken, they considered me a traitor; but I was no less, in their eyes, a *thief of the highest grade*; only, they assumed, I must steal with impunity, because the police needed me (Vidocq: 306).

The calumny of envious officers within the Police system and the unavoidable celebrity of his position made Vidocq’s work as an infiltrator increasingly dangerous, yet his crime-fighting (or criminal-taking) zeal never flagged. “Les voleurs jurèrent de se défaire de moi: maintes fois je faillis tomber sous leurs coups” (‘The thieves swore they would be rid of me: countless times I was nearly taken down by their ruses,’ Vidocq: 307). Still, drawing on his own experiences within the penal system as well as

the knowledge of his own intelligence and resourcefulness, he preferred to give his prisoners the benefit of the doubt, a second chance, and to speak out against the inhuman treatment convicted prisoners received at the hands of guards (who more often than not, in Vidocq's observation, behaved more criminally than the criminals under their charge) and the penal system in general. In his "dictionnaire argotique" *Les Voleurs*, Vidocq speaks to the necessity of humane treatment: "On trouvera peut-être que je suis trop indulgent. Que m'importe, j'ai l'intime conviction qu'il vaut mieux pêcher par excès d'indulgence que par excès de sévérité" ('People find that perhaps I am too indulgent. What does this matter to me? I have the heartfelt conviction that it is better to sin through excess of leniency than through excess of severity' – Vidocq: 260).

In this belief Vidocq shows himself yet again a precursor of Foucault's theories, as we have seen above. Revolutionary in Vidocq's practices is the insistence on employing convicts for the purposes of law-enforcement, both within and outside of the official State-sponsored agencies created for this objective. If detention causes recidivism, then Vidocq would seem to operate on the assumption that liberty creates a new avenue for criminal energies, and channels them – like himself – into, if not law-abiding behavior, then law-enforcement. Vidocq's choice of employees struck doubly into Restoration anxieties and realities: on the one hand, Vidocq knew that, as the adage says, only a thief can catch a thief. He used convicts to legitimate the real, practical importance of criminal knowledge, and to emphasize this knowledge for the betterment of non-criminal society.

On the other hand, though, this very legitimization serves another purpose, one that has more to do with *maintaining* a criminal identity than with expelling it. Alexandre Dumas, in his 1849-50 novel *Le Collier de la reine*, exposed the complex system of encryption and decryption involved in courtly rituals and identity practices: similarly, though at the opposite end of the social spectrum, Vidocq insisted on the knowledge and praxis of underworld rituals. If class status can be read through symbols, gestures and signs, so can criminality; and, in fact, it is to society's advantage to make legible the criminal underworld and even the criminal body. But the very practices that made the criminal being legible for "honest people", in Balzac's phrase¹² – whether sociological treatises like Frégier's *Les Classes dangereuses*, texts like Balzac's *Code des gens honnêtes*, or real-world

¹² From the title of his early pseudonymous work, *Le Code des gens honnêtes* ('The Code of Honest People,' published in 1825).

"guidebooks" like Vidocq's slang dictionary *Les Voleurs* – also instructed and privileged the criminal world, which then became increasingly adaptable. We might wonder whether Vidocq's work was in fact geared toward law-enforcement, or rather toward protection of the very (under)class structures he was nominally exposing.

Vidocq's *Mémoires* and his work with the Brigade de Sûreté form only part of his interest for my study here. A significant element of his post-police biography, and one which has received only scant critical attention, is his founding, in 1833, France's first private-detective agency: the *Bureau des renseignements dans l'intérêt du Commerce* (Office of information in the interests of Commerce). Though this establishment revolutionized both the state police and independent criminology in the nineteenth century, I would argue that it operated nonetheless as an extension of Vidocq's former work.

It is worthwhile to consider the institution of the police as a function of the state for a moment, before turning to the new institution of the "private police" which Vidocq and other enterprising agents developed in the mid-nineteenth century. The Parisian police dates back long before the days of Napoléon, as Philip John Stead has studied,¹³ but the institution underwent significant changes after the Revolution. For one thing, the post-revolutionary police were no longer strictly "the King's men" (Stead 1957: 15); for another, the nineteenth century did away with the "royal police authority" under the medieval *Prévôté* system as well as its physical location, the now-destroyed Roman fortress of Châtelet (Stead 1957: 17). The "arbitrary power" of the police, Stead asserts, "came to symbolize the despotic character of the [ancien] régime itself; the police was one of the institutions the Revolution came into being to destroy (Stead 1957: 42)". Unsurprisingly, destruction was sought not only because of the police's power over the urban population (and its alliance with the royalty), but also because of the numerous abuses of that power under the *ancien régime* – "the police opened a peep-hole into the wicked privacies of the great city for a King and a Court who were imprisoned in the magic circle of Versailles (Stead 1957: 50)", and "these scandalous items necessarily brought the police into alliance with the purveyors of vice – an alliance which, in any case, was already strong enough, for the police depended then as now on information supplied them by prostitutes and thieves (Stead 1957: 51)". Much of the Revolution's work against official institutions happened on an

¹³ Stead, Philip John. *The Police of Paris*. (London: Staples Press Limited, 1957)

ideological level, and the destruction of the police force was no exception: while the police itself as an institution did not disappear, and “the old tradition of law-enforcement, military and centralized, was reaffirming itself (Stead 1957: 70)”, after the Revolution it was submitted to a sea-change of title and structure. The primary police authority in Paris was no longer the office of Lieutenant-Général – a title linking the individual and function to a bygone system of royal military – but rather, under the Directoire and then Napoléon, the office of *Ministre*, an administrative state employee.

“The new Minister was to be responsible for ‘the execution of the laws relative to the police, security and general tranquility of the Republic; the regular Garde Nationale ... and the Gendarmerie, in all that related to the maintenance of public order, the policing of prisons, houses of arrest, justice and confinement, and the suppression of mendicancy and vagabondage’ (Stead 1957: 73). This is the office into which Joseph Fouché, apostate priest and legendary agent of the Terror,¹⁴ was appointed in 1799. Fouché made the Minister of Police a political, rather than administrative, office. He did however create a separate office for the city of Paris alone – the Consulat created the Préfecture de Police de Paris in 1800, and it was into this framework that Eugène-François Vidocq stepped, “first as a prison-spy, collecting information about robberies and murders, and then as an agent of the Prefecture (Stead 1957: 94)”. As we know, “Vidocq possessed the necessary knowledge of the underworld – first-hand knowledge unrivalled by any policeman before or since (Stead 1957: 94)”. And though Vidocq’s Sûreté (reborn under the Third Republic as the *Police judiciaire*, and still functioning today) remained in operation until 1827 and saw tremendous success in the capital’s crime-fighting efforts, the history of his office was nonetheless turbulent. “The regular police officers, especially the Officiers de Paix, bitterly resented the setting up of this unconventional department under an escaped convict who had not even been pardoned for his crime. The resentment was all the more acute because Vidocq picked his agents from the criminal class (Stead 1957: 95)”. Finally, whether through his work as Chef de la Sûreté or through his previous exposure to the criminal methods and milieu, Vidocq proved to possess “exact information of crimes past and

¹⁴ For more on Fouché’s role during the “Terreur”, please see David Andress, *The Terror: The Merciless War for Freedom in Revolutionary France* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2005).

future, minute knowledge of the physiognomy of thousands of men with criminal records (and this in an age when criminals could rarely be identified from records – long before anthropometry and finger-printing), familiarity with criminal manners, customs and devices” (Stead 1957: 95), and he passed this information on to the men who worked under him, thus making of his small organization a most efficient crime-solving force, at a time when the criminal underworld was both “extensive” and “savage (Stead 1957: 95)”.

In 1827, intrigues and political turmoil multiplied as the Restoration regime came under popular attack. “Côté régime, c’est à la police qu’on s’en prend. Sous-entendu : à la police politique. Seulement, cette police n’a pas de chef, ou, du moins, son chef ne jouit d’aucune notoriété. A la recherche d’un nom qui impressionne les foules, on n’hésite pas à s’emparer de celui de Vidocq. Ainsi le chef de la Sûreté devient-il la cible commode” (‘On the regime side, people attacked the police. By which I mean: the political police. Only, this police force had no leader, or rather, its leader had no authority. So, when looking for a name to impress the crowd, no one hesitated to mention Vidocq. Thus the chief of the Sûreté became a convenient target’ – Savant 1957: 28). Savant’s assessment exposes the degree to which Vidocq, while at the center of a vital organization working for the good of the State, was nonetheless an outsider to State and public aims. The préfet de police, Delavau, was unnerved by Vidocq, whose Sûreté succeeded where the political police failed, and whose notoriety had made him legendary. In 1827 Vidocq took (temporary) retirement from police work and published his *Mémoires*, but was subsequently persuaded by Casimir Périer to return to the official work of city surveillance when the revolution of 1830 and its aftermath came to underscore the fragile stability of Parisian politics. Vidocq, who had once informed on thieves and murderers in the capital’s darkest corners, found himself once again Chef de Sûreté, charged with indicating to the government “les lieux où carlistes et républicains se réuniront, leurs démarches, leurs projets” (‘the places where royalists and republicans meet, their activities and their projects’ – Savant 1957: 31). Where once he sought criminals of the material order, this new incarnation required him to focus on criminals of the *ideological* order, channeling his energies from property- and blood-crimes toward political interdictions instead. If we are to believe Savant’s hagiographic account of Vidocq’s role in the events of the June insurrection, Vidocq was single-

handedly responsible for saving Louis-Philippe's reign, and his life, from a sure assassination plot (Savant 1957: 32).¹⁵

After this brief, fêted return, the Sûreté came under harsh media attack, however, most of all because Vidocq, "convinced that only criminals could catch criminals," insisted as ever on staffing the Sûreté with "men with criminal records ... paid from secret funds (Stead 1957: 105)". If this practice was (just barely) tolerated during the Empire and Restoration, because seen as working for the public good, such was not the case under the July Monarchy. King Louis-Philippe's reign, though benevolent in appearance at the outset, in reality veered more and more toward conservative polity and repressive measures: some of the freedoms gained under the Restoration kings were lost again, and the old fear of Republicanism revived.¹⁶ The new Prefect of Police, Henri Gisquet (a staunch conservative, well-connected to the new regime), determined to reform the Sûreté and "place this branch of his service above suspicion" (Stead 1957: 105) – which meant, by and large, getting rid of Vidocq and his company of renegade sleuths.

After leaving his police post again in 1832, definitively this time, the former convict struck out independently, and the following year founded his "Bureau des renseignements dans l'intérêt du Commerce", at number 12, rue Cloche-Perce, in Paris's 2nd arrondissement. Thus began the last incarnation of the man once nicknamed "vautrin" (Savant, 1957: 16), or "boar", by the childhood playmates he bullied.¹⁷

The information agency had many aims, but Vidocq – ever canny to the spirit of the times – pitched it as a resource meant to help protect the interests of the new moneyed class, the commercial vector of the bourgeoisie. His brochure announcing the new agency carefully and cleverly situated the aims of this venture as holding clear benefits for the official organisms of the State. "Cette époque est l'âge d'or des industriels"

¹⁵ Ironically, this detail of Vidocq's life would repeat in the winter of 1848, when he apparently stopped a political mob from making an attempt on the life of Victor Hugo. The details are reported in a letter from Vidocq to Hugo himself (BHVP Ms 1055, fol 133-34).

¹⁶ For more information on the July Monarchy's increasingly repressive policies, readers may want to consult Jo Burr Margadant's article "Gender, Vice, and the Political Imaginary in Postrevolutionary France: Reinterpreting the Failure of the July Monarchy, 1830-1848." In *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 5 (Dec. 1999), pp 1461-1496. See also Fortescue, William. *France and 1848: The end of monarchy*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2005).

¹⁷ It is worth noting that Balzac, when he takes up the celebrated case of Vidocq in his 1835 novel *Le Père Goriot*, gives his Vidocq character the name "Vautrin."

(“This era is the golden age of industry’ – Savant 1957: 34), and yet the citizenry could not count on the police for protection, because – since Vidocq’s departure from the Sûreté – the police proved especially inept at infiltrating the criminal underworld. “[L]a police du règne de Louis-Philippe est bien la plus médiocre de celles connues. Elle ne prévoit rien, défend à peine le souverain, et laisse se développer une armée d’assassins, de voleurs et autres malfaiteurs” (“The police of Louis-Philippe’s reign was indeed the most mediocre known. It foresaw nothing, hardly defended the sovereign, and let develop an army of assassins, thieves and other criminals’ – Savant 1957: 34). If individuals, including the citizen-king, could not depend on police protection, the leaders of industry, still a new phenomenon and social class, had absolutely no structure for recourse or protection against the criminal acts – thefts, counterfeits, illegal resale, and fraud – which plagued the commercial community in this climate. “Lui, Vidocq, entreprend de leur faire la guerre, de protéger le commerce, en dépit de l’Etat. Il va se substituer à la police défaillante. Il crée sa propre police ...” (“Vidocq undertook to wage war on [these crimes against economy], to protect commerce, despite the State. He substituted himself for the weakening police. He created his *own* police’ – Savant 1957: 34).

The brochure he printed to announce the opening of his “Bureau des renseignements” opens with the following paragraph [See Figure 1]:

C’est une nécessité vivement et depuis long-temps sentie par le Commerce, que celle d’un établissement special ayant pour objet de lui procurer des renseignements sur les prétendus Négocians, c’est à dire les *escrocs* qui, à l’aide des qualifications de Banquiers, Négocians et Commissionnaires, usurpent la confiance publique et font journellement des dupes parmi les véritables commerçans.

Commerce has long and strongly felt the necessity for a special establishment whose objective would be the procurement of information on false Merchants, that is to say *swindlers* who, helped by the experience of Bankers, Merchants and Commissioners, play on public confidence and daily make dupes of true commercial agents.¹⁸

¹⁸ Vidocq, circular, “Bureau de Renseignemens dans l’intérêt du Commerce,” 1833. Reproduced in Eugène Le Senne, “Vidocq et son Bureau de renseignements commerciaux,” *Le Vieux papier*, t. 12, 1913, 291-297.

Vidocq continues the opening of his circular by laying out an estimate of how much these “false Merchants” cost true Commerce by the day (50,000 ff), month (1,500,000 ff) and year (18,000,000 ff), then stating baldly that even these elevated sums are most likely an underestimation, the real business loss coming somewhere nearer, “au plus bas, à 36 ou 40 millions ... annuellement” (‘at the lowest, between 36 and 40 million [francs] annually’ – Le Senne, 292).

PROSPECTUS. 108

BREVET
d'Invention et de Perfectionnement
DU PAPIER DE SURETÉ.

Sur lequel il est impossible de faire la plus légère tentative de
fausification ou altération quelconque.

E. F. VIDOCQ, (Bréveté.)

BUREAU DE RENSEIGNEMENTS
dans l'intérêt du Commerce.

Rue Cloche - Perche, N° 12, à Paris.

C'est une nécessité vivement et depuis long-temps sentie par le commerce, que celle d'un établissement spécial ayant pour objet de lui procurer des renseignements sur les prétendus négocians, c'est-à-dire sur les *Esrocs* qui à l'aide des qualifications de Banquiers, Négocians, et Commissionnaires, usurpent la confiance publique et font journellement des dupes parmi les véritables commerçans.

Les écrivains qui se sont spécialement occupés de recherches statistiques en ces matières, élèvent à 20,000 le chiffre des *Industriels* de ce genre. Je veux bien admettre qu'il y ait quelque exagération dans ce calcul; mais j'affirme que l'évaluation la plus modérée ne peut descendre au-dessous de cinq mille. Prenons pour base cette donnée.

Ces cinq mille individus absorbent au commerce une somme moyenne de 10 fr. par jour, c'est taxer au plus bas la dépense de ces *messteurs*, menant d'habitude joyeuse vie, et d'ordinaire enclins aux passions les plus dispendieuses.

Leur dépense commune s'élèvera donc :
par jour à 50 mille fr., par mois 1 million 500 mille fr., par an 18 millions.

Mais il faut bien observer que pour se procurer ces 18 millions de francs ces *Industriels* escroquent au commerce une somme au moins double, souvent triple, parce qu'ils achètent cher, revendent à vil prix, payent aux entremetteurs de leurs sales affaires des commissions considérables.

Figure 1 – E. F. Vidocq, (Bréveté)
BHVP Ms 2928, dossier 12, fol. 108-109

Just as, knowing that the police required an inside infiltrator to solve crimes successfully, Vidocq the *ex-forçat* once turned his former criminal career to advantage, here we see Vidocq the *ex-chef de la Surêté* playing on the same perspicacity, as well as on his own experience with the underground networks of information that subtend Parisian society. The founder of this "bureau de renseignements" knows the anxiety of an urban population in the first years of the July Monarchy, following the Bourbon Restoration of 1815-1830 and the accompanying loss of rights gained after the Revolution. He knows also, first-hand, the difficulties this new merchant class faces as it struggles into financial solvability, and foresees the socio-economic changes that make the bourgeoisie into a modified aristocracy, the nobility of the mid-19th century. Commerce – with a capital C – has replaced Liberté as the motto of a social class on the rise, in the framework of a Republican monarchy ruled by the Citizen King in the Golden Age of France's Industrial Revolution. It should come as no surprise then that his first detective work was, or at least was publicized as, a work designed to protect the economic interests of the population during this period. A decade later, Vidocq would address larger questions of property and crime in a different way, changing his focus once again to mirror a prevailing zeitgeist concerned with socio-political and philosophical reforms. But at the dawn of his detective period, which coincides with the dawn of the July Monarchy, Vidocq concentrates on Commerce.

This focus is important for several reasons. First, at a time when novelists like Balzac, Hugo and Sue were concentrating on the potential damage that theft causes to individuals, Vidocq saw a much larger picture (and this, well in advance of Zola's 1883 novel *Au Bonheur des Dames* with its dual focus on commercial and individual losses). He thus positioned himself within the mechanisms of the post-revolutionary economy, and on the side of a class fast coming into power. Through this self-positioning, Vidocq managed to re-invent his reputation yet again. No longer the penniless petty criminal of adolescence, the new Vidocq stood firmly on the side of social right, fiscal conservation, legitimate industry and the development of a financial *patrimoine* (heritage), this important new image of the emergent State fast becoming the legacy of the 19th century. This repositioning echoes his writings from the years when he operated a paper factory in Saint-Mandé, and invented paper that would immediately show any attempt at alteration, as well as an indelible ink.¹⁹ [See Figure 2]

¹⁹ Vidocq's writings about his paper and ink inventions are archived in BHVP Ms 2928, fol 47-99.

Second, in the publicity brochure, Vidocq underlined the timeliness and social necessity of his new enterprise, with a formula that might be familiar to those who have read his *Voleurs*. The introduction to *Les Voleurs*, Vidocq's anecdotal and encyclopedic dictionary of thieves' argot, includes the following paragraph:

Je n'attache pas à cet ouvrage plus d'importance qu'il n'en mérite ; je ne veux même point, pour me conformer à l'usage général, répéter ce que disait le célèbre Clément Marot, que le besoin d'un livre semblable à celui-ci était depuis longtemps vivement et généralement senti ; mais lorsque l'on parle, sur le théâtre, le langage des prisons et des bagnes, lorsque les assassins publient leurs Mémoires, et les voleurs leurs pensées intimes, le moment est opportun pour publier un Dictionnaire argotique.

I do not attach to this work more importance than it deserves; I do not even wish to repeat, in conformity to general usage, what the famous Clément Marot said, that the need for a book such as this one had long been vividly and widely felt; but in a time when people speak, at the theater, the language of prisons and hard-labor camps, when assassins publish their memoirs and thieves their most intimate thoughts, the moment is ripe for a Dictionary of underworld slang (Vidocq 681).

Similarly, in circular to announce the opening of his "Bureau de renseignements", Vidocq played on this same allusion to Marot. "C'est une nécessité vivement et depuis longtemps sentie *par le Commerce*" ('It is a necessity long and vividly felt *by Commerce*,' emphasis mine), he wrote, specifying the particular application of his agency. At the same time, he subtly reinforced the popular perception of the police during the July Monarchy – an institution without focus, without contacts, unable to handle the explosion of crime in the capital after Vidocq's own resignation from the force. The police-chief-turned-private-detective here allied himself firmly *against* the state police, with a statement and an intention that would earn him retaliation in the years to come.

Vidocq the private detective stood therefore against crime and fraud, *and* against the official state-sponsored agency designated to combat crime and fraud. He suggests a Bhabhaesque "third space", a space of hybridization and biculturality,²⁰ in the evolving culture of information, and offers to the

²⁰ Cf Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

emerging quest for control of information (along with the knowledge of the power of information and the growing concern with a subject's right to control access to personal details) a voice from the intersections of social identity and power. His stance outside both the official police and criminal networks earned the man a formidable reputation as a crime-fighter, but it also earned him resentment that would cause considerable difficulty in the years of his private-detective endeavor. In fact, part of what made Vidocq's venture so unique was precisely its in-between nature. Neither "honest person" in the Balzacian sense nor "voleur" as the state police would define the term, neither outlaw nor official law-enforcer, Vidocq came to represent a new, third category: the (allegedly) honest detective. The term is oxymoronic – only an ex-convict could have access to the information channels and ways of understanding the criminal world that benefitted Vidocq's agency, yet he had to find a way to use that information that would neither reveal nor compromise the criminal networks that worked to his profit. His contacts were extensive: "Bientôt, [Vidocq] sera, à lui seul, toutes les polices de France. Il n'est plus auprès du gouvernement, mais il est au courant de tout. Il a des amis, des relations, des correspondants, des antennes dans les ministères, dans les banques, dans l'armée, dans la magistrature, à la cour, dans les grands hôtels particuliers, etc." ("Soon, he would fill, by himself alone, the functions of all the police in France. He was no longer with the government, but he had a hand in everything. He had friends, contacts, correspondents, antennae in the ministries, in the banks, in the army, in the magistrature, at the court, in the large private mansions, etc." – Savant 1957: 34).

Dominique Kalifa's research on Vidocq, concerning both his role in the developing structure of the 19th-century Parisian police system, and his departure from or resistance to this same system as he set up his own bureau of investigation,²¹ shows a Vidocq who unsurprisingly, even relentlessly, attached the same independence of spirit to his police work as to all his enterprises: criminal, cultural, literary and financial. He even came to rival the official police, who were seen as bumbling incompetents by authors and the public alike, while Vidocq was known for his "célérité et discrétion" ('speed and secrecy' – a phrase that would become the motto for private detection as an industry in the course of the 19th century). Both Kalifa and James Morton make reference to a manuscript collection at

²¹ See Kalifa, *Crime et culture au XIX^e siècle* (Paris: Perrin, 2005); and especially *Histoire des détectives privés en France (1832-1942)* (Paris: Nouveau Monde editions, 2007).

the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris (BHVP), Ms 2928, which contains Vidocq's own records from the *Bureau de renseignements* – those records which escaped seizure by the police when they raided his offices in 1837 and 1843 (the seized records were kept in the archives of the *Police municipale*, which were largely destroyed in 1870). When I was researching Vidocq in Paris, however, over the summer of 2008, this manuscript (much to my chagrin and the confusion of the archival librarians at the BHVP) proved quite difficult to locate. Even the drawer of the BHVP's card catalogue containing manuscript listings from VIC to VIE had disappeared, in a curiously localized miniature Parisian mystery.

Since I could not research within the manuscript itself, I began to research *around* it, using the table of contents from an old hand-written catalogue to look up cases mentioned as part of Vidocq's detective work. Thus, for want of Vidocq's own notes, I turned to census records from the year listed for the "affaire" in question in Vidocq's table of contents, and searched for any information on the individuals named. This method was quickly disheartening: only a few of the names from the Table of Contents had any public traces or any records in the archives at all. For a researcher coming to the "case" a century and a half after the fact, this roundabout approach provided a real taste of the bitter difficulties of detection: for one thing, there was no guarantee that the information I found on a name or fragment of a name listed in a table of contents would actually yield a file on the same person who hired Vidocq to investigate an affair. The possibility for error and inaccuracy – especially since I (unlike Vidocq) came to this endeavor without an intimate knowledge of the inner workings of nineteenth-century criminal society, much less a team of ex-convicts at my disposal – loomed large. Even my scholarly sources were not one-hundred-percent reliable: Kalifa gave the Vidocq papers an erroneous manuscript number, and Morton attributed them to a different library collection.²² Moreover, working backwards to Vidocq's time involved confronting a distressing truth for a researcher: one major component of the basic interest in hiring a private detective was the guarantee of secrecy. Vidocq learned this lesson painfully and well, since his agency was raided

²² Kalifa, in *Naissance de la police privée*, alternately labels the Vidocq manuscript as BHVP 2928 and BHVP 2429. (BHVP 2429 consists of the records of a property-owner by the name of Vignier, including receipts for the installation of indoor plumbing in a building on the rue de Rivoli.) Morton says that the manuscript belongs to an entity called "ABVP," which does not exist in Paris.

by the police at least twice (as we will see a bit further on), his records seized. It was therefore in his interest (for reasons of both business and reputation) not to keep compromising records to begin with, which makes tracing his steps now, through the intricacies of private investigations, a very complex endeavor indeed. It is one of history's minor ironies that the man who invented paper on which writing would be permanent ultimately had to forego the use of permanent paper traces in his work. [See Figure 2] If my research on Vidocq was to advance at all, I needed to read his papers themselves, and not rely on secondary reports whose accuracy was questionable at best.

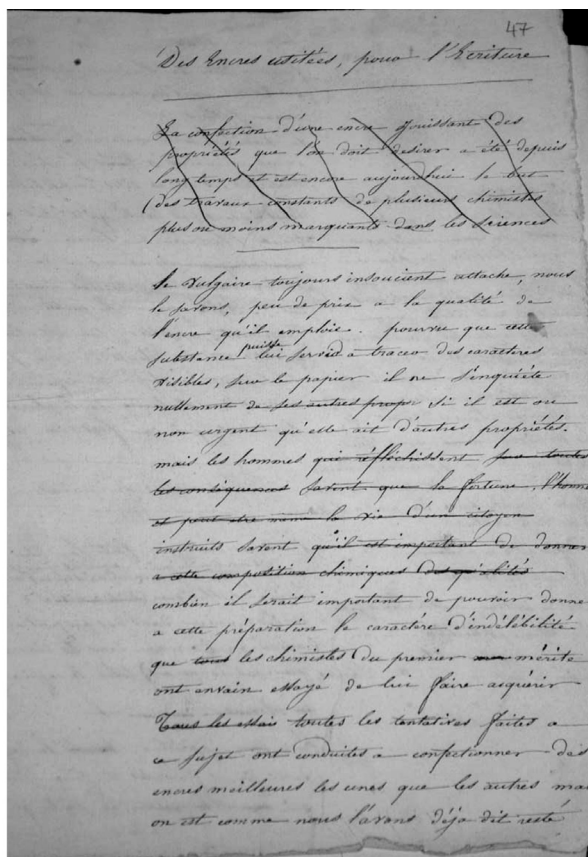


Figure 2 - E. F. Vidocq, "Des Encre usitées, pour l'Ecriture"
BHVP Ms 2928, dossier "Autographes", fol 47

Fortunately, my research ordeal was relatively short-lived. After ten days of being told by various librarians that the manuscript was “introuvable” or “disparu” (‘unlocateable’ or ‘disappeared’) – and even one afternoon speculating about the possibility that it had been stolen –, the head curator phoned to say that he had located the papers. All was well that ended well – but the experience of detecting the detective’s traces brought home several important points about the work Vidocq did in his *Bureau des renseignements*. Mainly, the penumbra of mystery around both the man and his agency, and the process of self-mythologizing that served to keep him “afloat” during the difficult political years of the Empire (on the wrong side of the law), then the Restoration and July Monarchy (on the “right” side of the law, yet widely disliked and ultimately harassed and hunted by other law agents), seem to have perpetuated themselves in research conducted on the detective himself.

While trying to *dépister* (in Lacan’s term,²³ *follow the traces of*) Vidocq, I had found myself in a curious place, where research was more about the *process* of researching than about the topic. And it occurred to me that my experience tracing the disappearing detective matched, to a certain degree, the experience of *being* a private detective in the 19th century. Vidocq had to create networks outside the usual channels of information; had to tease answers out of reluctant sources; had to learn ways of bypassing the mechanisms of power and justice that did not involve actually contravening them and making himself guilty. As I wrote to scholars and librarians in search of concrete information about the vanished traces of a man(uscript), the image of the black-frocked sleuth with a bag of disguises and his extensive web of contacts in all vectors of urban life became a very vivid picture indeed. (Was the goose-chase trying to locate his papers yet another facet of his self-mythologizing? Another disguise, some hundred and fifty years after his death?) The difference, between Vidocq’s success as a detective and the researcher’s failure in tracing him, comes down to the lack of both primary sources and a certain quality that Balzac cites in his novella *Ferragus*, in which the police prove especially inept:

La police, mon cher enfant, est ce qu’il y a de plus inhabile au monde, et le pouvoir ce qu’il y a de plus faible dans les questions

²³ From Jacques Lacan, “Seminar on ‘The Purloined Letter’,” translated by Jeffrey Mehlman. In Muller and Richardson, eds., *The Purloined Poe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U P, 1988), 28-55.

individuelles. Ni la police, ni le pouvoir ne savent lire au fond des cœurs.

The police, my dear child, is the most incapable force in the world, and official power is the weakest one when it comes to personal questions. Neither one knows how to read deep into the heart.²⁴

Here, in Balzac's quotation (and it is worth noting that Balzac made the acquaintance of and befriended Vidocq during the years he was composing his *Comédie humaine*), we see that the real failing of the official police, like any representation of official state power, lay in its inability to read subjects *subjectively*. That is, the very objectivity that informs a police investigation from the outside hinders it, because the officers are not familiar with the intricacies and histories of interaction between the individuals involved. This belief, which Balzac espouses whole-heartedly in his novels, stands in diametric opposition to certain standard tenets of police investigation before Vidocq, most especially the necessity of objective investigation that allows for clear vision. In contrast, Vidocq's work – and Balzac's fictional representations of it – suggests that the status of outside observer in fact *detracts* from the efficiency of a detective, who needs to get "inside" an investigation in order to understand and untangle its logical threads. The difficulty lies in that a true insider would not get the whole story behind a given mystery, and so would need extra information. Vidocq's own covered traces made "reading deep into [his] heart" a formidable challenge – a result that, I mused, would likely have pleased him, as he was known for a master of disguise. The best way to be both an insider (with a privileged subjective viewpoint) and an outsider (with access to all the filaments of information), Vidocq's work suggests, is to engage a source with criminal knowledge (in his case, an ex-convict; in mine, the detective himself) who can spin out Ariadne's thread to lead one through the labyrinth of contradictions and lacunae toward the mystery's resolution.

Both Kalifa and Morton quote liberally from Vidocq's manuscript, focusing mostly on the *règlements* and *fonctionnement* of the agency. Part of the work that Vidocq participated in founding, in 1833 but also in his previous incarnations as informer and prison-spy, was precisely the positioning of a "third space" of interpretation, a role that could exist simultaneously alongside and outside both official and underworld

²⁴ Balzac, *Ferragus, Chef des Dévorants* (Paris: Boucher, 2002), 36.

discourse. Unsurprisingly, Vidocq came up against the official, State, police of the July Monarchy in his endeavors, and was repeatedly questioned (and even imprisoned) by Gisquet's force. Morton cites the *Gazette des Tribunaux* at least half a dozen times in evoking these contentious encounters (23 juin, 23 novembre 1835; 3 février 1841; 29 avril 1843; 4, 5, 6, 11, 14 mai 1843; 23 juillet 1843; 19, 26 septembre 1843; 29 novembre 1843).²⁵

This proliferation of tribunal appearances indicates that Vidocq had, once again, rubbed the law the wrong way. Indeed, after the official police raids on his agency, Vidocq published a pamphlet that he “fit placarder sur les murs de Paris” (‘plastered over the walls of Paris’ – Vidocq, 673), entitled “Liberté de E.F. Vidocq!!” (‘Freedom for E.F. Vidocq!!’) in 1838 and “Résurrection ! Vidocq.” in 1843. [See Figure 2] These pamphlets spell out the detective's real indignation at the accusations against him, the arrests that needlessly interrupted his legitimate business, and the damage done to his agency, in both public opinion and the practical mechanisms of operation. Notably, Vidocq protests against “les perquisitions faites dans les bureaux de mon administration, la saisie de tous mes papiers, celle de *trois mille cinq cents dossiers* appartenant à des tiers” (‘the searches conducted in the offices of my agency, the seizure of all my papers and that of *three thousand five hundred dossiers* belonging to others’ – 673). It was not merely the inconvenience of having to re-create the paper trails of each case he had worked on, in his industry as a private detective, that led Vidocq to decry this unjust police treatment; but also the knowledge that the “*dossiers appartenant à des tiers*” represented sensitive material, the loss of which could portend awkward problems – and, potentially, loss of business – for the detective, whose clients would certainly not want their business or family affairs broadcast in society after the police seizures. Arrested and imprisoned on five trumped-up charges (“*la quintuple accusation de tentative d'escroquerie, de corruption d'agents du gouvernement, d'usurpation de fonctions publiques, de détournement de pieces et d'usure*” / ‘the quintuple accusation of attempted fraud, corrupting government agents, impersonation of civil servants, misappropriation of funds and usury’ – Vidocq 673), Vidocq spent three months fighting the false accusations from jail and struggling to prove his innocence. He published the first of his pamphlets when the case against him was dismissed, and promised the public that his agency “*n'a pas été et ne sera pas fermée*” (‘has not been and will not be closed’ – 674), despite these attempts by the

²⁵ All cited in Morton, pp 217-238.

official police to shut him down. His valiant words held him in good stead and with a steady clientele until 1843, when it all happened again.

Liberté !!!
de
Vidocq

Tous les journaux ont annoncé il y
a 3 mois, les Perquisitions faites
dans les Bureaux de mon administration,
la saisie de tous mes papiers, celle
de 3500 Dossiers appartenant à des
tiers, Puis la fin mon arrestation
ils se sont plus la libérant dans des
articles peu charitables des faits contournés
ou faux à donner à Ce diversement mes
de Police une importance exagérée;
j'étais alors dans les Verrous je devais
me taire. C'est ce que j'ai fait
mais aujourd'hui que j'ai le libre,
je dois élèver la voix afin de rectifier
le Public et détruire par un Exposé succinct
des faits ~~Lib~~ tels, les impressions
fausses qu'auraient pu produire sur son
Esprit les assertions absurdes et Calomnieuses
de Certains Journalistes.
je ne fais pas l'aveu de la faiblesse
le but que l'on s'attendait attendre en me
menaçant la Catastrophe dont j'ai été
réchappé

Figure 3 - E. F. Vidocq, "Liberté !" draft
BHVP Ms 2928, dossier 18, fol 20

The result, after the second raid, arrest and trial, was that Vidocq went “green” – or as near as possible. That is, he practically ceased to keep paper files on his clients and cases, so that there would be no incriminating files for the police to seize, should the police return and instigate a third raid on the agency. The detective, a watcher of both actions and manners, must remain *unwatched* himself, must escape official observation in order to accomplish his goal of seeing the truth behind or underneath the ruses employed by state and citizen to conceal it. As I mentioned above, then, BHVP manuscript 2928 contains documents from *before* the detective agency and *after* it, but the information about individual cases from the years when the Bureau des renseignements functioned remains scant: drafts of case reports are anticlimactic, correspondence with clients is limited, a list of employees only pseudonymous. The traces that remain from the cases he undertook to solve offer only the most cryptic clues, as we can see in a note he sent to a Monsieur Regnier on the Boulevard des Italiens [See Figure 4]: “Monsieur, avez-vous vu votre avocat, je vous préviens que la Personne qui fait l’affaire n’est plus à Paris que pour 4 à 5 jours. Hâtez-vous S.V.P. Votre Serviteur, Vidocq” (‘Monsieur, have you seen your lawyer, I forewarn you that the Person concerned in this affair will be in Paris for only 4 or 5 more days. Please make haste. Your Servant, Vidocq’). The deliberate omission of names (both Monsieur’s lawyer and the “Personne”), dates (the note is labeled “20 March” but with no year, and its envelope bears no postmark – it might have been hand-delivered) and the hasty writing style make this letter an object of some mystification for a later reader or researcher: it offers a generic clue to Vidocq’s procedural method as a detective, but no tangible facts about the case at hand. Significantly, also, this letter exists not in the collection of the Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris in the Vidocq manuscripts, but rather in the Archives de la Préfecture de Police – its provenance indicating it was donated by a private collector (a note at the bottom of the page reads “don de M. Hill, Boston”).

91 E A 90 16

Monsieur

avez-vous vu notre avocat,
je vous prie de me le dire
personne qui fait affaire
n'est plus à Paris que pour
48 jours. hâtez-vous
A. V. P.

Votre dévoué
Vidocq

Le 20 mars

San de 4 Hill
Boston

Figure 4 - E. F. Vidocq, handwritten letter to "Monsieur"
Archives de la Préfecture de Police (Paris), Série E A/90 16, fol 91

In paperless-ing his agency, however, Vidocq did not put a stop to the work of detection; he merely took it to another realm, one that resided in a different kind of text, a different system of communication. Thus we can

read the title of his 1838 pamphlet, “Liberté !” in an ironic light, especially if we consider the double meaning of the Latin “liber.” Vidocq is free (*libre*) to reinstate himself in the work of detection, and he does so paradoxically in the textual realm (*liber* = book). But since the text no longer takes the form of a book, even a “book” in the loosest construction of the term (a collection of papers that contain parts of a narrative when taken together), perhaps we are meant to read both homophones at the same time and understand his freedom-to-detect as *detextion*: a textual freedom, a freedom from incriminating text. As Lacan formulates for Poe’s fictional detective Dupin, the work of researching Vidocq means we have to “track down (*dépistons*) his footprints there where they elude (*dépiste*) us” (Lacan 1988: 37). The real-life detective, in advance of the fictional one, forces his researchers to operate on both levels of the contronym *dépister* – all at once following traces (or: telling us to follow traces) and erasing them. After the permanent, inalterable paper of his pre-detective days and the impermanence of non-paper records, we therefore see Vidocq occupying yet another kind of “third” space, one that simultaneously denies and insists on textual traces. *Libre* and *Liber* would thus both be read at the same time, like layers of textual meaning underneath the defiant title that proclaims, at the same time, Vidocq’s freedom to return to text, and his impending disappearance from it.

Similarly to Vidocq’s own mythologizing propensities, and the very real (commercial, political) need to create a smoke-screen for any activities that could cause him legal trouble and result in economic failure and damage his reputation in the already difficult market of private investigation, perhaps his researchers also have fallen into the trap, consciously or otherwise, of “protecting” their sources by disguising them, covering their tracks, leaving (however unconsciously) *de fausses pistes*. The mysteriously (albeit temporarily) disappeared manuscript 2928 combined with the lack of tangible, textual evidence from Vidocq himself, means that the work of detection paradoxically involves a necessary separation from standard means of detection – just as Vidocq himself once had to invent new ways of identifying and understanding information collected (and new ways of collecting information) in the criminal milieu. Detecting the detective, that is, means adapting another kind of “third space” stance – recognizing the necessity of stepping outside the official channels of traditional procedure and tracing clues by different means. The work of the reader (researcher/detective) becomes the work of decoding the surface narrative in order to

read the real story underneath. It also means developing the sensibility to understand which narrative is the truly criminal one – surface or underlayer, or else one entirely outside, a narrative imposed on the subject through incrimination or false accusation. In this sense, the most successful strike Vidocq makes against the official police is to show them, textually, as authors of the real crime: removing the traces (*pistes*) that allow the detective to provide a coherent narrative about how to read both society and its underworld.

References

Primary and Archival sources

- Vidocq, E. F. (1998). *Mémoires*, edited and with an introduction by Francis Lacassin. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont.
- _____ (1998). *Les Voleurs, Dictionnaire argotique*. Paris: Editions Robert Laffont.
- _____ Letter to Victor Hugo, BHVP Ms 1055, fol 133-34.
- _____ Papers. Bibliothèque Historique de la Ville de Paris (BHVP), Ms 2928.
- _____ Dossiers. Archives de la Préfecture de Police (Paris), Série D; Série E A/90 16.

Secondary sources

- Balzac, H-de. (2002). *Ferragus, Chef des Dévorants*. Paris: Boucher.
- Bhabha. H. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. New York: Routledge.
- Boudard, A. (1999). "Vidocq, notre contemporain". In : Eugène-François Vidocq, *Considérations sommaires sur les prisons, les bagnes et la peine de mort*. Paris: Mille et une nuits.
- Edwards, S. (1977). *The Vidocq Dossier: The Story of the World's First Detective*. New York: Houghton Mifflin.
- Fortescue, W. (2005). *France and 1848: The end of monarchy*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Foucault, Michel. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Random House.

- Gaboriau, E. (1961). *L'Affaire Lerouge*. Paris: Librairie Générale française.
- Kalifa D. (2005). *Crime et culture au XIXe siècle*. Paris: Editions Perrin.
- _____ (2007). *Histoire des détectives privés en France (1832-1942)*. Paris: Nouveau Monde editions.
- Lacan, J. (1988). "Seminar on 'The Purloined Letter'," translated by Jeffrey Mehlman. In: Muller and Richardson, eds., *The Purloined Po*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins U P 28-55.
- Le Senne, E. (1913). "Vidocq et son Bureau de renseignements commerciaux," *Le Vieux papier* (t. 12). 291-297.
- Margadant, J. B. (1999). "Gender, Vice, and the Political Imaginary in Postrevolutionary France: Reinterpreting the Failure of the July Monarchy, 1830-1848". In: *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 5 (Dec.). 1461-1496.
- Morton, J. (2004). *The First Detective: The Life and Revolutionary Times of Vidocq, Criminal, Spy and Private Eye*. London: Ebury Press.
- Savant, J. (1957). *Le Vrai Vidocq*. Paris: Librairie Hachette.
- Stead, Ph. J. (1957). *The Police of Paris*. London: Staples Press Ltd.
- Valverde, M. (2006). *Law and Order: images, meanings, myths*. Piscataway, New Jersey: Rutgers U P.

Accepted for publication: October 5th, 2010

Розмари Питерс

ПРВА ПАРИСКА ДЕТЕКТИВСКА АГЕНЦИЈА: ВИДОК И „ТРЕЋИ ПРОСТОР“ – ПРИВАТНА ПОЛИЦИЈА КАО НОВА КУЛТУРОЛОШКА СФЕРА

Сажетак

Јудин Франсуа Видок (Eugène-François Vidocq, 1775-1857) ушао је у легенду као истакнута фигура тадашњег француског друштва, с једне стране на основу младалачког искуства из подземља, а са друге, невероватне чињенице да се уздигао на друштвеној, културној и класној лествици од осуђеника до шефа полиције. Након година управљања полицијском бригадом – новим огранком полиције који је био задужен за превенцију и безбедност, Видок је отворио прву приватну детективску агенцију 1833. године. Овај есеј бави се теоријским и историјским контекстом Ви-

доковог рада у улози полицајца, а затим детектива и наглашава да је Видок створио „нови дискурзивни простор“ који је допринео употпуњавању слике о деветнаестовековном културном идеалу уређеног друштва. Видок није био нити на страни државне полиције, нити света подземља, чије представнике је прогонио, а био је везан за оба друштвена подручја. Тако се нашао на челу нове (како у уже језичком, тако и у шире културном смислу) службе у оквиру које је био принуђен да преиспита свој рад и начин потраге, како са практичне тако и са идеолошке тачке гледишта, што је нашло одјека у новом културном дискурсу који се у овим оквирима развио.

Кључне речи: друштво, култура, подземље, осуђеник/полицајац/детектив, редефинисање културног простора, стварање новог дискурзивног подручја

Zorica Bečanović-Nikolić
University of Belgrade, Serbia

POLITICAL ASPECTS OF SHAKESPEARE'S HISTORY PLAYS: MODERNIST AND POSTMODERNIST READINGS IN A 'CONFLICT OF INTERPRETATIONS'

Abstract

This paper analyzes different approaches to the political contents of Shakespeare's history plays in the modernist and the postmodernist theoretical framework. While the modernist critics were undoubtedly aware of the complex political strategies transposed in drama, they mostly tended to analyze the presupposed dominant features of the Elizabethan 'discursive formation'. Postmodernist approaches to the history plays, within a wide theoretical scope which includes deconstruction, new historicism, cultural materialism, feminist criticism, Bakhtinian criticism and psychoanalysis, express a more skeptical attitude in interpreting political contents and emphasize different instances of implied marginal and subversive meanings in the history plays. It is argued that the hermeneutical concept of the 'conflict of interpretations' developed by Paul Ricoeur in *De l'interprétation: essai sur Freud* (1965) has its special instance in the understanding of the political aspects of Shakespeare's history plays in the twentieth century.

A special attention is paid to the most recent postmodernist approach, which has been emerging under the name of *presentism*. It tends to relate the political contents of the plays to the political context of their twenty-first century critics/readers/spectators.

Key words: Shakespeare, history plays, modernist approaches, postmodernist approaches, conflict of interpretations, presentism

The criticism dealing with Shakespeare's history plays in the twentieth century represents a special instance of the hermeneutic phenomenon which Paul Ricoeur, French philosopher of phenomenological and hermeneutic orientation, designated as the "conflict of interpretations". Introduced in 1965, in his book *Freud and Philosophy: an Essay on Interpretation*, this concept implies that a profound change in the process of understanding has taken place in all fields of humanities after Nietzsche, Marx and Freud. Having shown the basic premises of both Aristotelian and biblical tradition of understanding meaning and exegesis of texts, Paul Ricoeur approaches what he considers as the key difficulty which governs the fate of modern hermeneutics. "There is", says Ricoeur, "no general hermeneutics, no universal canon of exegesis, but only disparate and opposed theories concerning the rules of interpretation. The hermeneutic field...is internally at variance with itself. ...According to the one pole, hermeneutics is understood as the manifestation and restoration of a meaning addressed to me in the manner of a message, a proclamation, or as is sometimes said, a kerygma; according to the other pole, it is understood as a demystification, as a reduction of illusion. (Ricoeur 1970: 26-27)". A bit further, he says "From the beginning we must consider this double possibility: this tension, this extreme polarity is the truest expression of our 'modernity'. (Ibid.)" Hermeneutics, therefore, according to Ricoeur, is seen as animated by double motivation, willingness to listen, on the one hand, willingness to suspect, on the other, the former proceeding out of certain obedience, the latter out of certain epistemological rigour (Ibid.).

How does this apply to the criticism dealing with Shakespeare's history plays and their political contents? Ricoeur's analysis is highly general and it concerns the basic hermeneutic attitudes in approaching any symbolically mediated meaning. The 'obedient' (in Ricoeur's words) approach is characteristic of the phenomenology of religion. It is a hermeneutics of faith, not the first faith of a simple soul, but a faith which has undergone criticism, a post-critical faith, the one which seeks to understand through interpretation, which is animated by the maxim "Believe in order to understand, understand in order to believe", thus forming a hermeneutic circle of believing and understanding (Ibid. 28). The suspicious approach, on the other hand, is dominated by the three seemingly mutually exclusive masters, says Ricoeur – Marx, Nietzsche and Freud. "What all three attempted, in different ways, was to make their "conscious" methods of deciphering coincide with the "unconscious" work

of ciphering which they attributed to the will of power, to social being, to the unconscious psychism. *Guile will be met by double guile* (Ibid. 34)". Narrowing the focus towards the interpretations of Shakespeare's history plays in the twentieth century, we could, *mutatis mutandis*, uphold that the readings representative of the first half of the century, the modernist historicism of E. M. W. Tillyard and Lily Campbell, as well as the readings of G. Wilson Knight and John Dover Wilson – with their confidence in the stable semantics of language, in historiography as a reliable kind of historical knowledge, in a pervasively dominant culture of an epoch as the context of the literary texts and drama, in the divine, monarchical and authorial authorities – could be seen as close to the pole of the hermeneutics of faith, as carrying out the hermeneutic circle "Believe in order to understand, understand in order to believe." Believe in God, in cosmic and social hierarchical order symbolically embodied or realized in monarchy, believe in the possibility of transferring the historical truth via historiography, believe in Shakespeare as a transcendental creator, and as a poetic spokesman for the 'Elizabethan world picture' and the 'Tudor myth', as shown in Tillyard's influential books. The postmodernist critics are, on the other hand, the ones who are meeting guile by double guile: the guiles of Elizabethan culture and politics as expressions of the will to power, and Will's linguistic guiles as ambiguous expressions of and subtle subversive challenges to that same culture and politics are met by the guiles of theory descending from Nietzsche via Foucault and Derrida, from Marx via Althusser, Macherey, Raymond Williams or Frederic Jameson, and from Freud via Lacan.

Thus, on the opposed poles of the critical reception of Shakespeare's history plays, we find Henry V as an ideal king on whom the divine grace is bestowed (Tillyard 1944; Campbell 1947; Knight 1944; Wilson 1943) and Henry V as a crafty real-politician, Machiavellian: Stephen Greenblatt says that "we are continually reminded that Hal is a 'juggler', a conniving hypocrite", and that we are, at the same time, "drawn to the celebration of both the prince and the power" (Greenblatt 1988:30); Dollimore and Sinfield bring into focus his imperial ambition paid by human lives (Dollimore and Sinfield 1985: 226); John Sutherland uses the expression 'war criminal' (Sutherland 2000); and the presentist reading by Ewan Fernie scrutinizes the presence of the play in different times, including our own, and the use of its potential to inspire and encourage extreme action in the media supporting the current war against terrorism.

Shakespeare's English history plays are permeated with political communication, and the first group of critics tended to relate the politics to larger principles. Emphasizing the bond between God and the English monarchy, Tillyard, Knight and Wilson insisted on the morality-play-like patterns in Edward Hall's historiography and in Shakespeare's plays and tetralogies, on the providential significance of crimes, conflicts and suffering, while Lily Campbell saw parallels with the medieval moralist genre of *speculum*, which also implied the Christian frame of macrocosmic hierarchy. Tillyard excluded Machiavelli's political views as irrelevant for the history plays. Lily Campbell investigated the relations between the eternal sameness of God's justice, or the eternal sameness of men, according to Machiavelli, and the historical cycles (Campbell 1977:121), while arguing that Shakespeare's histories served a purpose in elucidating political problems of Elizabeth's day: Catholicism, usurpation, rebellion, etc. Their belief in a stable text transferring a stable meaning about the ethically reliable cosmic order, apart from being characteristic of the general European epistemological model (Aristotelian, Christian and Cartesian, all forming the basis for Ricoeur's hermeneutics of faith), was caused by their particular historical hermeneutic situation: Tillyard, Knight and Wilson were writing at the time when anti-fascism, patriotism and defensive warfare determined their readings. This especially applies to Knight, whose texts published as *The Olive and the Sword* were actually written for public lectures and radio broadcasts in 1941, and the history plays were seen as 'fuel for the national self-confidence'.

Only the most paradigmatic texts are taken into account in this article. The best known new critical reading of the *1 & 2 Henry IV* by Brooks and Heilman (1945), analyzed in detail by Hugh Grady in *The Modernist Shakespeare*, cannot be subsumed under this kind of hermeneutics, although it is not quite the hermeneutics of suspicion yet. Sigurd Burckhardt, Wilbur Sanders and Roy Battenhouse, as also shown by Hugh Grady, unsettled the notions of stable structure, meaning, and political semantics in history plays and their criticism comes close to the postmodernist readings of Shakespeare (Grady 2001: 185-187), that is, close to the hermeneutics of suspicion.

The deconstruction, Marxism, new historicism, with its Foucault's legacy, cultural materialism, feminist criticism, Bakhtinian criticism and psychoanalysis introduced the guile, the ruse, the cunning of the hermeneutics of suspicion into the critical response to Shakespeare's

history plays. Both political communication in the plays themselves and the political strategies that could be read out of the plays, appeared as more complex. The internal political contradictions of the medieval English history and of the Elizabethan culture became more visible, the layers of the political significance more numerous, more subtly perceived. Hence, Terry Eagleton (1986), Robert C. Knapp (1989), and many other authors investigated language, and the fact that the being of King has nothing substantial about it, that king is a sign, a complex of symbolic meanings, a signifier within a symbolic system which makes it significant. At the same time, this approach has shown the effects of the symbolic power of language in the material reality, the rhetorical and mythological, artificial and histrionic qualities of the politics. That is one way of demystifying the divine bond and the divine precedence of the power of English kings in Shakespeare's plays.

Stephen Greenblatt, on the other hand, has shown that Shakespeare's history plays are concerned with the production and containment of subversion and disorder. In the famous text "Invisible bullets", he investigates the recording, testing and explaining of the latent Machiavellian anthropology in Thomas Harriot's colonial report (Greenblatt 1988: 18-47)¹ and their theatrical equivalents in *1 & 2 Henry IV* and *Henry V*. These plays record the voices "that seem to dwell in realms apart from that ruled by the potentates of the land", says Greenblatt (1988: 30). He also shows theatricality as one of power's modes. The subversive voices are, according to Greenblatt, registered, but they do not undermine that order. The dominant values are, paradoxically, secured by the generation of their subversive contraries. Thus the monarchical power in England and its postulates were being 'tested' by the dramatized disturbing hypotheses (the tavern, the battleground and the village scenes). The same can be said of a number of scenes in *Henry V*, first of all the explanations given by the Archbishop of Canterbury (*Henry V*, I, ii, 33-95; 97-114). Greenblatt shows the double ruse of the text which doesn't make the play bitterly ironic. The potentially subversive doubts are deferred, and, paradoxically intensify the power of the king. Stephen Orgel (1975) and Leonard Tennenhouse (1988) showed that the political imperatives in the English Renaissance were the same as aesthetic imperatives, and that drama idealized and demystified the forms of power by the forms of plays, strategies of political

¹ Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588).

communication coincided with the strategies of representation. The fact that both theatre and the play of authority depend on spectators is another point of the postmodernist readings, new historicist and psychoanalytical. In the text entitled “Mock Sovereignty: *Henry V*”, Christopher Pye (1990) argued that the fundamentally political character of the play *Henry V* lies in the bafflement it produces in the recipients before the play, just as the subjects were supposed to have felt before the monarch’s presence. The multiplications of king’s roles, including the ones that produce mock-images, mark the mystification of political sovereignty. The spectacular, ambiguous figure of the theatrical king, just as the presence of a real sovereign, constitutes political subjects drawn towards the penetrating and impenetrable power (Pye 1990: 44), “the sovereign spectacle subjects the viewer to its own phantasmal gaze (Ibid. 76)”.

While under the same large hermeneutic umbrella of the hermeneutics of suspicion, Dollimore and Sinfield articulate a different emphasis in their understanding of the political communication within the fictive world of the play *Henry V*, and on the level of the play as a literary artifact and as a social event. The subversion is not all so safely contained. “The construction of ideology is complex – even as it consolidates, it betrays inherent instability (Dollimore and Sinfield 1985: 211)”. This applies to the ideological aspect of the play *Henry V* – it reveals both the strategies of power and the anxieties produced by that same power.

The range of interpretation within the postmodernist paradigm is large. Phyllis Rackin, in *Stages of History: Shakespeare’s English Chronicles*, articulated a particularly astute perception of the hermeneutic complexity in the case of the history plays. Aware of the historical and ideological embeddedness of the historian, of the playwright and of the critic, she historicized Shakespeare’s histories and her own readings. That is a permanent spiral of the hermeneutics of suspicion: a consciousness aware of the other’s consciousness’ unreliability, and of one’s own in approaching it. Feminist (especially Rackin and Howard: 1997) and Bakhtinian readings, especially by Graham Holderness (1992), are vivid examples of the same distrustful approach to the traditional, and even to the new historicist understanding of the political contents of the plays.

Graham Holderness has approached the history plays from the perspective of the complex plurality of renaissance historiography, regarding the plays themselves as alternative historiography, interventions in historiography. Political communication is shown to contain quasi-

theories of historicized fiction and fictionalized history as, for example, in *Richard III*, in the verse spoken by Scrivener (*RIII*, III, vi, 1-14), or in the clever rejoinders concerning legend and written history exchanged between Gloucester and the young prince Edward (*RIII*, III, i, 63-94) (Holderness 2000). He also seems to integrate different hermeneutic traditions, and to avoid choosing, irrevocably, between the separate directions in the criticism concerning the linear temporal framework of the 'grand narratives' and discontinuous, fragmentary series of 'little narratives'.

The modernist critics were eager to get the message from Shakespeare, concerning monarchy, patriotism, political and social order. They directed themselves towards the text with confidence, in order to restore its meaning, in the manner of a faithful reader of the Bible who seeks *the* Message and the confirmation of his/her fate, eager to make it rational, in a way, to transform it into a result of understanding. The postmodernist critics approached the history plays boldly and suspiciously, aiming to find out the strategies inaccessible without the ruses of Nietzsche's, Derrida's, Foucault's, Marxist and psychoanalytical legacy. At the same time, both modernist and postmodernist interpretations are also consequences of the respective critics' *hermeneutic situation*, to use Hans-Georg Gadamer's term, of their situatedness in their own time, philosophical and political conceptions that have formed them, political reality, gender, intellectual background. For Tillyard, Knight and Wilson, history plays were a polygon for thinking about England endangered in the Second World War. For the postmodern critics faced with the subtle guiles of political manipulation in the presumably transparent societies practicing similar ways of the containment of subversion, including its intellectual, academic modes, the strategies of political communication appear as hermeneutic provocation, not only because their doubt is directed towards the Cartesian notion of consciousness, but because they are existentially drawn to pose these questions to Shakespeare's texts.

This brings us to the orbit of presentism, which conceptually coincides with some crucial points of Hans-Georg Gadamer's hermeneutics. Such position implies the importance of the critic's situatedness in her/his time, historical, social and personal experience, intellectual formation, religion, gender, race...etc. One's *hermeneutic situation* and one's *receptive horizon*, in Gadamer's terminology, imply a very similar understanding of any textually mediated meaning, *mutatis mutandis*. Interpretation, according to Gadamer, thematizes "the totality of our relationship to the world that finds its expression in language (Gadamer, 1977: 83)". Presentism

in Shakespearean studies, as an interpretative position aware of its own circumstances which contribute to the formation of a meaning, is close to the presuppositions of a hermeneutics which, says Gadamer, “achieves its actual productivity only when it reflects simultaneously on its own critical endeavours, that is, on its own limitations and the relativity of its own position (Ibid: 93)”. Modernist historicism does not show this metacritical consciousness. Some of the postmodernist readings are self-reflective in this sense, some, being strictly historicist, are not interested, whereas, presentism seems to be based on this kind of meta-critical reflection. By interpreting the text within one’s own horizon and one’s own concepts, while being self-reflectively aware of the horizon and the concepts, one gives the text a new validity. For Gadamer, the work of art confronts us itself, and to understand what it says *to us* is a self-encounter. It involves the task of integrating it into one’s own self-understanding. Gadamer, as is well known, was, in a less hermetic way articulating Heidegger’s position that interpreting is always understanding of what is *Being*, of what is *to be there*, *Dasein*, even, one could add, via history plays from the 16th century. Ewan Fernie, in the text “Action! Henry V”, compares a play of Shakespeare to another person, overwhelmingly present, intellectually engaging and mysterious. Presence is perceived not as knowledge but as a powerful imminence of sense – “ineffably beyond thought, which it nonetheless irresistibly solicits (Fernie 2007: 96-97).”

The conflicted Anglophone interpretations of Shakespeare’s history plays represent major responses to these texts in the twentieth century. Although unavoidably impoverished in translations, Shakespeare’s history plays attract presentist readings in very different contexts. During the wars of the nineties in ex-Yugoslavia, the scenes of Falstaff’s recruiting of the soldiers, his corruption, his expressions of both amoral military cynicism, on the one hand, and disillusioned pacifism, on the other, were recognized as provocative in class, and stimulated most vivid discussions among the undergraduates I was teaching at the time. Richard Gloucester’s strategy of modeling the reality to his own needs – demystified by the scrivener who says that he spent eleven hours to write over the indictment of the good Lord Hastings, and then, that

The precedent was full as long a-doing,
And yet within these five hours Hastings liv’d
Untainted, unexamin’d, free, at liberty... (*Richard III*, III, vi, 7-9)

– was also recognized in the Balkans in the nineties as urgently provocative for the very present we were living. Just as the current global experience tells us how provocative and discussion-seeking are the words of Rumour at the beginning of the 2 *Henry IV*, who says that

...the big year, swoln with some other grief,
Is thought with child by the stern tyrant War” (2 *Henry IV*,
Induction, 13-14)

This prologue offers a proto-theory of mass-media in a poetic nutshell, defining himself – Rumour, or herself – Virgilian Fama, after whose figure Shakespeare’s Rumour is fashioned, as the one who unfolds

The acts commenced on this ball of earth.
Upon my tongues continual slanders ride,
The which in every language I pronounce,
Stuffing the ears of men with false reports.
I speak of peace, while covert enmity
Under the smile of safety wounds the world; (5-10).
Or further:
...Rumour is a pipe
Blown by surmises, jealousies, conjectures,
And of so easy and so plain a stop
That the blunt monster with uncounted heads,
The still-discordant wav’ring multitude,
Can play upon it. (15-20).

Thus, after this brief reconsideration of the different approaches to the political contents of Shakespeare’s history plays, it can be said that the hermeneutic map of the twentieth century interpretations of these plays includes a modernist continent of the ‘hermeneutics of faith,’ a postmodernist one of the ‘hermeneutics of suspicion,’ and a new found land of a hermeneutics similar to Heidegger’s and Gadamer’s notions of interpretation, discovered recently by presentism.

References

- Battenhouse, R. (1975). Falstaff as Parodist and Perhaps Holy Fool. *PMLA*, 90, 32-52.
- Brooks, C. and Robert B. Heilman. (1945). *Understanding Drama*. New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Burckhardt, S. (1968). *Shakespearean Meanings*. Princeton MA: Princeton University Press.
- Campbell, L. (1977, ¹1947). *Shakespeare's "Histories", Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy*. London: Methuen.
- Dollimore, J. and A. Sinfield. (1985). History and Ideology: the instance of *Henry V*. In: Drakakis, J. (ed). *Alternative Shakespeares*. London and New York: Methuen, 206-227.
- Eagleton, T. (1986). *William Shakespeare*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Fernie, E. (2007). Action! *Henry V*. In: Grady, H. and T. Hawkes (eds.) *Presentist Shakespeares*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Gadamer, H. G. (1977). Semantics and Hermeneutics. In: *Philosophical Hermeneutics*, Translated and edited by David E. Linge. Berkeley, LA, London: University of California Press.
- Grady, H. (2001, ¹1991). *The Modernist Shakespeare*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Greenblatt, S. Invisible bullets: Renaissance authority and its subversion, *Henry IV and Henry V*. In Dollimore, J., Sinfield, A., (eds.) (1988). *Political Shakespeare*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.
- Holderness, G. (1985). *Shakespeare's History*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan.
- _____ (1988). Theatres of History: Chronicle Plays. In: Holderness, G. and N. Potter and J. Turner. *Shakespeare: The Play of History*. Houndmills, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan.
- _____ (1992). *Henry IV: Carnival and History*. In: *Shakespeare's History Plays: Richard II to Henry V*, Houndmills, Basingstoke and London: Macmillan.
- _____ (1992). *Shakespeare Recycled, The Making of Historical Drama*. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo, Singapore Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- _____ (2000). *Shakespeare: The Histories*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Howard, J. and P. Rackin (1997). *Engendering a Nation, A feminist account of Shakespeare's English Histories*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Knapp, R. (1989). *Shakespeare – The Theater and the Book*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Knight, G. W. (1944). *The Olive and the Sword*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Orgel, S. (1975). *The Illusions of Power, Political Theater in the English Renaissance*. London, Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Pye, C. (1990). *The Regal Phantasm, Shakespeare and the Politics of Spectacle*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Rackin, P. (1991). *Shakespeare's English Chronicles*, London: Routledge.
- Ricoeur, P. (1965). *De l'interprétation, essai sur Freud*. Paris: Seuil.
- _____. (1970) *Freud and Philosophy: an Essay on Interpretation*, translated by Denis Savage. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Sanders, W. (1968). *The Dramatist and the Received Idea*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shakespeare, W. (1994, ¹1981). *King Richard III*. Ed. by Antony Hammond, London–New York: Routledge.
- _____. (1994, ¹1966). *The Second Part of King Henry IV*. Ed. by A. R. Humphreys, London–New York: Routledge.
- _____. (1995). *King Henry V*. Ed. by T.W. Craik, London–New York: Routledge.
- Sutherland, J. (2000). Henry V, war criminal? In: Sutherland, J. and C. Watts, *Henry V, War Criminal? & other Shakespearean puzzles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Tennenhouse, L. (1988, ¹1985). Strategies of State and political plays: A *Midsummer Night's Dream, Henry V, Henry VIII*. In: Dollimore, J. and A. Sinfield, *Political Shakespeare*, Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 109-128.
- Tillyard, E. M. W. (1962). *Shakespeare's History Plays*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. (¹1944). London: Chatto and Windus.
- Wilson, J. D. (1964, ¹1944). *The Fortunes of Falstaff*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Accepted for publication: October 5th, 2010

Зорица Бечановић-Николић

ПОЛИТИЧКИ АСПЕКТИ ШЕКСПИРОВИХ ИСТОРИЈСКИХ ДРАМА:
МОДЕРНИСТИЧКА И ПОСТМОДЕРНИСТИЧКА ЧИТАЊА
У ‘СУКОБУ ИНТЕРПРЕТАЦИЈА’

У овом раду се испитују модернистички и постмодернистички приступи политичким аспектима Шекспирових историјских драма. Политичке теме су из модернистичке перспективе анализирани у складу са претпостављеним доминантним одликама елизабетанске ‘дискурзивне формације’. Постмодернистичка читања – у светлу деконструкције, новог историзма, културног материјализма, феминистичког, бахтиновског или психоаналитичког приступа – показују већу меру скепсе у разумевању ових тема. Испитују се и маргинална и субверзивна значења. У раду се показује да херменеутички концепт ‘сукоба интерпретација’, развијен у студији француског филозофа херменеутичке и феноменолошке традиције Пола Рикера (Paul Ricœur), развијен у студији *О интерпретацији, оглед о Фројду (De l'interprétation: essai sur Freud, 1965)*, може бити примењен на супротстављена тумачења Шекспирових историјских драма у двадесетом веку. Приказан је и концепт *presentizam*, који се последњих година појављује као нова могућност приступа Шекспировом стваралаштву. Након дуготрајне доминације новог историзма и стављања акцента на условљеност смисла текста културом у оквиру које је настао, *presentizam* представља усмеравање критичке пажње на рецепцију Шекспира у савремености 21. века.

Кључне речи: Шекспир, историјске драме, модернистички приступи, постмодернистички приступи, сукоб интерпретација, *presentizam*

Belgrade BELLS Interview

INTERVIEW: GEOFFREY LEECH

‘LEAVE NO STONE UNTURNED IN THE SEARCH FOR LINGUISTIC REALITY...’

by Jelisaveta Milojević



Geoffrey Leech (born 16 January 1936) was Professor of Linguistics and Modern English Language at Lancaster University from 1974 to 1996. He then became Research Professor in English Linguistics. He has been Emeritus Professor in the Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University, since 2002. Professor Leech's main academic interests

have been: English grammar, semantics, stylistics, pragmatics, corpus linguistics and corpus-based natural language processing. He is a Fellow of the British Academy. To mark his retirement the Department at Lancaster set up the Geoffrey Leech Scholarship fund for MA students.

Professor Leech kindly took time to give this extensive interview for the second issue of *Belgrade BELLS*.

BELLS: You have written, co-authored over 25 books (and more are in preparation), and over 100 papers. The numbers are quite impressive. It is common knowledge that one cannot make a fortune on books and we can therefore assume that there must be (have been) a motive of some sort other than the money. I wonder what linguistic creed or message that you have wanted to get across has kept you so avidly devoted to writing on and about language?

GEOFFREY LEECH: Well, I guess very few academics are motivated purely by gain – and yet very few are totally uninterested in making a living! I cannot help thinking how lucky I am, to have pursued a career where I can get paid for doing something I enjoy – something like the best hobby you can have, full of interest and challenge.

I cannot claim any great moral mission or creed has spurred me on ‘to scorn delights and live laborious days’ (as Milton puts it in *Lycidas*). No, I’ve simply been an opportunist – and I was lucky that in my early days the academic world was much less crowded with people and ideas than it is today. After doing a bit of school-teaching in the early 1960s, I was lucky to get back into academic life – I have to thank Randolph Quirk at UCL for that. In those days, nobody asked a young aspiring scholar ‘Have you got a PhD? How many publications have you produced? How many are in peer-reviewed journals? How much lecturing have you done? What are your plans for winning research funding? No - Quirk interviewed me in an amiable fashion, and the next thing I knew was that I was offered a job as Assistant Lecturer at UCL (University College London) - at the best centre, as it happened, for studying and teaching English linguistics in the UK.

My areas of academic interest mostly grew out of the opportunities I got. The first new task they gave me at UCL was to teach a lecture course on ‘Rhetoric’ – the lecture topic I had found to be the most boring when

I was an undergraduate. But I took the opportunity to teach rhetoric in a ‘modern linguistic’ fashion, and out of that came my deep interest in the marriage of linguistics and literature – stylistics, as it is usually called today – and I wrote a book called *A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry*.

I could tell similar tales about the beginnings of my research interests in English grammar, in the English verb and modality, in semantics and pragmatics. There was no great mission – only opportunity.

BELLS: When you were young you worked with Randolph Quirk. In what way was his influence significant?

GEOFFREY LEECH: Well, as I’ve already explained, Randolph Quirk offered me my first chance of a university career. Without him, who knows where I would be? But, also, of course, RQ more or less invented the idea of a modern English ‘corpus’. The department I was teaching in happened to be the department where Quirk’s Survey of English Usage had started up. I couldn’t help being gripped by the fascination of recording and collecting real language data, in a project led by Quirk’s charismatic zeal. I mixed with RQ’s research acolytes – they included Jan Svartvik, David Crystal and Sidney Greenbaum – and when the opportunity came to move to a new university, I was soon starting a corpus of my own – this time with the help of the computer. But that’s another story.

My other debt to Randolph Quirk came from his leading role in developing the ‘Quirk grammars’. Strangely enough, this began not with RQ at all, but (as I remember it) with Sidney Greenbaum and myself lamenting the vast gulf between grammar theorizing within linguistics (think of the types of formal grammars that were available in the 1960s) and grammar teaching within EFL. There was virtually no connection between the two, and we thought that we could try to write an English grammar which mediated between the two – a kind of grammar which was informed by theoretical advances and which built on the work of the Survey – but at the same time was going to be useful to the EFL student. We enrolled our close colleague Jan Svartvik (who had by then returned to Sweden) as a potential co-author, and went to RQ seeking his involvement in the project, hoping that he would take a kind of editorial role or supervisory role in vetting our work. It was typical of him that he not only accepted the idea, but embraced it wholeheartedly, insisting on taking the part of a full author. Out of that came *A Grammar of Contemporary English* (1972) and

later *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985). Quirk's energy was the leading inspiration of the grammar project, and since then *GCE* and *CGEL* have been justly known as 'the Quirk grammars'. In those days before e-mail, to write and agree the final version of the grammar we had to get together in a single room – Quirk's office in UCL – to hammer out every paragraph. We virtually lived together for six weeks. The second grammar was hundreds of pages longer, so we needed even more time of co-habitation – eight weeks – and by that time RQ's position had become elevated to that of Vice-Chancellor of the University of London. In this capacity, he occupied a rather grand terrace house in Gordon Square, near where the Bloomsbury Group used to meet, about a stone's throw from UCL. In the front room we thrashed out the intricacies of the adjuncts, subjuncts, disjuncts, conjuncts and all the rest... The remarkable thing was that somehow RQ continued his deep involvement in the project for most of the summer vacation of 1983, while running the University of London in his 'spare' time.

BELLS: When one takes a look at the history of linguistics one sees that there have always been those brilliant and fluent in ideas (like Chomsky or yourself trend-setters if you like), and those who are just able to follow the trodden path. You left Quirk fairly early in your academic career and decided to take a less travelled way. You engaged yourself in what was totally new at the time: corpus linguistics. Please tell us more about what ideas about (and beyond) language made you make such choice.

GEOFFREY LEECH: Thank you for conjoining me with Chomsky – I'm deeply flattered – but I'm certainly far inferior to him as a 'trend-setter', and all my academic instincts have directed me in the opposite direction from Chomsky. By the way, I met him in the 1960s when I was a MIT as a Harkness Fellow, and found him very pleasant socially. But on returning to the UK in 1965 I drafted an article criticizing his three levels of adequacy (observational, descriptive, and explanatory) and sent it to him for comment. Instead of throwing my efforts in the waste-bin, he honoured me by writing about 14 pages of closely-typed refutation. I found him, in academic debate, an implacable opponent – quite different from his mild and amiable social self. But I still went ahead and published the article.

Yes, one of the ways I took the opposite road to Chomsky was in seeking the empirical evidence of language use, wherever possible, to back up linguistic claims – and to enlist the help of computer technology – although it was very primitive at the time.

It happened like this. In 1969 I was invited (by Norman Fairclough – is the name familiar?) to apply for a job at a very new University at Lancaster. It meant moving from the metropolis to the north of England – to the fringes of civilization, as it seemed then – to a university with virtually no research record. But it was a promotion – I would have had to stay at UCL for a very long time to gain such a job. And, once again, it was an opportunity: it is very much easier to start new things in teaching, new things in research at a new university. At Lancaster I joined a small group of young English language academics eager to experiment and prove themselves. We sat round a table one day and asked ourselves a question: What can we do in linguistic research, to put Lancaster on the map? With my experience at UCL, I suggested that we start a new computer corpus of British English. I had met Nelson Francis, creator of the million-word Brown Corpus – the first computer corpus of the English language – at UCL, in Quirk's room, and I thought it would be good to create a British 'clone' of the American corpus. But the computing facilities were primitive, and we had no expertise in using them. Also, we needed funding to support the input of data (using punch cards in those days) and other tasks needed to compile and use a corpus. It was eight taxing years before it was finished, and if I had known the time and effort it would take, I probably would never have started!

One of the difficulties of developing a corpus was that the idea of studying the real data of language use was totally out of fashion at that time. It was difficult to explain the value of the corpus, and the uses to which it would be put. But we soon started using the data of the LOB Corpus, as it was called, in our teaching, and in no time postgraduates were using the data to study areas of English grammar for their dissertations and theses. It was like a window into the English language that hadn't existed before.

BELLS: Please tell us about Lancaster University language research as it was shaped in the eighties and as it is at this moment.

GEOFFREY LEECH: That's a long story. But I'll try not to bore you with too much past history.

Let's begin where I left off in answering the last question. In my own research, the drudgery of corpus work began to pay off in 1977, when we (1) set up an international organization called ICAME (originally called the International Computer Archive of Modern English). (2) In the 1980s, with the help of computer scientist Roger Garside, we became seriously computational, developing automatic part-of-speech tagging programs and corpus parsing. The aim was to produce not just text corpora, but corpora annotated with various kinds of linguistic information which could be a springboard for more advanced research. In 1991-5 we joined with a consortium led by Oxford University Press to compile the British National Corpus – a collection of over 4000 written texts and spoken transcriptions – a hundred times larger than the LOB Corpus. Many different kinds of corpus-based project followed. This was the time when it was not so difficult to find funding from the government or from industry to develop corpus-based research, and we wanted to take advantage of it – that's opportunism again!

A great thing about corpus research, in my experience, is that it cannot be done individually, and so corpus linguists tend to work in teams, which is very stimulating and productive of new ideas. Five corpus linguists now teaching at Lancaster (Tony McEnery, Paul Rayson, Andrew Wilson, Paul Baker and Andrew Hardie) began their careers as researchers working on funded projects and have since branched out into new fields. Since we began that very unpromising trail of corpus compilation in the 1970s, a 'corpus revolution' has taken place not only in the UK, but in many other countries as well.

That's enough on the computational theme. Our department has managed to grow on a number of different fronts since the four or five of us met around that table in 1969. This is the story not only for Lancaster, but for other 'new universities', as they were called, founded in the 1960s – York, Surrey, Stirling, Essex, Sussex, Kent – they read like the names of lords in a Shakespearean history play.

In 1974, after some strife in the Department of English, our small section became a separate department, the Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language. (3) One of the unfortunate results of this was that English literature and language split up and have been taught in different departments, which have relatively little contact. The literary department, now called the Department of English and Creative Writing, has flourished as ours has, but along an entirely different track.

In those days our fledgling linguistics department had nine members of teaching staff. Now there are more than thirty. This expansion has come about as a result of a continuing increase in student numbers, but also because of increasing research activities. In the eighties, three centres of linguistic research were established, and remain with us today: UCREL (Unit for Computer Research on the English Language) (4) for corpus work; CLSL (Centre for Language and Social Life) and CRILE (Centre for Research in Language Education). These represent three broad areas of research which reached a 'critical weight' early on, but of course they are far from the only areas in which research is done. After some of us had set up UCREL, CLSL was set up mainly by the initiative of Chris Candlin, before he left for Macquarie University in Australia in the mid-1980s. His dynamic role in shaping the department in its earlier days should not be forgotten. At present CRILE counts such names as Martin Bygate, Charles Alderson and Keith Johnson among its luminaries. In CLSL at present among the well-known names are Ruth Wodak and Paul Chilton (who are carrying on the research tradition in CDA – critical discourse analysis – pioneered by Norman Fairclough), Paul Kerswill and Mark Sebba (sociolinguistics) and Greg Myers (language in the media). More recently, a newer centre, led by David Barton, the LLRC (Lancaster Literacy Research Centre) has branched off from CLSL and become a national hub for literacy research.

It should be emphasized that these centres are not hermetically sealed compartments – far from it. We encourage multiple-membership of the centres – they're like loose confederations of people with related research interests. The department also has many smaller research groups which have meetings every week or fortnight or so during the term, often with invited speakers. An example is the PASTY (Pragmatics and Stylistics) research group, led by Mick Short and Elena Semino, reinforcing our connection with literature which has existed ever since the early days. Another research group is RITL (Research in Theoretical Linguistics) – Anna Siewierska is its best-known member – and its focus is mainly on typology, cognitive linguistics and related theoretical approaches. Again, people can attend any group meetings that interest them. The three groups that I sometimes attend are CRG (the Corpus Research Group), PASTY and RITL.

It may be symptomatic of the development of linguistics at Lancaster that I have mentioned theory last of all. There is little doubt that compared with other linguistics departments in the UK, Lancaster is very much an

applied linguistics department – using *applied* in the broadest sense – and the teaching of syntax, phonetics, phonology, and semantics tends to be on the sidelines of the department, rather than in its centre. I have always regretted this limited presence of ‘core linguistics’, and it’s interesting to consider how this applied tendency has grown up. I attribute it to the fact that our department was never established by a decision of the ‘University Authorities’ – as happened with important ‘prestige’ departments like Psychology and Law. These grew up while Lancaster was gradually expanding from small beginnings, and was gradually making itself into a ‘proper university’. Instead, like Topsy in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, linguistics ‘just grow’d’. We’ve been allowed to grow above all through increasing student numbers, and students have a tendency to choose courses with a strong human interest, practical applications, and (dare I say it?) no particularly strenuous involvement with maths, logic and theory. The areas popular with students are of course the areas in which new staff – to cope with student demand – have tended to be appointed. So the staff’s research interests have a tendency to reinforce the students’ preferences and vice versa.

But there are also some strengths in this applied tendency. In recent years, research funding has tended to go more towards practical outcomes than towards purely theoretical investigations. So that has helped us. Also, applied linguistics lends itself to another trend favoured by funding bodies – what people are starting to call ‘interdisciplinarity’. The kind of linguistics our department specializes in naturally leads to collaboration across disciplinary boundaries – with psychologists, with sociologists, with computer scientists, with media specialists, and so on. I would argue, in fact, that part of the appeal and influence of linguistics as a discipline is that it interacts with so many other disciplines. All disciplines use language, after all.

BELLS: What was your academic connection with Birmingham University, ELR, and particularly with professor John Sinclair who also showed strong interest in corpus linguistics and was a key figure in that field?

I got on well with John Sinclair on a personal level, but on the level of ideas and methods, we used to clash. We were both pioneers in corpus linguistics, but the ways we got into it were different. John’s initial interest in corpora was research-oriented, while mine was resource-oriented.

Let me explain. John, when working with Halliday in the 1960s, saw the need to develop a theory of lexis – with word collocations and phraseology at its foundation. For this, he needed a large amount of text that could be processed statistically by computer. So for him a computer corpus was a necessary tool for a ground-breaking research programme, which he developed in the succeeding forty years with his colleagues and students. In the 1970s and 1980s he built up the Birmingham Collection of English Texts – a much bigger corpus than LOB – and the Cobuild Dictionary. Later the enormous Bank of English came along, and it enabled his theory of lexis to be tested and developed far beyond what could have been imagined in the 1960s. More importantly, the theoretical outcome was a wide acceptance among corpus linguists – and some others, such as construction grammarians – that grammar and lexis are not separate divisions of language (as the grammar and the dictionary traditionally make them), but that the co-occurrence of words at the lexical level is fundamental, and grammar is some kind of superstructure built ultimately out of word-cooccurrence. His watchword was ‘Trust the corpus’ – that’s to say, if your corpus tells you something, you believe it, but if it doesn’t, you don’t.

To explain my response to this, I will first suggest that in many aspects of my thinking about language, I am a middle-of-the-road person. My position is middle-of-the-road, for instance, with respect to theory and data: I think that abstract theory and observable data are both important, and the greatest challenge is to connect the two. I am against what I consider to be the extreme position of Chomsky – that theory is supremely important, and that the empirical evidence of language use is of little or no value. Now, I considered John Sinclair’s viewpoint to be extreme in the opposite direction. The data-driven approach that he advocated opposed any application of pre-existing theoretical concepts to corpus data, the argument being that no such concepts could be validated unless they emerged from corpus evidence. For him, the corpus data was all-important, whereas for Chomsky it is useless. My position (somewhere between what I would call extreme empiricism and extreme rationalism) is that we need both theory and the data of real language in use.

So my priority, following in the footsteps of Quirk and Francis, was first to create a body of data – a corpus – and then make it available for researchers to use for whatever purpose they want. In practice corpora like Brown and LOB have been used for amazingly varied investigations

– research into lexis, grammar, semantics, psycholinguistics, stylistics, and so forth. This is what I meant by a ‘resource orientation’. (It’s a truism that a corpus is likely to prove useful for many many purposes undreamed of by its compilers.) To make the corpus more useful, both for ourselves and other users, we were keen to annotate it with grammatical information such as part-of-speech tagging, so that syntactic information (for instance) could be extracted from the corpus. Our position was that unless you build certain kinds of linguistic information into the corpus, your ability to use the corpus for abstract investigations (for example, of syntax) was severely limited. So annotated is a kind of value added. John disagreed with this, as for him even categories like ‘noun’ and ‘adjective’ could be seen as impositions on the corpus of theoretical constructs. For him, the corpus in its pure form was the only thing that could be trusted.

There were other differences between us too, but that is enough to give you the flavour of the debate. There is no doubt that John’s contribution was enormous and original in establishing the importance of lexis and phraseological structure. But I formed the impression that he saw little value in my own approach.

BELLS: Your academic connection with the Scandinavians seems to be as strong as ever. Please tell us something about that.

GEOFFREY LEECH: Yes, I owe a lot to Scandinavians. The key names that provide the connection are Quirk, Svartvik and Johansson. I have already mentioned my friendship with Jan Svartvik when he was RQ’s senior researcher at the Survey of English Usage. Later we collaborated on the ‘Quirk grammars’, as well as a grammar of our own called *A Communicative Grammar of English*. When Jan returned to Sweden on completing his doctorate, he was soon appointed to the chair of English language at Lund University. In the mid-1970s, his brightest student, Stig Johansson, was awarded a visiting fellowship which, at Jan’s instigation, he spent with us at Lancaster. That was the time when I was in the depths of despondency about the completion of the Lancaster corpus. At the end of his stay in Lancaster, Stig (to my astonishment and delight) offered to take over the project. The main logjam we were suffering from at that time was the problem of copyright. British publishers were reluctant to give *free* permission to an obscure provincial university wanting to computerize and distribute their texts, and we could not afford to pay their permission fees.

But when Stig returned to Scandinavia (where he had secured a post at Oslo) he was able to write to the London publishers from a foreign vantage point, and to speak on behalf of an international organization. It seemed as if they were being invited to belong to a prestigious-sounding collection of British English text. His entreaties succeeded where mine had failed – so the corpus was finished, and still bears the name of the three cities where it was created: LOB stands for ‘Lancaster-Oslo-Bergen’.

Did I say an ‘international organization’? Yes, to get permission from the publishers, we (Jan, Stig, Nelson Francis and I) adopted the strategy of setting up a rather grand-sounding ‘International Computer Archive of Modern English’, which we thought was a very good idea anyway – I mentioned it earlier, and can now say that ICAME has kept going for over 30 years, and is the oldest association for corpus linguistics in the world. Stig stayed on for many years as the coordinating secretary of ICAME – he effectively ran the whole organization from Oslo –, and the *ICAME Journal* and the ICAME website have been run (by Knut Hofland) from Bergen. So that Scandinavian connection has continued without a break.

Meanwhile in the later 1970s Jan Svartvik masterminded an important corpus project of his own: he computerized most of the spoken data of the Survey of English Usage corpus, with its complicated prosodic transcription, and so created the London-Lund Corpus. Brown and LOB had contained only written texts, so this was another important milestone – the first computerized spoken corpus of modern English.

I just have to mention another key Scandinavian figure in ICAME – Matti Rissanen, who with his colleagues has made Helsinki the top centre historical English corpus research. As chair of the ICAME Board, Matti took over Stig’s coordinating role in the 1990s, and inserted the word ‘Medieval’ into the name of ICAME.

BELLS: What is a current linguistic scene in Great Britain and what do you anticipate as future orientation?

GEOFFREY LEECH: Well, I don’t feel well qualified to answer this, as I no longer see myself in the vanguard – if I ever did – and the academic linguistics community has become fragmented. I remember the founding of the LAGB (Linguistic Association of Great Britain) in the early 1960s, and my feeling then was that it represented all the linguistics that was really worth following in the country. Now the LAGB still exists, together

with a much older association – the Philological Society. They still publish their journals and have meetings. The LAGB represents core linguistics of a fairly theoretical orientation, but now there are many other organizations representing sub-fields of linguistics – including ICAME, BAAL (British Association of Applied Linguistics), the Sociolinguistics Symposium, the Association of Computational Linguistics, PALA (Poetics and Linguistics Association) and so on – and many conferences spring up via the internet without any supporting associations. So it is difficult to keep track of what is going on. Also all these conferences, although some of them were founded or organized in the UK, tend to have an international membership. One important international foundation of this kind is ISLE (International Society for the Linguistics of English), which was founded in Manchester a couple of years ago, and had its inaugural conference in Freiburg in Germany.

For what it's worth, I will hazard some impressions and speculations about what is happening in the UK, which is probably not too different from what is happening in other countries. Corpora are becoming mainstream and their use is no longer restricted to people who regard themselves as 'corpus linguists' – even theoreticians are consulting corpora from time to time. The Chomskyan paradigm, on the other hand, is not growing, and is probably in gradual decline. An increasingly important theoretical focus is cognitive linguistics and its associated models such as cognitive grammar, construction grammar, and usage-based linguistics. 'Hyphenated linguistics' is flourishing on many fronts (socio-, psycho-, clinical, forensic, historical...), so the interdisciplinary reach of linguistics is continuing. What all this amounts to I'm not sure, but perhaps there's a move towards a greater interest in observational methods and the real use of language in all its varied settings.

BELLS: You have recently retired. Mission accomplished?

GEOFFREY LEECH: No! I still have a little office in the Department and go there about twice a week. I supervise a couple of PhD students and do the occasional lecture. I do a number of academic visits to other countries – for example, last year I lectured in Thailand, Turkey, Japan and Montenegro. I keep busy writing articles and papers for various publications, and have four book projects in the pipeline. At present I am trying to write a book on linguistic politeness – a topic which engaged my attention quite a lot

in the 1970s and early '80s, and which I have been recently revisiting. The other three book projects are all new editions or anthologies of existing publications – perhaps it's a sign of old age that I am now spending more time looking back to what I have written earlier, trying to improve and update it, rather than looking forward to completely new ventures. There's an ancient refrain 'Old soldiers never die, they only fade away', and for me, the word 'soldiers' can be happily replaced by 'professors'.

BELLS: I am happy to see that there is a Scholarship Trust honouring your academic achievement. Not only have you been an academic but also a professor much loved and admired by your students and fellow researchers. I myself was a lucky beneficiary of your expertise and generosity in giving your time and patience when I came to see you in Lancaster. I was impressed by the fact that it took only three weeks to organize the meeting – you were already a celebrity and I was only a doctoral student. Apart from the message that you send by being what you were and what you are, is there anything that you would feel like saying when addressing the young academic audience world-wide and in Belgrade in particular?

GEOFFREY LEECH: Once again, you are flattering me! I can only reiterate the message, implied in what I have already said: 'Take every opportunity!' 'Leave no stone unturned in the search for linguistic reality'.

-
- (1) We = Nelson Frances, Stig Johansson, Jan Svartvik, Arthur Sandved and myself.
 - (2) Later the title was expanded to: International Computer Archive of Modern and Medieval English.
 - (3) It is now called the Department of Linguistics and English Language, as since the 1990s we have taken on some historical language teaching and research.
 - (4) The title has changed (mainly because research has extended to many other languages) to: University Centre for Computer Research on Language. But we have kept the original acronym UCREL.

INTERVIEW: LINDA HUTCHEON (August 20, 2009)

by Radojka Vukčević

BELLS: You are the author of nine books and numerous articles, and...many projects. I would like to start my interview with the collaborative project: *Rethinking Literary History*. Could you please tell me what the result of this project is? Why and what has it shown you?

Rethinking Literary History was an immense as well as exciting project for me, with over 400 participants in two major projects that resulted in two large-scale publications: *The Literary Cultures of Latin America: A Comparative History* (3 volumes, Oxford University Press) and *History of the Literary Cultures of East-Central Europe* (4 volumes, Benjamins). In both cases, the “rethinking” part grew out of our realization that literary history was usually bound by nation or by national language. We wanted, instead, to work comparatively, across national and language boundaries, as well as disciplinary ones (hence the “literary cultures” in the titles). In the Latin American project, we worked with cultural geographers to map how verbal culture *moved* (rather than stayed within a country) over time. Over 300 contributors were asked to think regionally, rather than nationally, and to consider both oral and written culture produced in the Amerindian languages as well as Spanish and Portuguese. In the East-Central European project, we tried to de-emphasize national cultural myths by highlighting points of contact and analogies among literary cultures, as well as hybrid and marginal cultural phenomena that traditional *national* literary histories had ignored—or deliberately suppressed—in their national identity-forming drive. From this collective and collaborative work, I learned much about cultural interaction and interface in these particular parts of the world; but I also learned about how important it is for scholars to work

together to tackle this kind of enormous endeavor that no single one of us could ever manage alone.

BELLS: Your work has been described as a work whose common thread is the complex interrelations of theory with artistic practice. What have you found out about these interrelations? Does art teach us as much about literary theory as in reverse?

I am from one of the first generations in North America to be trained in critical theory, so it has been a part of my intellectual life almost from the start. From my doctoral dissertation onward, however, I've felt that "theory" shouldn't be something abstracted from culture or something imposed upon the reading of literature. So, whether I was studying self-reflexive fiction, parody, irony, or adaptation, I decided I would work from cultural forms outward to theory, in other words, that I would try to "theorize" from the art itself. For example, I don't think it's an accident that reader-response theory coincided with the rise of postmodern metafiction in the 1980s: they are both responses to a cultural Zeitgeist, if you will, that reacted against the critical or theoretical dominance of both authorial intentionality and textual autonomy by asserting the hermeneutic agency of the reader.

BELLS: Can we say that your theoretical interests started with narrative self-consciousness (*Narcissistic Narrative*), parody (*A Theory of Parody*), and irony (*Irony's Edge*)? Have you come to any new conclusions in these three areas?

Yes, that's certainly where I began. My dissertation work on narrative self-reflexivity meant that I was intellectually "primed", so to speak, for the rise of postmodernism in the 1970s and 1980s. Because that art (in all its manifestations) was parodic and ironic, I soon realized I had to theorize those elements as well as the self-consciousness itself. In each case, I've again tried to theorize outward from art works themselves, rather than developing a theory of irony or parody and imposing it upon the works. Modern and postmodern parodic works of art taught me that parody wasn't just aimed at ridicule, as it had been, perhaps, in the eighteenth century. In our contemporary culture, on the contrary, parody has a range of aims that can run the gamut from reverence and respect to savage put-down. The need to open up that range of both irony and parody was something

that twentieth-century artworks taught me, and that I subsequently tried to theorize.

BELLS: You have contributed greatly to the possibilities of understanding Postmodernism in your books, *The Poetics of Postmodernism*, which has been translated in Serbia and is studied at some courses at the University of Belgrade, *The Politics of Postmodernism*, and *The Canadian Postmodern*. How much does Canada still live in the postmodern world? And what about its contemporary literary scene? Can you rank the first five Canadian prose authors?

I've always thought that Canada is the perfect postmodern nation: decentered (each province and each region is culturally autonomous, in many ways, without even mentioning francophone Quebec); open to eccentricity and difference (its multiculturalism policy is law); marginal and happy with its marginality (living next to the USA, that is our fate). From the 1960s onward, there was a determined and deliberate move to define and support Canadian culture, threatened as it was by strong American institutions and customs. This was very successful, and today we have, I believe, a vibrant culture in all the arts in Canada. In fact, there are so many fine writers that I find it hard to rank them. All I can do is say that, among my personal favourites, are the canonical (Michael Ondaatje and Margaret Atwood) and the new (Miriam Toews and George Elliott Clarke).

BELLS: Your latest book *Theory of Adaptation* illustrates your interests in adaptation as a mode of storytelling? How new is this?

My interest in adaptation likely stems from my work in parody (a form of ironic adaptation, in a sense), but was more directly provoked by my more general realization that, with the appearance of a new media of diffusion—television, film, but especially the internet—we seem to need more and more stories to fill the “content” of these media. And, what is even more interesting is that it appears that when we need more stories to tell, we tend to REtell old stories: hence, adaptation. I became fascinated by the fact that we keep recounting the same narratives, but in different media: there are ballets, operas, comic books and movies made adapting Shakespearean plays; there are videogame and graphic novel adaptations of popular films. We are dealing here, then, with both familiarity and, yet,

difference/novelty. I tried to think through the reasons for the popularity of adaptations, the forms that adaptation takes, and what happens when a story gets told across cultures—gets transculturated or indigenized. Needless to say, in the process I learned a lot about our contemporary culture!

BELLS: In your earlier years you did much editing and translation, and coined a term “crypto-ethnic.” Can you discuss it?

My original training was in modern languages (Italian, French, German, English), so translation was a natural interest for me. But I’m also, despite my Scottish marital name, the daughter of Italian immigrants to Canada. I grew up in a very Italian culture, though I spoke English at home. When I first went to university, I studied Italian and fell in love with the language and its culture. I then did an MA in Italian at Cornell University, and a Ph.D. in Comparative Literature. I once jokingly used the term “crypto-ethnic” to describe a number of women of my generation (a generation of women who still, by convention, took their husbands’ names upon marriage) who were actually hiding a different ethnic identity behind their married names. In my case there was a Bortolotti hiding behind the Hutcheon. Interestingly, even in multicultural Toronto, I discovered that one experiences life differently as an Italian and as an “Anglo”!

BELLS: Lately, you have been working collaboratively with Michael Hutcheon on interdisciplinary projects, such as the intersection of medical and cultural history, studied through the vehicle of opera. This resulted in three books so far: *Opera: Desire, Disease, Death*; *Bodily Charm: Living Opera*; *Opera: The Art of Dying*. How strong is the connection between the two histories?

Medical and cultural history are totally intertwined, as the work of Sander Gilman and others has argued. Medicine is practiced in a social context and always reflects it. Opera is an art form that has a long, continuous 400-year history and, because it is not terribly subtle (its plots are concentrated, because it takes longer to sing than speak a line of text), it betrays well both the desires and the anxieties of those who create it. We became interested first in moments in medical history when understanding about disease changed radically: for example, when it was discovered

that tuberculosis was not an inherited illness, but one you caught from being too close to someone. The contagiousness of TB changed medical understanding utterly. But it also changed cultural representations of it. Verdi's *La Traviata* was composed before that discovery; Puccini's *La Boheme* comes after. The difference is that in the former, Violetta thinks her disease is her mother's legacy, made worse by her lifestyle as a Parisian courtesan; in the latter, TB is finally recognized as a disease of the poor and the result of urban crowded housing. Yet, there are some very strong continuities, despite the medical shift: in both cases, the women suffering from the disease are young, beautiful (*because of* their illness) and sexually active. The linking of sexuality and disease is something that is a constant, as we learned from studying these operas. In the second book, on the operatic body, we looked at both real bodies (of singers and audience members) and represented bodies on the operatic stage. When your "instrument" is housed in your body, as it is with singers, there is a corporeal level to performing that cannot be denied. And opera is, at its best, a live, staged, embodied art form. In our third book, we tried to figure out why, if our western culture really is as death-denying as sociologists say it is, opera (an art form obsessed with love and death) should prosper in our times. We developed a theory related to the medieval devotional practice called the "ars moriendi" (art of dying), specifically one called the "contemplatio mortis": in this, one meditated upon one's own death—in great personal and dramatized detail. Its suffering, the farewell to one's loved ones, etc. were carefully and thoroughly rehearsed. Then, after this exercise, one went back to one's life with both renewed pleasure in being alive and, having rehearsed the end, more prepared for one's own demise. We decided that operas about death worked in the same way: the clear artifice of opera (everything is sung) allows the kind of distancing that makes it easier to contemplate death, but the power of the music brings home the message nonetheless.

BELLS: What are you currently studying? Is it creativity and age in the late style and late lives of opera composers, as I found out from the Internet?

That is certainly one of the two projects I'm working on. It is being undertaken with my husband, once again. We're looking at the last works of a series of opera composers who led long creative lives and left ample

testimony (in the form of letters and journals) about their feelings about aging and creativity: Giuseppe Verdi, Richard Wagner, Leos Janacek, Richard Strauss, Benjamin Britten and Olivier Messiaen. We're interested in how their last works were received by audiences, then and now, in the light of the knowledge that these WERE their very last works—for we tend to give special value to these in our culture. Often these final operas marked a change in direction for the composer, either in style or subject matter. Sometimes this was received with applause; at other times, quite the contrary. It is these and other contradictions that we want to explore. The other project is a solo project that I am doing alone and it is on the ethics, politics and economics of reviewing in general—that is, reviewing in all the arts, restaurant, hotel reviewing, and so on. I think it's the right time to do this study, since we are witnessing a major shift in reviewing practices with the internet: the customer reviewer and the blogger have become competitors with the more professionalized reviewer, perhaps changing the stakes entirely.

BELLS: You are the recipient of major fellowships and awards, and numerous honorary degrees, and in 2000 you were elected the 117th President of the Modern Language Association of America, the third Canadian to hold this position, and the first Canadian woman. What has this experience told you?

That's a good question. First of all, I learned much about the profession of literary and language study in North America by having this position within the largest humanities scholarly association in the world. The MLA is *the* spokesperson for our field in this part of the world, and has been an ardent defender of what we do, both to governments and to the general public, as well as within the university setting. As a Canadian, I work in a somewhat different academic climate, so there was a lot for me to learn about the American context. What I learned most, though, was that our profession is full of dedicated teachers and scholars who really care about culture, about their students, about the kind of world we create for ourselves. This was immensely inspiring.

BELLS: Your interests are many: theory, literature, teaching, interdisciplinary projects... They have defined your position as a critic at this moment. Can you describe it?

I always joke that I am “intellectually promiscuous”—that as soon as I’ve finished one project, I move on to the next and am not eager to go back to talk about the last one. I am retiring early from active teaching in order to have more time to do research and write. I love teaching, but it is time to write the books that are left “in me,” if that makes sense. Yet, when I write, it is always with an eye to pedagogy: I have always thought of my students as my ideal audience. Now that I am retiring, however, I think I should start to think about a larger audience, perhaps—a non-academic one. That is the new challenge for me, and I look forward to it.

Notes to Contributors

Belgrade English Language and Literature Studies (Belgrade BELLS) is an annual peer-reviewed academic journal issued by the Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, Serbia.

The aim of the journal is to provide an international forum for current investigations in English theoretical/applied linguistics and anglophone literary/cultural studies.

The journal welcomes original research papers, book reviews, scholarly interviews, conference reports, and commentaries.

Manuscripts (up to 10.000 words) should be submitted electronically: belgrade.bells@gmail.com

Submission deadline: 1 April 2011

Contributions should be in English. Contributors whose native language is not English are asked to have their manuscript carefully checked by a native speaker.

Manuscripts should conform to the style sheet available at the Belgrade Bells website.

<http://www.belgrade.bells.fil.bg.ac.rs/>

CIP – Katalogizacija u publikaciji
Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Beograd

811.111+82

BELGRADE English Language & Literature
Studies / editor-in-chief Jelisaveta
Milojević . - Vol. 1 (2009)- . - Belgrade :
Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade,
2009- (Belgrade : Čigoja štampa). - 24 cm

Godišnje
ISSN 1821-3138 = Belgrade English Language &
Literature Studies
COBISS.SR-ID 170838540