BELGRADE ENGLISH LANGUAGE & LITERATURE STUDIES

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EDITORIAL PREFACE

This Volume of the *Belgrade BELLS* is dedicated to the notions of tradition and transformation that represented the central theme around which a number of scholars and researchers gathered together and contributed to at the *5th International Conference English Language and Literature Studies: Tradition and Transformation* organized by and held at the English Department of the University of Belgrade in October 2015. Difficult as it may be to define, *tradition*, primarily understood as cultural continuity in thought, beliefs, attitudes, customs, practices and institutions proved to be an inspiring trigger for more than 130 authors coming from the fields of theoretical and applied linguistics, translatology, literary and cultural studies. Quite naturally, observation of tradition inevitably reveals the existence of *change* and brings it into the picture – *change* seen both as process and result. Hence *transformation* as companion of *tradition* in the theme of the conference.

The first part of the Volume, Theoretical and Applied Linguistics, contains 11 articles from the fields of intercultural pragmatics, cognitive linguistics, construction grammar, second language acquisition and EFL methodology. It opens with **Ranko Bugarski's** review and comparison of the notions of tradition in linguistics and tradition in general, represented through some basic dichotomies, such as tradition vs modernity, oral vs written, authentic vs invented. **Istvan Kecskes** in his article *Idiom Principle in English as a Lingua Franca* steps out of the traditional understanding of *lingua franca* and introduces it as a specific concept in intercultural pragmatic domain, while answering the question of how (and to what extent successfully) non-native speakers find their way around the intricacies of formulaic language use when engaging in interactions in English with no native speakers participating. **Ana Bjelogrlić** examines how force interactions (such as ATTRACTION and REPULSION) which include two entities – the Agonist and the Antagonist – are verbally expressed in English, taking into account both physical force and the exertion of force belonging to the abstract domain. Transgressing traditional accounts of the construction type N1 + *of a* +N2, **Jelena Vujić** and **Nenad Miladinović** provide a detailed analysis of it as constructional idiom and carry out a contrastive analysis of the genitive construction in English and Serbian.

Richard Madsen's article deals with the difficulties Danish university students face when using relative clauses in English, focusing not only on grammatically incorrect deviations from standard English, but also to stylistic nuances in the usage of English relative clauses. **Ana Tomović**, **Tamara Aralica** and **Katarina Rasulić** investigate the effects of the change introduced to the once traditional entrance exam to the English Department, by looking at the nature and degree of correlation between the candidates' entrance exam results and their results in the third year Contemporary English Integrated Skills course. Along the similar line, **Ivana Čorbić** presents and analyzes the effects of process writing taught in the traditional classroom and in the new digital environment provided by the Moodle platform, and points in particular to the issues of digital literacy and digital politeness. **Mirjana Vučković** and **Milica Prvulović** challenge the belief that the first choice in multiple choice test is usually the best one. An elaborate description of the simulation technique in teaching ESP has been provided by **Tatjana Marković**, and a thorough comparison of the results achieved by students taught in the traditional way and those who took part in the simulation project carried out by the author. The last two papers in the first section of the volume, although still in the broader domain of applied linguistics, tackle translation issues: **Pavel Dronov** and **Elena Krotova** embark upon a comprehensive analysis of phraseology, wordplay and cultural specificity in Nabokov's *Transparent Things*, and comment on particular translation strategies employed by Nabokov's Russian translator. **Mirjana Daničić**, on the other hand, focuses on pedagogical issues in teaching translation to university students, showing how traditional approach may be transformed and implemented for better output in written translation classes.

The second section of the Volume, Literary Studies, brings 9 articles in which tradition and transformation stand out clearly as motifs: **Milica Spremić** writes about J.R.R. Tolkien's venture into Arthurian literature by composing his *Fall of Arthur*, the unfinished poem based on the Arthurian tradition; **Svetozar Poštić** aligns Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Njegoš's Mountain *Wreath* in order to explore the creation of modern English and Serbian national identities. **Frederic Dumas** is also interested in identity issues, but explores tradition and transformation by looking into the humorous, though nostalgic aspects of Twain's *Roughing It*. **Ksenija Kondali** remains faithful to the idea of gendered identity, and explores it within the context of Jeanette Winterson's novel *The Daylight Gate*,

clearly laying out the transformation of historical novel. **Dipannita Datta**, by looking into the work of a number of women writers in India, explores and depicts a complex picture of transformed traditions in the vast Indian literature of postcolonial period. **Sandra Josipović** follows the transformation of immigrant identity and compares the traditional and contemporary cultural concepts in the translations of Gish Jen's short stories, while **Aleksandra V. Jovanović** and **Aleksandra Batričević** explore the notions of tradition and change in Ackroyd's labyrinthine story of *London: A Concise Biography*. Applying the cognitive *figure-ground* analytical optics along with deixis theory, **Mihai Mindra** investigates the transformation of American Neo-liberal fiction, his illustrative object being Jonathan Franzen's novel *Freedom*. Finally, **Bojana Gledić** in her article focuses on the transformation of Britishness as revealed in her observation of Graham Swift as a postcolonial storyteller.

The selection of articles in this Volume is an attempt to depict and represent the variety of the contributor's research interests and responses to the 'tradition – transformation' challenge. Unfortunately, the limitations of space prevented us from selecting all the articles that were given positive reviews, so we decided to dedicate the next Volume IX (2017) to the same theme, believing that the academic and scholarly public should not be deprived from getting acquainted with the valuable output of our contributors. Looking forward to the 2017 Volume, we present the readers with Volume VIII, hoping that reading it will be as pleasant and satisfying as editing this Volume has been.

We would like to extend our sincerest thanks to all our contributors without whose work and effort this Volume would not have been possible; to our reviewers who carefully read and commented on the articles; to our colleagues Charles Owen Robertson, Andrijana Broćić and Aleksandra Vukotić who took time to proofread them; the last but not the least, the Faculty of Philology, primarily the former Dean Prof. dr Aleksandra Vraneš for having supported the organization of the *ELLS:Tradition and Transformation Conference* and our present Dean, Prof.dr Ljiljana Marković for having heartily supported the publication of the Volume.

Belgrade, December 2016

Ivana Trbojević Milošević
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Theoretical and Applied Linguistics

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TRADITION IN LINGUISTICS AND TRADITION IN GENERAL

Abstract
After a general definition of the notion of tradition, this paper looks at the ways it has been applied in language study, especially in the history of linguistics and in grammar. Questions concerning the origin, duration, end and possible revitalization of traditions are noted, as are some basic dichotomies: tradition vs modernity, oral vs written, authentic vs invented traditions. It is argued that the meaning of tradition is subject to variation depending on the nature of the disciplines referred to, and that it is easier to talk about tradition in the context of a specific field of study such as linguistics than in general terms, as in the latter case one has to account for a multifaceted and internally contradictory phenomenon.

Key words: tradition, history of linguistics, grammar, variability, authenticity

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1. Introduction

My somewhat unusual title is modelled on that of an article by the Chinese American linguist Yuen Ren Chao, "Models in linguistics and models in general" (Chao 1962), which I read while attending Professor Chao's course on the structure of Chinese at the Linguistic Institute of the Linguistic Society of America, held at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor in the summer of 1967.

Let me start with a telling quotation. Raymond Williams, in his classic review of the key vocabulary of culture and society, opens the article on "Tradition" with the following sentence: "Tradition in its most general modern sense is a particularly difficult word" (Williams 1983: 318). Rather than summarising his largely historical account, I will offer in this presentation some of my own thoughts on the complexity of the notion, prompted by the topic of our conference. Etymologically, the word comes from Latin *tradere* 'transmit, hand over for safekeeping'. General definitions given in the major dictionaries (or nowadays perhaps Wiktionaries!) boil down to something like "A belief, custom or behaviour with symbolic meaning or special significance, passed down over a long period of time within a culture, society or group, thus providing it with continuity; principles followed by any branch of art or literature; intergenerational transmission of information and knowledge". With this scope in mind, we may turn to the uses of the term in the study of language.

2. Tradition in linguistics

In this area, the most important and least controversial usage is to be found in the history of linguistics, where reference is commonly made to the major traditions of linguistic thought, such as Ancient Indian, Western classical of Greece and Rome, Medieval Arabic and Hebrew, Chinese, etc. This usage is so firmly established that there is no need to dwell on it here, so we will pass on to the next, which is in the province of grammar.

Under this heading the most common phrase is *traditional grammar*, meaning the approach originating in Graeco-Roman descriptive and normative studies and in subsequent centuries applied especially (and for the most part uncritically) to modern European languages. In the context of linguistic theory, traditional grammar was during the second

half of the twentieth century typically opposed to structural and later on transformational-generative grammar, with another dimension contrasting formal and functional grammar, to be followed more recently by cognitive grammar.

Both within and outside these two main areas, history of linguistics and grammar, the notion of tradition is freely used in a number of more specific and variously determined contexts. One of these involves countries (e.g. German, French, British, American linguistic traditions), another particular schools named after cities (such as Kazan, Copenhagen, Moscow or Prague), universities (Yale, Columbia), or aims and approaches (prescriptive vs descriptive traditions). Yet another has to do with periods, either grossly (e.g. classical vs. modern traditions) or in smaller chunks (e.g. 18th, 19th, 20th century traditions), but note that the closer one gets to the present the more questionable the use of the word becomes: I don't think that these days anybody would seriously talk of 21st century traditions in anything.

Even path-breaking individual scholars may initiate traditions bearing their names; for example, Humboldtian in ethnolinguistics and philosophy of language, Bloomfieldian or Firthian in descriptive linguistics, Saussurean or Chomskyan in theoretical linguistics, Labovian in sociolinguistics, etc. – though note once again the temporal limitation as we approach the present: it is all right to talk of traditions launched even by scholars still living, as the last two mentioned show, but these have to be well past the prime of their lives: one would hesitate to name a tradition after a relatively young person. The same applies to schools of linguistics; it is normal to refer to structuralist, functionalist or generativist traditions, cognitive linguistics has been around for just about the right period of time to join the company, but anything more recent than that would hardly qualify.

3. Tradition and time

Examples like these indicate that the notion of tradition by its very nature rests heavily on the passage of time – one could almost say the older, the better! It is, however, impossible to tell how long is enough, i.e. just how old a tradition must be in order to justify such a status; sometimes two generations might do, in other cases many decades or even centuries.

Likewise, most often it seems futile to try to pinpoint both the beginning and the end of a tradition. The start may in some cases be identified with a single influential figure, as illustrated above, but this is an exception rather than the rule. And the end is even more doubtful, although one may talk loosely about revolutions or paradigm shifts, asociated with works such as Chomsky (1957) and Kuhn (1962), which would seem to suggest the wholesale replacement of an earlier tradition by a new one, as in the case of American srcuturalism under the impact of Chomsky's work. Yet a tradition may be revitalized even after a lapse of several centuries, a feat achieved by the "Cartesian linguistics" of Chomsky himself (1966). So what is a dead tradition as opposed to a living one often remains an open question.

4. Some other dichotomies

There are several other dichotomies involving the concept of tradition. One of them, presumably uncontroversial, is into oral vs written traditions of folklore and literature respectively. The realm of traditional culture, characteristic of pre-modern societies, with its rituals, folk dances, epic poetry and the rest is mostly oral, though some of it may of course be written down later. As regards the study of language, if we discard the earliest phases of the Eastern traditions in particular, linguistics naturally falls wholly within the realm of writing.

Another frequently invoked division contrasts tradition with modernity, possibly an even more difficult notion which I will conveniently refrain from addressing. As should be clear by now, tradition is in itself quite a mouthful, more than enough for me, and asking in addition what is modern would inevitably entangle one in fashionable queries about what exactly is postmodern, and perhaps also post-postmodern, which I would rather skip. Certainly, the biggest problem here, as well as in the case of some other distinctions, is the methodological one of establishing the dividing line between the members of such pairs.

A rather intriguing controversy has developed recently, however, involving the difference between authentic and invented traditions, the latter concept introduced in the book edited by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), where it is claimed that some apparently old traditions may turn out to be actually quite recent or even invented. Examples range

from Scottish clan tartans, extolled as of ancient origin but in fact a 19th century invention, to an array of myths, symbols and fake historical accounts surrounding the modern phenomena of nations and nationalism, heavily relying on beliefs in their origin in the remote past. In this type of discourse, the notion of tradition is enveloped in the national mythologies of ethnogenesis, focusing on claims about who and what came first, whose language was the oldest, and the like.

To illustrate from the Balkans and a bit further afield, Serbs are not supposed to have arrived in their present territories from anywhere but have always been there, as the oldest nation in Europe if not in the world, and their language is as ancient as Sanskrit, which in fact contains numerous Serbian words; furthermore, the "perfectly phonetic" Serbian Cyrillic script predates, and indeed inspires, Phoenician and Greek writing systems. Such claims are mostly accompanied by fanciful etymologies. For example, if a toponym in any Eurasian language looked remotely like one in Serbia, and especially if it contained the letters *s* and *r*, this might be offered as proof that Serbs had populated that area in prehistoric times, perhaps as the original settlers. One is reminded here of the dictum attributed to Voltaire, that etymology is a science in which the vowels count for nothing, and the consonants for very little! (Radić 2003 offers an entertaining ridicule of the exotic fantasies of amateur quasi-historians of the so-called "Serb autochthonous school").

We may also sense some invented traditions underlying such popular claims as that the Croats, far from being close relatives of the Serbs, are in fact of Iranian origin and have enjoyed full statehood for a thousand years, while Montenegrins, originating from the Baltic area, have no common history with the Serbs either. Slovenes, or Wends, are likewise distinct from South Slavic peoples, and present-day Macedonians revere Alexander the Great as their most famous forefather. Albanians, deriving in an unbroken line from the ancient Ilyrians, are hence the only original inhabitants of the Balkans, Bulgarians inherit the ancient Thracians, whereas Romanians are the immediate and true descendants of the Roman civilization; and so on.

5. Attitudes towards traditions

On the whole, however, attitudes towards traditions are overwhelmingly positive, at least among the general public: traditions are there to be

respected, cherished and dutifully passed on to new generations, without questioning their authenticity or validity. In this they are comparable to religious beliefs. It is mostly in certain academic contexts that the words *tradition* and *traditional* tend to acquire negative overtones. In linguistics one talks neutrally about, for example, traditional phonology or semantics, but traditional grammar is already suspect due to its implicit contrast with structural and generative grammar. When this contrast is made explicit, with these phrases occurring in the same text, describing a grammar as traditional is definitely dismissive: it suggests something oldfashioned, overshadowed by more recent developments, and hence of less value. In the same vein, reference to traditional philology often implies contrasting it with modern linguistics, inevitably at the expense of the former. In the field of education, traditional teaching methods generally enjoy a poor reputation. Interestingly, the further derivatives *traditionalist* and *traditionalism* reinforce this negative connotation, strongly suggesting something surpassed or obsolete, opposed to innovation, a point made by Williams (1983: 319-320).

6. Tradition in different disciplines

As a professional linguist I can manage to find my way about the ground covered by the first part of my title, tradition in linguistics, despite occasionally possible doubts and queries. Similarly, I assume that experts in other professions have no problems talking about, say, rationalist vs empiricist traditions, the Kantian tradition in philosophy, the Durkheimian in sociology, or the Keynesian in economics. Incidentally, a rough-and-ready indicator is the prefix Neo-: if you can put it in front of something, then that is undoubtedly a tradition (Neo-Humboldtian, Neo-Bloomfieldian, Neo-Firthian, Neo-Chomskyan, Neo-Kantian, Neo-Durkheimian, Neo-Keynesian are all well established terms in their respective fields).

It seems to me, however, that the notion of tradition is subject to some considerable variation depending on the nature of the discipline concerned, and moreover that a cline can be established here. At one end would be the "hard" or physical sciences, where the concept may be applied most strictly: a tradition is constituted by adherence to a well-defined system of ideas, research goals and methods, allowing repeated experimentation with a view to confirming or refuting hypotheses, etc.; anything not fitting

such a paradigm is clearly no part of the tradition. In the "soft" or social sciences, as well as in philosophy, which constitute the middle range of my proposed continuum, tradition tends to be understood more loosely, as a way of thinking about their subject matter. And at the other end I would place literature, where great writers stand out precisely thanks to their individual creative genius which may well keep at bay any potential followers, rather than inviting them.

In other words, whereas in science paradigms, models, research programmes etc. are set up that can be further developed and improved, thus forming a specific tradition, in creative writing any eager disciples would more likely be seen as imitators, in extreme cases risking the charge of plagiarism. As a non-expert I'm treading on slippery ground here, but I suppose literary pundits will know precisely what distinguishes specifically a Dantean or a Shakespearean tradition, as parts of the broader Classical and Elizabethan traditions respectively. Likewise, "Shakespearean tradition" itself may refer to a number of different items: theatre, tragedy, comedy, sonnet structure, stage design, costumes, and so on – and these narrowly focused references seem easier to grasp and interpret than the catch-all expression. And I do not even wish to ask how one might develop, let alone improve, the work of Kafka or Joyce.

My reservations are probably due to a feeling that the very notion of tradition, being based on similarity and continuity, properly implies a collectivity, a number, body or flow of whatever it refers to, and can be individualized to stress outstanding creative achievement, and thereby in effect difference, only secondarily and to a limited extent. But be that as it may, in literature, it would appear, tradition is best understood quite broadly, perhaps along the lines of T.S.Eliot's well-known early essay on the relationship of the individual poet to the tradition he participates in, invoking a "historical sense" of the presence of the past and the living legacy of dead predecessors (Eliot 1921/1950). Indeed, the past in the present is of the very essence of tradition – whereas, to turn the tables just for fun, the present in the past would more likely evoke Schlegel's definition of the historian as a prophet who predicts backwards.

7. Tradition in general

The second part of my title, tradition in general, I find rather more problematic than the first – and this is hardly surprising, given that higher-order abstractions are usually more difficult to handle than their more concrete realizations.

How does one deal with a culturally essential concept that is inescapably time-bound but of indefinite duration; whose beginning and end are frequently hard to identify; which may live, die or be revitalized; which is normally evaluated as positive unless it turns out to be negative, and is therefore carefully safeguarded but may likewise be dismissed as no longer useful or relevant; and which is authentic in all cases when it is not invented?

Frankly, I don't really know, but at least I hope to have suggested why *tradition*, precisely "in its most general modern sense", is "a particularly difficult word".

Given such a situation, perhaps you will allow me to take refuge in an anecdote. Professor E. Adelaide Hahn, a noted American Indo-Europeanist, known not only for her scholarly achievements but also for her rich and colourful collection of extravagant large hats which she wore as part of her everyday attire, once read a paper before the Linguistic Society of America (of which she was the first lady president, in 1946) entitled "On the accusative of specification in Gothic". Legend has it that after a protracted and complicated discussion she triumphantly declared that there had never been any such thing as the accusative of specification in Gothic; so she apparently delivered a longish lecture on a nonexistent subject. Now why did I remember this particular story, which I heard several decades ago, while preparing my own talk on tradition? Was it purely accidental? I'm not sure. In any case, I certainly do not wish to carry the comparison too far, as there definitely is such a thing as tradition – except that it is too elusive for me to confidently lift the veils covering its many faces and decide which are the prettiest ones. As little Alice might put it, the word somehow seems to fill my head with ideas, only I don't exactly know what they are...

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THE IDIOM PRINCIPLE IN ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA

Abstract

This paper examines how the "idiom principle" (Sinclair 1991) works in the language use of English as a Lingua Franca speakers. It is hypothesized that the idiom principle that drives word selection in monolinguals may be blocked in the L2 of bilinguals and the "open choice principle" governs instead. In order to investigate the validity of this hypothesis a small corpus of non-native speaker – non-native speaker (lingua franca) communication is examined and compared to a similar study (Kecskes 2007) where the bilingual speakers used their L2 (English).

Based on the two studies we can conclude that the "idiom principle" is the most salient guiding mechanism in any language production. But it results in less formulaic language use in L2 than in L1 of bilinguals. This claim basically concurs with the findings of other studies (cf. Bolander 1989; Pawley and Syder 1983; Warga 2008; Weinert 1995) that also talked about the limited use of formulaic language in L2.[1]

Keywords: idiom principle, formulaic language, psychological salience, second language idiom processing, lingua franca, open choice principle

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[1] This is a version of a study that was published as Chapter 2. in Roberto Heredia and Anna Cieslicka (eds.) Bilingual Figurative Language Processing. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Pp. 28-53, 2015.

1. Introduction

Based on the findings of some studies that argued that even advanced L2 users have difficulty with formulaic language (Ellis, Simpson-Vlach & Carson 2008; Kecskes 2007; Prodromou 2008; Warga 2005) this paper hypothesizes that the *idiom principle* (Sinclair, 1991) that drives word selection in monolinguals may be blocked in the L2 of bilinguals and the *open choice principle* governs instead. In order to investigate the validity of this hypothesis a small corpus of non-native speaker – non-native speaker (*lingua franca*) communication is examined where the bilingual speakers use their L2 (English).

Before analyzing bilingual speech production there is a need to discuss utterance production in general and discuss why formulaic language has a special role in both production and comprehension. In some recent publications (Kecskes 2012, 2014), I argued that speaker's utterance, no matter what language s/he uses is the result of the interplay of salience and recipient design. While fitting words into actual situational contexts, speakers are driven not only by the intent (*conscious*) that the hearer recognize what is meant as intended by the speaker (*cooperation*), but also by speaker individual salience that affects production subconsciously (*egocentrism*). The interplay of these social (cooperation) and individual factors (egocentrism) shapes the communicative process.

In order to succeed, speakers must correctly express intended illocutionary acts by using appropriate words, and make their attempt in an adequate context. Speakers relate propositional contents to the world (actual situational context; audience) with the intention of establishing a correspondence between words and things from a certain direction of fit. Speaker's utterance is a full proposition that is the result of the speaker's intention that is a private reaction to a communicative situation. Speaker's intention is expressed in lexical items whose selection is affected not only by recipient design but also by speaker's egocentrism governed by salience. Salience, which operates subconsciously and automatically, may affect word selection and utterance formation just like recipient design.

Salience affecting language production is motivated by both private and collective elements. What is salient for a speaker is based on prior experience of that individual. However, the mechanism according to which salience works is also affected by universal elements and forces that language users share with others. One such phenomenon is *the economy*

principle in language use. Human beings want to achieve as much as possible with the least possible effort both in production and comprehension. In the *Relevance Theory* (Sperber & Wilson 1995) *economy* has been used with two functions: first to explain how cognitive processes are linked to utterance interpretation (processing efforts must be balanced by cognitive effects), second to explain how communication may be successful (inferences complete the underspecified content of the utterance to obtain its intended meaning). In other words, economy is a property of the cognitive system devoted to utterance interpretation, and is also required in order to ensure successful communication, by the computational devices, which are combined with linguistic decoding to yield the intended meaning of an utterance.

There is psycholinguistic evidence that fixed expressions and formulas have an important economizing role in speech production (cf. Miller & Weinert 1998; Wray 2002). Sinclair's (1991) *idiom principle* says that the use of prefabricated chunks may ... *illustrate a natural tendency to economy of effort* (1991: 110). This means that in communication we want to achieve more cognitive effects with less processing effort. Formulaic expressions ease the processing overload not only because they are *ready-made* and do not require of the speaker/hearer any *putting together,* but also because their salient meanings are easily accessible in online production and processing.

Wray (2002) said that by favoring formulaic units speakers are able to reduce both their own processing – the larger the units, the fewer the operations needed to construct the message – and also the processing load of the hearer. She argued that there are major benefits to the speaker in ensuring that the hearer does not have to engage in too much processing. She also proposed that both parties are to some extent obliged to find ways of minimizing their processing, because the grammar of human language is too complex for human memory to cope with all the time (Wray 2002: 15). Thus Wray converged with Sinclair's proposal (1991) that the formulaic option, which he calls the *idiom principle*, is the *default processing strategy*. Analytic processing, the *open choice principle* in Sinclair's terminology, is invoked only when the idiom principle fails.

This is the main point in this paper. *Being the default processing strategy the formulaic option (i.e., idiom principle) is expected to be most salient in language production*. It means that the speaker is expected to come up primarily with utterances that contain ready-made, formulaic expression(s)

if possible and plausible. If it is not, the *open choice principle* steps in. This looks like a logical mechanism in monolingual language production where participants can rely on the mutual understanding of formulaic expressions that are motivated by common ground, conventions, commonalities, norms, common beliefs and mutual knowledge. But is that also the case in bilingual speakers when they use their L2? Does their mind prewired for the *idiom principle* follow pass with the required circumstances (partly) missing? No matter which of their languages they use, bilingual speakers, to some extent, miss common ground, conventions, communalities, norms, etc. In order for us to answer these questions, we first need to look at how the i*diom principle* works in monolingual language production.

2. Formulaic Units

By *formulaic language* we usually mean multi-word collocations which are stored and retrieved holistically rather than being generated *de novo* with each use. Collocations, fixed semantic units, frozen metaphors, phrasal verbs, speech formulas, idioms and situation-bound utterances can all be considered as examples of formulaic language (Howarth 1998; Kecskes 2000; Wray 1999, 2005, 2005). These word strings occurring together tend to convey holistic meanings that are either more than the sum of the individual parts, or else diverge significantly from a literal, or word-for-word meaning and operate as a single semantic unit (Gairns & Redman 1986: 35).

Formulaic language is the heart and soul of native-like language use. In intercultural communication, the type of communication in which bilinguals usually participate most frequently, one of the major issues is to decide how exactly we expect interlocutors to use the common language, the *lingua franca,* which is English in this study. Is it enough for the participants just to use the common language as a system of linguistics signs (sticking mainly to the literal meanings of lexical units) with possible meanings that are disambiguated and negotiated in the process of interaction, or do we expect that the interlocutors stick to the rules of the game and do similarly to what the native speakers of that language do (i.e., rely on both prefabricated chunks and *ad-hoc* generated elements and combine them in a creative way?).

In monolingual production there is hardly any doubt about the salience of the *idiom principle*. Coulmas (1981: 1) argued that much of what is actually said in everyday conversation is by no means unique. *Rather, a great deal of communicative activity consists of enacting routines making use of prefabricated linguistic units in a well-known and generally accepted manner*. He continued claiming that *successful co-ordination of social intercourse heavily depends on standardized ways of organizing interpersonal encounters* (p. 3). Howarth (1998) also talked about the fact that native speaker linguistic competence has a large and significant phraseological component. This means that the ability to sound idiomatic (i.e., achieving *nativelike selection*, in the words of Pawley and Syder, 1983) plays a very important role in language production and comprehension. This fact has a profound effect on how we explain intercultural interaction because both figurative and formulaic language is the result of conventionalization and standardization which is supported by regular use of certain lexical units for particular purposes in a speech community. This is usually what non-native speakers have limited access to in the target language.

People using a particular language and belonging to a particular speech community have *preferred ways of saying things* (cf. Kecskes 2007; Wray 2002) and *preferred ways of organizing thoughts* (Kecskes 2007). Preferred ways of saying things are generally reflected in the use of formulaic language and figurative language, while preferred ways of organizing thoughts can be detected through analyzing, for instance, the use of subordinate conjunctions, clauses and discourse markers. Selecting the right words and expressions and formulating utterances in ways preferred by the native speakers of that language (*nativelike selection*) is more important than syntax. The following example from a sign in an Austrian hotel catering to skiers (Octopus 1995: 144) demonstrates this clearly.

(1) *Not to perambulate the corridors in the hours of repose in the boots of descension*.
Correctly: *Don't walk in the halls in ski boots at night*.

The sentence shows absolutely bad word choices but acceptable syntax. The content of the sentence can be expressed by different word combinations. However, the words selected by the writer of this sentence hardly make much sense when put together even if the right syntax is sued. The person

was likely to have used a dictionary with word equivalency as a selection principle.

3. Psychological Saliency and the Formulaic Continuum

Psychological saliency of word sequences

The importance of formulaic language was noticed in earlier linguistic research. Hymes (1962) pointed out that an immense portion of verbal behavior consists of linguistic routines. Bolinger (1976, p. 2) suggested that *speakers do at least as much remembering as they do putting together*. Fillmore (1976: 4) also found that *an enormously large amount of natural language is formulaic, automatic and rehearsed, rather than propositional, creative or freely generated*. However, with the appearance of huge corpora, understanding formulaic language has become more complicated. Working with large corpora Altenberg (1998) went so far as to claim that almost 80% of our language production can be considered formulaic. Whatever the proportion actually is, one thing is for sure: speakers in conventional speech situations tend to do more remembering than putting together. *Our everyday conversations are often restricted to short routinized interchanges where we do not always mean what we say.* So a typical conversation between a customer and a store assistant may look like this:

> (2) Conversation between store assistant (A), and Customer (B).
> A: – *What can I do for you?*
> C: – *Thank you, I am just looking.*
> A: – *Are you looking for something particular?*
> C: – *No, not really.*
> A: – *If you need help, just let me know.*

None of the expressions used by the speakers look freely generated. Each of them can be considered a formula that is tied to this particular kind of situation. However, if we consider the following conversation, we may see something different.

> (3) Sam (S) and Bob (B) are talking.
> S: – ***If you want*** *to see me again you will need to do* ***what I tell you*** *to.*
> B: – *OK,* ***my friend.***

Can the expressions in bold be considered formulas? Are they in any way different from the ones in example (2)? There is no doubt that the expressions in bold consist of words that are frequently used together. But are they formulas here? Do they have some kind of psychological saliency as formulas for the speakers? We must be careful with the answer because *frequency is only one of the criteria* based on which we can identify formulaic expressions. The problem is that the role of frequency seems to be overemphasized in present day linguistics, especially in corpus linguistics. Recent research analyzing written and spoken discourse has established that highly frequent, recurrent sequences of words, variously called lexical bundles, chunks, and multiword expressions, are not only salient but also functionally significant. Cognitive research demonstrated that knowledge of these ready-made expressions is crucial for fluent processing. The recurrent nature of these units is discussed in the relevant literature (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, Finegan 1999; McEnery & Wilson, 1996). Simpson-Vlach and Ellis (2010) confirmed that large stretches of language are adequately described as collocational streams where patterns flow into each other. However, Sinclair's (1991) *idiom principle* is based not primarily on frequency that results in long lists of recurrent word sequences (Biber, Conrad & Cortes 2004; Biber et al. 1999), which hardly give any chance to distinguish where we have conventionalized formulas or where we have just frequently occurring word chunks that lack psychological saliency. Biber et al. (1999: 990), in their study of *lexical bundles*, defined formulaic language as *sequences of word forms that commonly go together in natural discourse*, irrespective of their structural make-up or idiomaticity, and argued that conversation has a larger amount of lexical bundle types than academic prose. However, there seems to be a clear difference from the perspective of psychological saliency between sequences such as *to tell the truth*, *as a matter of fact* on the one hand, and *if they could …* or *to make it* on the other, although all these expressions are high on any frequency-based list. This is why we need to distinguish between groups of prefabricated expressions that have psychological saliency for speakers of a particular language community and loosely-tied, frequently occurring word-sequences (usually consisting of common words) such as *if they want, to do with it*, *and of the*, *tell them to*, etc. Simpson-Vlach and Ellis (2010) argued that psycholinguistically salient sequences like *on the other hand, suffice it to say* cohere much more than would be expected by chance. They are *glued together* and thus measures of association, rather than raw frequency, are likely more relevant to these formulaic expressions.

Second language (L2) studies that are relevant for bilinguals show something different. They emphasize the importance of frequency in processing formulaic language. Ellis et al. (2008) argued that formula processing by nonnatives, despite their many years of English as a second language (ESL) instruction, was a result of the frequency of the string rather than its coherence. For learners at that stage of development, it is the number of times the string appears in the input that determines fluency. Ellis et al. argued that tuning the system according to frequency of occurrence alone is not enough for nativelike accuracy and efficiency. According to those authors, what is additionally required is tuning the system for coherence–for co-occurrence greater than chance. Ellis et al. (2008) claimed that this is what solves the two puzzles for linguistic theory posed by Pawley and Syder (1983), nativelike selection and nativelike fluency. Native speakers have extracted the underlying co-occurrence information, often implicitly from usage; nonnatives, even advanced ESL learners with more than ten years of English instruction, still have a long way to go in their sampling of language. These learners are starting to recognize and become attuned to more frequent word sequences, but they need help to recognize distinctive formulas.

Why is this issue important for bilinguals? It is because the development of psychological validity/saliency of these expressions in L2 is *a matter of not only frequency and exposure to the language use but also immersion in the culture and the wish of the nonnative speaker whether s/he wants to use them or not.* Frequent encounters with these expressions for nonnative speakers help but are not enough to develop psychological saliency, as the following encounter between a Korean student and a clerk at the Registrar's office demonstrates:

(4) Korean student (Lee) and Registrar (Clerk) encounter.
   Lee: – *Could you sign this document for me, please?*
   Clerk: – ***Come again***...?
   Lee: – *Why should I come again? I am here now.*

In spite of the distinctive intonation used by the clerk when uttering *come again*, the Korean student processed the expression not as a formula but a freely generated expression with literal meaning. So what really counts is the *measures of association, rather than raw frequency*. *What creates psychological saliency is the discursive function in a particular context of that expression*. The functional aspect is what makes immersion in the culture

important for nonnative speakers, because that is where those functions come from.

The difference in developing and using formulaic language in native and nonnative speakers raises the questions: *Not having "nativelike selections" skills and "nativelike fluency" how much can bilingual speakers stick to the original rules of the game in intercultural interactions when using their L2? How salient is the "idiom principle" in L2 language production of lingua franca speakers?*

I will try to answer the question by analyzing natural language data. However, before the analysis we will briefly need to have a look at the various groups of formulas that will be subject to analysis.

The formulaic continuum

Certain language sequences have conventionalized meanings which are used in predictable situations. This functional aspect, however, is different in nature in each type of fixed expression, which justifies the hypothesis of a *continuum* (Kecskes 2003, 2007) that contains grammatical units (e.g. *be going to*) on the left, fixed semantic units (cf. *as a matter of fact; suffice it to say*) in the middle, and pragmatic expressions (such as situation-bound utterances: *welcome aboard; help yourself*) and idioms (*make ends meet, spill the beans*) on the right. This continuum (see Table 1 below) categorizes only those expressions that are motivated and have some psychological saliency for the speakers of a speech community.

Table 1. Formulaic Continuum

Grammar Units	Fixed Semantic Units	Phrasal Verbs	Speech Formulas	Situation-bound Utterances	Idioms
going to	*as a matter of fact*	*put up with*	*going shopping*	*welcome aboard*	*kick the bucket*
have to	*suffice it to say*	*get along with*	*not bad you know*	*help yourself*	*spill the beans*

The more we move to the right on the functional continuum, the wider the gap seems to become between compositional meaning and actual situational meaning of expressions. Language development often results in a change of function (i.e. a right to left or left to right movement of a linguistic unit on the continuum). Lexical items such as *going to* can become grammaticalized, or lexical phrases may lose their compositionality and develop an *institutionalized* function, such as *I'll talk to you later*, *Have a nice day, Welcome aboard*, *Be my guest,* and the like. Speech formulas such as *you know, not bad, that's all right* are similar to situation-bound utterances (SBU). The difference between them is that while SBUs are usually tied to particular speech situations, speech formulas can be used anywhere in the communication process where the speakers find them appropriate. See, for instance, the difference between *nice to meet you* and *you know* or *have a nice weekend* and *kinda.*

4. Pilot study

In 2007 I conducted a cross-sectional survey to investigate how bilingual English *Lingua Franca* speakers use formulaic language in order to answer the following question: With no native speakers participating in the language game how much will the players stick to the original rules of the game? (Kecskes, 2007) I thought that the best way to answer this question is to focus on formulaic expressions that are the reflections of *nativelikeness* that is best defined as knowing preferred ways of saying things and preferred ways of organizing thoughts in a language.

Data were collected in spontaneous *lingua franca* communication. Participants were 13 adult individuals in two groups with the following first languages: Spanish, Chinese, Polish, Portuguese, Czech, Telugu, Korean and Russian. All subjects came from the Albany community and had spent a minimum of six months in the U.S. and had at least intermediate knowledge of English before arriving. None of them had English as their first language. Both Group 1 (7 students) and Group 2 (6 students) participated in a 30-minute discussion about the following topics: housing in the area, jobs, and local customs. The conversations were undirected, and uncoached. Subjects said what they wanted to say. No native speaker was present. Conversations were recorded and then transcribed, which resulted in a 13,726 word database.

Data analysis focused on the types of formulaic units given in Table 1 above. The questions I sought to answer can be summarized as follows:

(1) How does the use of formulas relate to the ad hoc generated expressions in the data?
(2) What type of fixed expressions did the subjects prefer?
(3) What formulas did speakers create on their own?

Findings

The database consists of 13,726 words. Table 2 below shows the number of words that represent the six types of formulaic units that I focused on in the database. Words were counted in each type of formulaic chunk in the transcripts. Following are samples for each unit:

Grammatical units: I am **going to** stay here; you **have to** do that
Fixed semantic units: **after a while, for the time being, once a month, for a long time**
Phrasal verbs: they were **worried about** me; **take care of** the kids
Speech formulas: **not bad; that's why; you know; I mean; that's fine**
Situation-bound utterances: h**ow are you?; have a nice day; you are all set**
Idioms: **give me a ride; that makes sense**

Table 2. Number of Expressions that Represent the Six Types
of Formulaic Units

Grammar Units	Fixed Semantic Units	Phrasal Verbs	Speech Formulas	Situation-bound Utterances	Idioms	Total
102	235	281	250	57	115	1040

What is striking is the relatively low occurrence of formulaic expressions in the database. There were 1,040 formulas total used as formulaic expressions out of 13,726 in the corpus, which is only 7.6%. Even if we know that this low percentage refers only to one particular database, and the results may change significantly if our focus is on other databases, it is still much less

than linguists speak about when they address the issue of *formulaicity* in native speaker conversation. Even if our database is very limited and does not let us make generalizations about *lingua franca* communication, one thing seems to be obvious. *As far as formulaic language use is concerned there seems to be a significant difference between native speaker communication and lingua franca communication with bi- and multilingual speakers.* Non-native speakers appear to rely on prefabricated expressions in their *lingua franca* language production to a much smaller extent than native speakers. The question is why this is so. To give an answer to the question we should look at the distribution of formula types in the database displayed in Table 2.

Most frequent occurrences are registered in three groups: fixed semantic units, phrasal verbs, and speech formulas. It is interesting to mention that Ortactepe (2012) also found in her study that these three types of formulaic expressions are the ones most used and preferred in nonnative speaker language production. However, we have to be careful with speech formulas that constitute a unique group, because if we examine the different types of expressions within the group we can see that three expressions (*you know*; *I / you mean*; *you're right*) account for 66.8% (167 out of 250) of all units counted in this group. The kind of frequency that we see in the use of these three expressions is not comparable to any other expressions in the database. This seems to make sense because these particular speech formulas may fulfill a variety of different functions such as *back-channeling* (i.e., cases in which a listener utters short speech formulas such as right, I see, OK, etc. to signal to the speaker that she follows or agrees with him), *filling a gap*, and the like. They are also used very frequently by native speakers so it is easy for non-native speakers to pick them up.

If we disregard speech formulas for the reason explained above, formulas that occur in higher frequency than any other expressions are fixed semantic units and phrasal verbs. We did not have a native speaker control group, but we can speculate that this might not be so in native speaker communication. It can be hypothesized (based on studies mentioned earlier) that native speakers use the groups of formulas in a relatively balanced way, or at least in their speech production fixed semantic units and phrasal verbs do not show priority to the extent shown in *lingua franca* communication. How can this preference of fixed semantic units and phrasal verbs by non-native speakers be explained? How does this issue relate to the first observation about the amount of formulas in native speaker communication and *lingua franca* communication of bilinguals?

As the *think aloud* sessions (in which subjects talked about their own language production) demonstrated, the two issues are interrelated. English as a *Lingua Franca* (ELF) speakers usually avoid the use of formulaic expressions not necessarily because, as they explained, they do not know these phrases, but because they are worried that their interlocutors, who are also nonnative speakers, will not understand them properly. They are reluctant to use language that they know, or perceive to be figurative or semantically less transparent (see also Philip 2005). ELF speakers try to come as close to the compositional meaning of expressions as possible because they think that, if there is no figurative and/or metaphorical meaning involved, their partners will process the English words and expressions the way they meant them. Since bilingual speakers come from different socio-cultural backgrounds and represent different cultures, *the mutual knowledge they may share is usually restricted to the knowledge of the linguistic code.* Consequently, semantic analyzability seems to play a decisive role in ELF speech production. This assumption is supported by the fact that the most frequently used formulaic expressions are the fixed semantic units and phrasal verbs in which there is semantic transparency to a much greater degree than in idioms, situation-bound utterances, or speech formulas. Of course, one can argue that phrasal verbs may frequently express figurative meaning and function like idioms, such as *I never hang out…*; *they will kick me out from my home...* However, when I found cases like this in the database, I listed the phrasal verb among the category "idioms" rather than "phrasal verbs." So the group of phrasal verbs above contains expressions in which there is usually clear semantic transparency.

Our subjects were more advanced speakers. This is important because there is a difference in formulaic language use between less and more proficient non-native speakers. Based on longitudinal studies both Howarth (1998) and Ortactepe (2011) came to the conclusion that less proficient learners pick up formulaic expressions and overuse them, while more advanced learners prefer *to generate* their own sentences rather than resorting to prefabricated units, a process that Howarth (1998, p. 29) refers to as *deliberate creativity*. Formulaic expressions provide non-native speakers with *survival phrases that achieve basic socio-interactional functions* (Wray & Perkins 2000: 23). They have automatic access to prefabricated chunks, and this eases communication especially in the early stages of language learning (cf. Nattinger & DeCarrico 1992; Wray 2002).

According to Segalowitz and Freed (2004), at later stages of language development, formulaic expressions function as a database for non-native speakers from which *learners abstract recurrent patterns, leading to the mastery of grammatical regularities* (2004: 403). Wray (2002) considers this creative tendency of advanced learners as a major problem resulting from *the production of perfectly grammatical utterances that are simply not used by native speakers* (2002: 147). This claim is in line with my finding about the language use of *lingua franca* speakers. Pawley and Syder (1983) referred to this deliberate creativity of relatively advanced L2 learners as a process of over-generating and producing grammatical, non-idiomatic utterances due to not having accumulated the native repertoire of formulaic expressions as *nativelike competence and fluency demand such idiomaticity* (Ellis 2003: 12).

The danger for *lingua franca* speakers in the use of formulaic language is that they often pick up these expressions without comprehending the socio-cultural load that they carry. This is especially true for situation-bound utterances in which it is usually the figurative meaning that is dominant rather than the literal meaning. In *lingua franca* communication, if one of the interactants does not know this figurative meaning and processes the utterance literally, misunderstanding may occur, such as in the following conversation between a Chinese and a Turkish student.

(4) Conversation between a Chinese and a Turkish student;
Chinese: – I think Peter drank a bit too much at the party yesterday.
Turkish: – Eh, *tell me about it*. He always drinks too much.
Chinese: – When we arrived he drank beer. Then Mary gave him some vodka. Later he drank some wine. Oh, too much.
Turkish: – Why are you telling me this? I was there.
Chinese:-Yes, but you told me to tell about it.

Here the Turkish student used the expression "tell me about it" figuratively as a formula, while the Chinese student processed it literally. In order to avoid cases like this, *lingua franca speakers stick to literal rather than figurative production.* The use of semantically transparent language resulted in fewer misunderstandings and communication breakdowns than expected in my survey. This finding of my study corresponds with House's observation about the same phenomena (House 2003).

Another example of this interesting phenomenon in the database is the *endeavor of speakers creating their own formulas. This phenomenon*

fully confirms the general priority of the idiom principle as most salient even in bilingual language production. Speakers (let them be mono- or multilinguals) make an effort to use formulas, not matter which language of theirs they use. This tendency was noted in some other studies as well (e.g. Cheng et al. 2009; Pitzl 2012).

The formulas our subjects created can be split into two categories. In the first category, we can find expressions that are used only once and demonstrate an effort to sound metaphorical. However, this endeavor is usually driven by the first language (L1) of the speaker in which there may be an equivalent expression for the given idea. For instance:

(5) Formulas that demonstrate an effort to sound metaphorical.
it is almost skips from my thoughts
you are not very rich in communication
take a school

The other category comprises expressions that are created on the spot during the conversations and are picked up by the members of the *ad hoc* speech community. One of the participants creates or coins an expression that is needed in the discussion of a given topic. It becomes a part of the interculture being created (cf. Kecskes 2013). This unit functions like a *target language formula,* the use of which may be accepted by the participants in the given conversation, as demonstrated by the fact that other participants also pick it up and use it. However, this is just a temporary formula that may be entirely forgotten when the conversation is over. This is a typical example of how intercultures are created. For instance:

(6) Formulas created on the spot or *ad hoc*.
we connect each other very often
native American (in the sense of native speaker of American English)

Lingua franca speakers frequently coin or create their own ways of expressing themselves effectively, and the mistakes they may make will carry on in their speech, even though the correct form is there for them to imitate. For instance, several participants adopted the phrase *native Americans* to refer to native speakers of American English. Although in the "think aloud" conversation session, the correct expression (*native speaker of American English*) was repeated several times by one of the researchers, the erroneous formula "native Americans" kept being used by the *lingua franca* speakers. They even joked about it and said that the use of target language formulas coined by them in their temporary speech community

was considered like a "joint venture" and created a special feeling of camaraderie in the group.

Based on this study we can say that with no native speakers participating in the language game the *lingua franca* (L2) speakers can't always keep the original rules of the game. *So the "idiom principle" does not seem to be working as it does in L1.* Kecskes (2007) argued that actual speech situations in *lingua franca* communication can be considered open social situations which do not encourage the use of formulaic language. In first language communication we have much more closed social situations defined by the parameters and values taken for granted in them (see Clark 1996: 297). The result of these closed social situations is a highly routine procedure. For instance:

(7) Close social situations.
     Bar: – *Two vodka tonics.*
     Museum ticket booth: – *Three adults and one child.*

In close social situations the participants know their roles. Clark (1996) claimed that the interlocutors' rights, duties, and potential joint purposes are usually quite clear. All they need to establish is the joint purpose for that occasion that they can do with a routine procedure. The first interlocutor initiates the conversational routine often with a phrasal unit, and the second interlocutor completes it by complying. Use of conversational routines and formulas requires shared background knowledge of which there is very little in *lingua franca* communication. Therefore it is quite clear why *lingua franca* communicators avoid formulaic language. For them literality plays a powerful role. But does this really mean that the *idiom principle* works differently when bilinguals use their L1 or L2?

5. Dataset

I conducted another study to examine what happens to speech production of bilingual speakers when they participate in *lingua franca* communication. Will the *idiom principle* be really blocked for them? Or will their language production still be driven by the salience of the *idiom principle* resulting in significant attempts to use formulas rather than freely generated expressions?

I examined the language production of bilingual non-native speakers of English in seven conversations. These conversations were 30-minute recordings of spontaneous speech on topics like health, sports, living in Albany and the like. The participants were as follows: C1 Japanese and Korean, C2 Korean and Turkish, C3 Korean and Chinese, C4 Japanese and Chinese, C5 Chinese and Korean, C6 Korean and Burmese, C7 African-French and Korean. As it can be seen, the participants were mainly Asian speakers with two exceptions. There is a major difference between the research on *lingua franca* described in the previous chapter and this one. In the former project I focused on the general use of all types of formulaic expressions in the conversations. In this research my main focus was on the *idiom principle* and the way bilingual speakers structured certain sequences within the conversations. Two types of production sequences were selected within the 30-minute sessions: "A," how do participants introduce themselves (closed social situation) and "B" one new topic introduction from each conversation (open social situation) that was usually the first attempt to change the topic in the conversation. The excerpts I used for analysis can be found in the Appendix.

6. Salience of Formulaic Expressions

How do participants introduce themselves?

Out of the seven conversations, we have introduction in four cases (C1, C3, C4, C7). In the other three cases speakers started in *medias res*, right in the middle. Introduction that is supposed to be a closed social situation requires formulaicity in most languages. Our four examples demonstrate that the *idiom principle* usually works in the L2 if the bilingual speakers are in a well-known closed social situation that exists across cultures. The speakers relied mainly on well-known situation-bound utterances rather than freely generated expressions. For instance:

   – *Let me introduce myself first.*
   – *So glad to meet you. Let me ask you how long you have been here?*
   – *Can I ask your name?*
   – *Nice to meet you.*
   – *How long have you been here?*

In the other three conversations there is no direct introduction because the subjects knew each other. But the start of conversation in each case shows an endeavor to use formulaic expressions such as

Do you like sports?
What kind of sports?
… do you think there are many activities in Albany…
…. do you keep yourself healthy?

It is important to note that our subjects were students with pre-advanced level of English. They were all familiar with the formulas that are used in introduction in the target language.

Introducing a new topic

New topic introduction is an open social situation. Although the frame is well known, language that is associated with it is much less formalized than in close social situations. As the examples below demonstrate, each subject used mainly some *ad hoc* generated way to introduce the topic. However, the *idiom principle* was still on because the *ad hoc* generated utterance chunks are combined with some formulaic expressions that are relevant to the matter the participants attempted to talk about like in C3B, C6B and C7B.

C1B: – Ok it's been three or… three months so far right? Do you like living in Albany? Living in America?
C2B: – ……… And my country … in my country peoples don't like sport.
C3B: – So what about here?
C4B: – So can you please tell me the difficulties in life here.
C5B: – Another thing I noticed about American food is that … although its contains a lot of fat or something unhealthy, but there's always options you can choose like low … low calorie grocery or zero calorie version of diet thing
C6B: – And what about … do you care more about … food? Since this is like another other foreign country … so do you take care more about choosing some food?
C7B: – You say you live in Albany so how is the place where you live? Can you describe the place where you live?

Comparison of the bilingual project with the lingua franca project

It is interesting to compare the numbers in the bilingual project (BP) with those of the *lingua franca* project (LFP). The similarities are striking although the subjects were totally different, their language proficiency was also different, and they talked about different topics. In the BP the subjects worked in pairs, while in the LFP there were 6-7 subjects in each group. In the bilingual project only five groups of formulas were considered, while in the LFP grammatical formulas were also counted.

Table 3. Number of Formulas that Represent the Five Types of Formulas
in the Bilingual Project

Fixed Semantic Units	Phrasal Verbs	Speech Formulas	Situation-bound Utterances	Idioms	Total
276	133	227	240	156	1032

Note. Total number of words: 13513; Total number of formulas: 1032; Percentage: 7.63%

Table 4. Number of Expressions that Represent the Six Types
of Formulaic Units in the Lingua Franca Study (same as Table 2.)

Grammar Units	Fixed Semantic Units	Phrasal Verbs	Speech Formulas	Situation-bound Utterances	Idioms	Total
102	235	281	250	57	115	1040

Note. Total number of words: 13726; Total number of formulas: 1040; Percentage: 7.57%

7. Discussion and Conclusion

The research revealed some important features of bilingual language use. Based on the presented results we can claim that the *idiom principle* does not seem to depend on how many languages an individual can speak and on what level. The important thing is that *the economy principle affects the use of any language of bilinguals and multilinguals*, the question only is to what extent. Human beings want to achieve as much as possible with the

least possible effort, both in production and comprehension. The best way to do that is to use as many prefabricated chunks of language and possible and combine them with *ad hoc* generated utterances in a creative way. So the hypothesis about the *idiom principle* being blocked in subsequent languages was not supported by this study. However, there is another side of the matter: How can bilinguals cope with the requirements of the *idiom principle* in their L2? Does the principle operate to full extent as in L1? The results of both studies show that not exactly. There are several factors that are not present in L1 but are there in L2 affecting the functioning of the *idiom principle* in different degree. Such factors include language proficiency, willingness to use certain formulas, language fluency of other participants, lack of core common ground, and others. As a result, the actual production of formulaic expressions in the L2 of a bilingual will always be lower than in L1.

As mentioned above, there are several variables in which the two studies differ. However, they show striking similarities in the use of formulaic language in general. The total number of words in both projects is very close: LFP: 13726, BP: 13513, and so are the total number of formulaic expressions: LFP: 1040, BP: 1032. It just cannot be by chance that these numbers are so close. The number of fixed semantic units and speech formulas is also very similar. This refers to the fact that the conclusion of the LFP (Kecskes 2007) was correct when it emphasized that bilinguals in their L2 when participating in *lingua franca* communication prefer the use of semantically more transparent language to formulaic language, so as to make sure that they will be understood by all interactants.

Although the general use of formulaic language is very similar in the two studies, there are still differences in the distribution of formulas under the influence of specific variables mentioned above. For instance, there are differences in the use of phrasal verbs and situation-bound utterances. In the bilingual project the subjects used much more situation-bound utterances than in the LFP. However, the use of phrasal expressions shows a different picture. The use of situation-bound utterances is a sign of the L2 language socialization process (cf. Kecskes 2003; Ortactepe 2012). The bilingual participants had pre-advanced proficiency in English and overall spent more time in the target language environment than the subjects in the LFP whose proficiency level was intermediate. Besides, the subjects in the BP were students while in the LFP participants came from the community.

There is also explanation for the significant difference in the use of phrasal expressions that was used much more frequently by the LFP subjects. As mentioned above, the participants of the *lingua franca* projects came from the Albany community to improve their English in evening classes conducted by TESOL students. Their syllabus put special emphasis on the use of phrasal verbs in English.

Based on the two studies (LFP and BP) we can conclude that, although the *idiom principle* affects any language production, it results in less formulaic language use in L2 than in L1 of bilinguals. This claim basically concurs with the findings of other studies (cf. Bolander 1989; Pawley & Syder 1983; Warga 2008; Weinert 1995) that also talked about the restricted use of formulaic language in L2.

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Appendix: Excerpts

C1: Korean and Japanese

A

–   Can I ask your name?
–   I'm Tsubasa.
–   Tsubasa, ok
–   And your?
–   Seungjung, I'm from South Korea.

B

–   Ok it's been three or… three months so far right? Do you like living in Albany? Living in America?
–   Yes I like..
–   What makes you like this life? What is your … like .. What you like about living in Albany?
–   I stay here only 4 month in this semester so I have no time. I go to many place… I went to Boston, Washington DC, of course New York City

C2: Korean and Turkish

A

–   Sports. Do you like the sports?
–   I like
–   What kind of sports?
–   I like tennis

- Oh ok
- And soccer
- Soccer
- When I was young I played soccer.

B

- ……… And my country … in my country peoples don't like sport.
- Oh really
- I like but … they like but they haven't time. I see in Albany too many people like sport. And they run and fitness.
- Yeah
- They fitness. Too many people play tennis. So I think they sport . they they keep yourselves healthy.

C3: Korean and Chinese

A

- How long have you been here?
- Oh like a…. Getting to be … almost one year
- One year?
- Yeah, almost one year. But it's like … ten months. … since ive been here
- Oh it's good.
- Two months to go..

B

- So what about here?
- Well the only experience I got from here was like hanging out with American college students. And they were like … I think they were really fun to hanging out … inside the house. Having drinks inside the house not going out... maybe sometimes go out for a drink….

C4: Chinese and Japanese

A

– Let me introduce myself first. I'm a visiting scholar from a Chinese university. Ok. So we are familiar.
– (laughing)
– Because we are neighbors. Actually … right. So glad to meet you. Let me ask you how long you have been here?
– Two and a half month.

B

– So can you please tell me the difficulties in life here..
– Ah.
– Or challenges.
– Everything difficult.
– Very. Could you please give me some examples?
– Shopping is difficult.
– Yeah … really… would you please describe it in detail?
– In [shopright?] … we have to put on … my good … belt … on the belt …

C5: Chinese and Korean

A

– I surely … do you think there are many activities in Albany … are …. Do you many activities are in Albany to s…. keep healthy ?
– Yeah, actually on campus you know there is a gym.
– A gym … ah I heard… I heard students can swim.

B

– Another thing I noticed about American food is that … although its contains a lot of fat or something unhealthy, but there's always options you can choose like low … low calorie grocery or zero calorie version of diet thing.
– Right right.
– The diet version you can always choose like….

– Right.
– That's what I select … what I choose when I have to eat American food.

C6: Korean and Burmese

A

– ok good. … mmmm … do you keep yourself healthy? So I just want to ask do you exercise on a regular basis? Here in Albany?
– Ah no. but sometime I did it. But sometime not. It's not always.
– Not always.
– Yeah.

B

– And what about … do you care more about … food? Since this is like another other foreign country … so do you take care more about choosing some food?
– Yeah I choose some food.
– Oh like what?
– Like … You know in my country like a … we always eat rice and soup…
– Oh right, you are from …
– Burma like ...

C7: African French and Korean

A

– My name is Patrick.
– My name is Emi.
– Emi. Nice to meet you.
– Me too. Nice to meet you.
– It's not very formal. You can answer a few questions in an informal way. Just be relaxed.

B

– You say you live in Albany so how is the place where you live? Can you describe the place where you live?
– What? Sorry.
– I mean the place where you live. You said you live in Albany right?
– Place? What place? Korea
– Place … place…
– Ah place… describe in Albany
– Yeah is it a good place? How is it? How are the houses there? Can you walk out straight and get the first … do you like the place where you live here in Albany?
– I like living in Albany. Because the Albany is the… especially I [word] almost two months… it's quiet … nice people … neighbor…
– Yeah you have nice neighbors.
– Yeah and making [word]

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PULLING (CLOSER) AND PUSHING (AWAY): VERBS EXPRESSING ATTRACTION AND REPULSION IN ENGLISH

Abstract
Set within the theoretical framework of cognitive semantics and the embodied cognition thesis, and based on the force-dynamic system (Talmy 2000) and the image schema concept (Johnson 1987), the paper explores some of the prototypical verbal exponents of the ATTRACTION and REPULSION image schemas. Its aim is to examine how force interactions which include two entities – one of which is exerting its force (the Antagonist) to either pull closer or push away the other entity (the Agonist) – are expressed in English. The paper focuses on abstract force interactions, resulting from interactions in the concrete, physical domain being mapped onto more abstract domains, via conceptual metaphor, which accounts for the polysemy of the verbs (Lakoff & Johnson 1980).

Key words: verbs expressing attraction and repulsion, ATTRACTION, REPULSION, FORCE, force dynamics, image schema, cognitive semantics, cognitive linguistics

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1. Introduction

The paper[1] deals with the English verbs which are prototypical exponents of two opposite force interactions – ATTRACTION and REPULSION – from the perspective of cognitve linguistics. The former describes a situation in which one entity (the Antagonist) exerts its force to pull another entity (the Agonist) closer to itself, while the latter refers to a situation where the force-exerting entity pushes the other entity away. These interactions are not limited to the use of physical force, but extend to more abstract aspects of our experience, such as emotions and social interactions. This is made possible by conceptual metaphor, a cognitive mechanism which allows us to understand abstract concepts in terms of more concrete ones (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), and which stems from the notion that human cognition is influenced by embodiment (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1987, Johnson 1987). The approach to the analysis of the exponents is based on Leonard Talmy's (2000) system of force dynamics and Mark Johnson's (1987) image schema concept.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Force dynamics

The force dynamics system, introduced by Leonard Talmy, refers to "how entities interact with respect to force" and includes, among others, "the exertion of force, resistance to such a force, the overcoming of such a resistance, blockage of the expression of force, removal of such blockage." Force dynamics also includes the notion of causation, and places it within the same framework that encompasses 'letting', 'hindering' and 'helping' (Talmy 2000: 409; 2011: 633).

Force-dynamic patterns revolve around a clash between two opposing forces. The central issue is whether one entity, called the Agonist (AGO), is "able to manifest its force tendency or, on the contrary, is overcome" by the opposing, force-exerting entity, known as the Antagonist (ANT) (Talmy 2000: 413). The force tendency of an entity is always intrinsic – regardless

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[1] This paper is part of the author's MA thesis research, which is a contrastive study of the English and Serbian verbs that encode ATTRACTION and REPULSION.

of whether it is constant or temporary – and it is either towards action or inaction. The entity whose force tendency overcomes that of the other is considered to be the stronger one and this clash of opposing forces leads to a resultant, which is either dynamic or static, and is assessed only for the Agonist, since it is the focus of attention (Talmy 2000: 414-415).

Force dynamics is, as Talmy (2000: 409) points out, represented in grammar, and can be identified in different closed-class exponents, such as prepositions and conjunctions, but also in the category of modality. This holds for cases when modal verbs are used in their deontic and/or dynamic meaning, but also for the epistemic interpretation of modals (Talmy 2000, Sweetser 1990, Radden & Dirven 2007). In a similar vein, open-class or lexical elements convey not only physical force, but also that which is termed psychosocial "pressures", i.e., psychological (inter and intrapsychological) and social forces. In addition to this, the presence of force dynamics is noticeable in discourse, since it is expressed through the form of what Talmy (2000: 452) dubs force-dynamic logic gaters (e.g. *yes but*, *nevertheless*, *moreover*, *granted*, *all the more so*, *on the contrary*, etc.) which serve as organizers in the process of argumentation. The force-dynamic system can even be applied in discourse analysis, as shown by Todd Oakley's (2005) examination of two rhetorical texts from different eras of US history.

2.2 The FORCE image schema

A similar approach to the concept of force within the cognitivist study of meaning is that of philosopher Mark Johnson's. Johnson views force as an image schema, "a recurring dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience" (Johnson 1987: xiv). The notion of experience is not limited to the sensorimotor interaction, it extends to the more abstract aspect of life, since, according to the embodied cognition thesis (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Johnson 1987), the structure of our physical bodies shapes how we create, understand, and communicate meaning (Johnson 1989: 109). In other words, "there can be no thought without a brain in a body in an environment" (Johnson 2005: 16).[2]

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[2] It should be noted that there are differing opinions as to how image schemas are formed. Interdisciplinary research from the point of view of cognitive linguistics and neuroscience

Force is, according to Johnson, an integral part of our daily lives which we fail to notice unless it is a particularly strong one. What we typically overlook is that "our bodies are clusters of forces and that *every* event of which we are a part consists, minimally, of forces in interaction. However, a moment's reflection reveals that our daily reality is one massive series of forceful causal sequences." (Johnson 1987: 42). Just as we use our hands to physically pull someone closer to us, the cognitive mechanism of conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) allows us to understand the process of attracting someone as pulling them by means of a force that is not available to our senses.

The FORCE image schema consists of seven more specific gestalts, or sub-schemas, which pervade our physical experience of the world and those experiences that belong to abstract domains. The COMPULSION schema entails a scenario in which an external force is being exerted on a particular entity, thus forcing it into motion. The BLOCKAGE schema, on the other hand, depicts a situation in which a moving entity comes across a static obstacle. The third schema, COUNTERFORCE, involves two opposing forces in an interaction which can be likened to a head-on collision of two vehicles, whereas the clash of forces in DIVERSION results in a change of force vectors. The REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT schema involves the removal of an actual barrier, or the absence of a potential one. ENABLEMENT points to a potential force, one whose vector is not actualized. The final image-schematic gestalt, ATTRACTION refers to a force which operates in the way a magnet or a vacuum would (Johnson 1987: 45-48).

Sandra Peña Cervel (1999) recognizes the existence of another gestalt complementary to ATTRACTION – REPULSION. However, she does not consistently refer to it as an independent gestalt, but rather as part of a gestalt she terms ATTRACTION/REPULSION. Both ATTRACTION and REPULSION are, according to Peña Cervel (1999: 202), conceptually dependent on the COMPULSION schema.

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suggests that image schemas have a neural basis (Dodge & Lakoff 2005, Rohrer 2005), whereas the findings of developmental psychology favour the notion that image schemas are abstractions or simplifications of the information obtained by means of perception (Mandler 2004, 2005).

3. Methodology and corpus

Although they are not the only verbal exponents of the ATTRACTION and REPULSION image schemas, the focus of this paper are verbs which – in cooperation with prepositional and adverbial phrases – convey the senses of drawing an entity closer or pushing it away in a literal or metaphorical sense. The verbs that were chosen for the purpose of the research are: *pull (in)*, *draw (in)*, *drag (in)*, and *attract*[3] (ATTRACTION); and *push (away/ off)*, *shove (away/off)*, *thrust (away/off)*, and *repel* (REPULSION). Some of these verbs belong to, what Levin (1993: 137) refers to as, *Push/Pull* verbs, which are also described as *verbs of exerting force,* and, which can denote "causation of accompanied motion" (1993: 138).

The majority of the examples were extracted from The British National Corpus (BNC), while a smaller number was taken from other sources, which are accordingly cited. The exponents of the ATTRACTION schema yielded more examples than those of REPULSION – 726 and 413, respectively – but also a higher number of different meanings, which is evident when comparing sections 4 and 5 of the paper.

It should be noted once again that the data presented here is part of the author's MA thesis research, encompassing both the verbs analyzed in the paper and their Serbian counterparts.

4. Attraction

4.1 Physical force

The image schema of ATTRACTION depicts a situation in which the ANT exerts a force in order to physically pull the AGO towards itself. What this means is that ATTRACTION, a kinesthetic schema, interacts with spatial schemas, since "[f]orces possess a source, a directionality, and some destination or goal. Furthermore, they trace a path when moving themselves or when impelling other entities to move" (Peña Cervel 1999: 189). These aspects are, however, not always explicitly encoded in language. For example, (1)

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[3] The verb *attract* was found to express physical force in examples that belong to the scientific register, such as: *Gravity **attracts** objects towards each other; antigravity would make them repel each other*.

contains no overt reference to direction, goal, and path, but we implicitly understand that the ANT pulls the AGO towards itself. Conversely, in (2), there is explicit mention of the direction and goal of the AGO's movement.

(1) The man grabs my arm and *pulls* me.
(2) He reached out with his foot *to drag* the lunch bag *towards him*.

Another spatial schema that often interacts with ATTRACTION is the CONTAINER schema, which is a frequent conceptualization of the AGO's destination, as seen in (3) and (5), although (6) shows that there are instances of it being conceptualized as a SURFACE. Even the starting point, or source, from which the ANT draws the AGO, can be conceptualized as a container, as exemplified by (4), which is a paraphrase of (5) with a shift in direction.

(3) She *drew* me *into the kitchen* and stretched out her arms, leaning backward a bit, and said, 'How I love people who say 'Yes' to life.'
(4)   She *drew* me *out of the kitchen* and stretched out her arms [...]
(5) He slid an arm around her waist, *pulling* her *into the warm circle of his embrace.*
(6) He gasped and reached up to her, *pulling* her down *against his chest*, and then with a swift movement he turned her beneath him.

4.2 Abstract force

Metaphorical projection allows us to use the act of pulling in a concrete, physical manner to understand more abstract experiences in terms of pulling. This accounts for the polysemy of the verbs initially used only to denote physical force, and entails that abstract instances of the ATTRACTION schema also interact with spatial schemas. The spatial schemas accordingly refer to abstract space, which is, again, a result of metaphorical projection.

4.2.1 Causation

As noted in the introduction to the force-dynamic system (subsection 2.1), force dynamics is closely connected to the concept of causation. In fact, as Talmy points out, "force dynamics is a generalization over the traditional notion of "causative" in the linguistic literature" (2000: 428). This claim is reflected in the corpus compiled for the purpose of this research. The corpus shows instances of verbs of pulling being used to refer to the ANT causing the AGO to perform an action, as evident in (7) and (8). There are

also examples, such as (9-12) in which the ANT exerts its force to bring about different consequence (AGO).

(7) The enigma of the stones *draws* druids *to perform their weird rituals*.

(8) [...] all were somehow *drawn to mark their passing* above the bed of this little stream.

(9) Which is not to say that old-fashioned, blue-chip brands do not continue to *pull in the plaudits.*

(10) If other aspects, such as the seating, *draw some criticism* (in my opinion justified), well its competitors have their faults too.

(11) When she was younger her summer tan *drew abusive comments like 'Paki'* [...]

(12) Carrying a firearm in the commission of a crime *can attract up to a life sentence.*

4.2.2 Sexual attraction and seduction

In the same way that we are able to move another person towards us by physically pulling them in our direction, we are also able to pull them using our physical appearance and charm. This means that the process of attracting another person – whether it is done intentionally or not – is conceptualized as an interaction between the entity that exerts the force (ANT), and the entity that is exposed to the influence of that force (AGO). The force in question comes in the shape of either physical or personality traits which function as a magnet. In fact, some of the examples contain explicit references to magnets or magnetic forces or qualities of a particular entity (13-14).

(13) You *pull* me, like steel to a magnet.

(14) [...] she *is* increasingly *drawn towards the brusque yet magnetic charms* of the Cornishman [...]

The act of seduction, in which a person who is setting out to attract another person engages willingly, can also be lexicalized by verbs whose meanings encompass pulling an entity (closer) using physical force. Seducing women can be referred to as *pulling* them (15) and there is even an idiomatic expression which conveys the meaning of looking for a sexual partner – *to be on the pull*.

(15) A lot of blokes say the reason they got into music in the first place was they thought it would be a great way of *pulling women*.

4.2.3 Attention

The act of attracting someone's attention is structured in such a way that attention is allotted the role of the AGO being pulled towards the force-exerting ANT, as seen in (16). However, there are also instances in which the ANT is not pulling the AGO towards itself, but towards a different destination, which is exemplified by (17).

(16)   But it was the eyes that *drew her attention*, dark and smouldering with lovely long lashes.
(17)   I *draw the attention* of the Secretary of State *to a damaging allegation made last week* by the chairman of the Northern Ireland Conservative party [...]

Because of a close connection between gaze and attention, the examples which contain *gaze* (18) or *eyes* (19) in the role of the AGO, being pulled by an ANT, could retain their meaning even if these words were substituted with *attention*.

(18)   Her hair [...] *had drawn his gaze* as he sat impatiently in a line of cars [...]
(19)   [...] that face which *drew the eye* and held it.

4.2.4 Attracting people and money

Customers – whether they are readers, viewers, gamers or something else – tourists, investors, voters, and the money that they bring assume the role of the AGO, while the companies, tourist agencies and organizations and political parties function as the ANT, although the explicitly mentioned ANT is often a particular strategy or tactic.

(20)   [...] but the low prices still *pull in crowds of eager buyers.*
(21)   [...] the BBC's £27 million package of films, comedy and drama to *pull in viewers* [...]
(22)   [...] 'enchanting attractions' which *pull in millions of foreign visitors.*
(23)   [...] his message of change *pulled in voters of all parties* who feared the future and were fed up with Bush.
(24)   [...] and could also tinker with tax allowances *to pull in extra revenue.*
(25)   National sales *pull in business.* While this reform may seem small in itself, it will play an important part in the overall strategy

being advocated here of people being able *to draw an income* from work, wealth, as well as welfare.

4.2.5 Emotions

Our emotions have been known to serve as powerful driving forces in life. These forces can pull us in the direction of a particular place or person. Instances of person's emotions functioning as a dynamic ANT, while they themselves are a static AGO are an example of what Talmy (2000: 66-68, 460-461) calls introjection. This cognitive operation refers to a situation in which an external conflict typically requiring two separate entities is internalized into one. If this entity is a person, introjection leads to a split of the psyche where one part is the AGO, and the other is the ANT. An emotion which seems to frequently take on the role of the ANT is love, metaphorically represented by a vital organ of our body, the heart, which is taken to be a symbol of this emotion.

(26)   [...] you are more beautiful / than the first day / *my heart pulled me* in your direction [...][4]

(27)   But *my heart drew me* toward the rosebud, for it longed for no other place.[5]

(28)   There, in the early hours of the morning *her fears dragged her* into dark caves [...][6]

(29)   *Worry dragged me* through the corridors, down to the babble of voices that signified lunch.[7]

4.2.6 Dragging into trouble

Trouble, often described as something we *fall into*, can be conceptualized by means of the CONTAINER schema. Falling into trouble is usually caused

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[4]   Example taken from https://books.google.rs/books?id=cJF5e-0s1Q0C&dq (Accessed on 15 September 2015)

[5]   Example taken from https://books.google.rs/books?id=2Z3oAAAAIAAJ&dq (Accessed on 15 September 2015)

[6]   Example taken form https://glintonbrokenglass.wordpress.com/2014/05/07/tank/ (Accessed on 15 September 2015)

[7]   Example taken from http://archiveofourown.org/works/5015440/chapters/11650657 (Accessed on 11 November 2015)

by our own or other people's actions that can either push or pull us into it, depending on the respective positions of the AGO and the ANT. Trouble, to be more precise, refers to situations and states that are perceived to be negative: disputes, feuds, conflicts wars, crises, debt, and death among others. The corpus shows that the most frequent exponent of this particular meaning is the verb *drag*, which includes the component of difficulty and resistance. This entails that even when the CONTAINER is not explicitly encoded by a noun phrase that has a negative connotation in and of its self, the utterance can still be understood as describing a negative situation, without the knowledge of the particular context, as exemplified by (33).

(30) But her father and her uncle fought over her continually, *dragging her into their lifelong feud* [...]

(31) President Bush is warning Saddam Hussein he won't get away with *trying to drag Israel into the Gulf crisis* [...]

(32) But David Howell [...] said there was a risk Britain *could become 'dragged into a major war and military commitment'*.

(33) The gravitational pull in the Treaty — which is endorsed by the bill — *would* take us, indeed *drag us, into a federal Europe*.

4.2.7 Drawing from a source

The source from which the ANT is pulling the AGO towards itself can, as mentioned, be conceptualized via the CONTAINER schema. The container itself does not have to be a physical object and often appears in the shape of a situation or even feeling, from which we draw, among other things, lessons, conclusions, inspiration, and comfort

(34) Lamarckism *drew much of its inspiration from a moral distaste for the 'trial-and-error' process of natural selection*.

(35) It would have been so good to just sit there and let Luke hold her, *to draw comfort from his strength* [...]

(36) The conclusions which *can be drawn from this examination* [...]

(37) [...] the lessons *drawn by the leadership from the failure of the 1956–62 campaign*.

The origin of the members of certain groups can also be depicted as being drawn from a source, whether that source is a city, country, political party or some other organization.

(38) Their work-force was then *drawn from surrounding towns, villages and farms* [...]
(39) The new and more streamlined Cabinet *was drawn from all four political parties* [...]
(40) Silver Helm Knights *are drawn from all the realms of Ulthuan* and include many of its finest and most noble sons.

4.2.8 Pulling in discourse

Talmy (2000: 452) argues that force dynamics is extensively featured in the domain of discourse, especially in the process of argumentation. The arguments employed to prove something function as an ANT that exerts its force in order to pull the listener or reader over to our point of view. A few of the examples from the corpus contain either an explicit mention of an argument as possessing pulling power (41), or refer to one of the force-dynamic logic gaters as being able to pull an essay in a particular direction (42).

(41) *An argument* which *pulls in the opposite direction* is this [...]
(42) Rather, *"however"* creates a contrast [...] — something which *pulls the essay in a different direction* from one which might create the expectation that Othello would be introduced.

5. Repulsion

5.1 Physical force

The REPULSION image schema refers to an interaction in which the ANT exerts force in order to physically move away the AGO from itself. The direction of the AGO's movement is, therefore, opposite to its direction in the ATTRACTION schema, where the AGO moves towards the source of the force.

(43) With strength born of the alarming change, Theda *thrust the heaviness of Benedict's body from her* and staggered out of reach.
(44) She ducked under the water and emerged, *pushing her long hair away from her face*.
(45) He had instructed his staff to stay calm and *repel intruders with 'physical force'*.

There are also examples of the exertion of physical force, in which there is only one entity that functions as both the AGO and the ANT. The entity uses its own (physical) force to move itself from a particular location. This is typically encoded by a reflexive pronoun, as seen in (46), although (47) suggests that it is possible to convey such a meaning without the pronoun.

(46) With a gasping breath she *thrust herself away*. 'Put me down,' she ordered.

(47) He *pushed away from her*, and she was forced to lean against the door [...]

5.2 Abstract force

As with the ATTRACTION schema, the mapping of one domain onto another enables us to understand abstract interactions in terms of one entity physically pushing another away from itself.

5.2.1 Repelling people and money

When our physical appearance, personality traits, actions and decisions put other people off, this is conceptualized as an ANT who pushes the AGO away from itself. In addition to this, certain circumstances and situations can also act as ANTS, and companies and organizations of various kinds can just as easily repel their customers, investors, tourists and voters, as they can attract them.

(48) The lugubrious publican had seen it as his job *to repel strangers* and had employed to that end an impressive armoury of taciturnity, malevolent glances, warm beer and poor service.

(49) But there was a hard veneer to her, a cold ruthlessness, which *repelled many who came into contact with her*.

(50) I want to challenge and excite as much as I can but I'm not going to create a work for the Scottish Ballet that *is going to drive their audience away*.

(51) The mechanism that *thrust him away from advertising* and into politics and enabled him to change his life was the London Business School.

(52) [...] in the end the savagery of the English attack *drove the Scots away from the new idea of friendship with England* and back into the arms of their natural and ancient allies, the French.

5.2.2 Hostile forces

The reason why a particular entity takes on the role of a repelling ANT often has to do with the perception of the other entity, the AGO, as posing some sort of threat to it. While this would normally conjure up wartime images of battles and sieges entailing direct physical contact, there are other intruders that can be driven away without the use of physical force. Some of them belong to the world of flora and fauna (53-54), while others belong to the sphere of supernatural (55-56), and, accordingly, require an arsenal of weapons such as counter-curses, good-luck charms, rituals, potions, and the like.

(53) A plant produces essential oils for its own survival: to influence growth and production; to attract pollinating insects; *to repel predators*; and to protect itself from disease.

(54) When they had scraped and gouged all the fat from the buffalo's hide, Jacques Devraux showed the others how to rub in arsenical soap *to repel the hordes of flies* [...]

(55) [...] in fact the purpose of the ceremonies *was to drive evil spirits away from the tribe's vicinity*.

(56) As with any other evil-intentioned fairy, they *may be repelled with cold iron or an opened Bible*.

5.2.3 Mental states and emotions

When we try not to think of something that bothers or worries us, or try to get rid of sadness, boredom, suspicion, etc., we push these things *away from* ourselves (57-58) or *out of* our mind/head (59-60), which is then conceptualized via the CONTAINER schema. The latter case is another example of introjection, where our psyche is divided into two parts – one part (AGO) is preoccupied with, for example, negative thoughts, while the other (ANT) pushes those thoughts out.

(57) And suddenly the emotions that went tearing through her were so terrifying, so cataclysmic, that she *had to thrust them from her*.

(58) The fact that unhappy feelings *are pushed away with food* is an avoidance style of coping with stress.

(59) She *pushed all thoughts of Julius out of her head*, scrambled out of bed, and began to open her presents.

> (60) By Monday morning Merrill had succeeded in *thrusting the memory of that dream firmly out of her mind*.

If the psyche or mind is conceptualized via the CONTAINER image schema, then it is understood in terms of occupying space. The space that it occupies can, therefore, be sectioned off into areas, which allows us to refer to something as being *in the back of our mind*. What we push towards the sidelines or far reaches of our mind ceases to occupy the center of our mind and is moved into the periphery. This is in accordance with the CENTER-PERIPHERY SCHEMA, which entails that "whatever occupies the center of the perceptual horizon tends to become *more important* than that which is peripheral" (Johnson 1989: 112).

> (61) Hari *thrust her worries into the back of her mind* and helped her mother to sit up against the pillows.
> (62) *Myra and Dreams had been pushed to the back of her mind*.

5.2.4 Pushing into trouble

It has been established that trouble – which is taken to refer to any unpleasant situation that can befall a person – can be viewed as a container that we can either be pulled or pushed into (cf. subsection 4.2.6). Instances of an AGO being pushed into a negatively connoted CONTAINER, however, are, in most cases, examples of the COMPULSION image schema (63-64), which is superordinate to REPULSION. In order for it to be an exponent of REPULSION, a starting point (which is usually positively connoted) from which the AGO is pushed away into trouble has to be explicitly mentioned (65).

> (63) [...] as the enemy forces *pushed the Tsarist regime into more and more desperate expedients to raise the finance and manpower with which to conduct the war*.
> (64) If Mr Lawson now *drives the economy into deep recession*, [...] the Government would almost certainly perish at the polls.
> (65) [...] ever since the Romans colonized Sardinia and drove *the indigenous population off the rich pasture in the lowlands up into the Barbagia [harsh mountainous region]*.

5.2.5 Expletives

It is interesting to note that even segments of language such as expletives exhibit the presence of the force-dynamic system. When we tell someone to shove off, we are asking them to relieve us of their presence, which would, physically speaking, make that person both the AGO and the ANT. At the same time, we are, as the speaker, taking on the role of the ANT and exerting the illocutionary force of a directive speech act.

(66) '*Shove off*, Rincewind,' snarled Broadman.
(67)   In other words, *shove off*, matey, she's mine.

6. Concluding remarks

The image schemas of ATTRACTION and REPULSION are responsible for conceptualizing not only our physical interactions with other animate and inanimate objects in our surroundings, but are also present in other, more abstract, aspects of our lives that have to do with our psyche, social interactions and even our professional careers and how we earn money.

What the research has shown, however, is that there is a discrepancy between the number of senses belonging to the two schemas. The image schema of REPULSION has not only yielded fewer examples, but also fewer specific meanings, which is obvious when looking at the number of different subsections for each of the schemas. Such a situation may be accounted for by the fact that the majority of the examples for the verbs encoding REPULSION found in BNC are, in fact, exponents of the COMPULSION schema, which is broader than REPULSION, and on which REPULSION is conceptually dependent. For instance, most of the examples of the sense presented in subsection 5.2.4 are instances of COMPULSION. In addition to this, out of the consulted literature, the only author who explicitly mentions REPULSION is Peña Cervel (1999), although she mostly treats it as one image schema called ATTRACTION/REPULSION, while the other authors include only ATTRACTION in their lists.

Because of the fairly limited scope of this research, other verbs that convey ATTRACTION and REPULSION had to be overlooked and only the ones considered to be prototypical were taken into account. It would be interesting to not only look into other verbs, but also into other verb classes which encode these schemas. Another aspect that would be worth

exploring further is the interaction and mutual connection of ATTRACTION and REPULSION with image schemas such as CONTAINER and CENTRE-PERIPHERY, but also with those that were not encompassed by this research.

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GENITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS AS CONSTRUCTIONAL IDIOMS IN ENGLISH

Abstract

This paper is a study of formal, semantic and pragmatic properties of the idiomatic structure *a N1of a N2* with the meaning "N2 resembles N1". We analyze the given form within the framework of Construction Morphology which we believe is the most viable analytic tool for constructional idioms, the phenomena that display strong phrase-like and word-like properties, without losing the generalizations that exist between the two.

Key words: genitive, construction, construct, constructional idiom, Construction Morphology.

1. Introduction

Lexicon is a set, a repository of all simple and complex words that are idiosyncratic or conventionalized. Even pieces of syntactic structure can be listed in the lexicon with associated meanings (Jackendoff 2008:

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15). Lexicon, therefore, apart from simple words or one-word lexemes must specify all syntactically complex words, also known as multi-word expressions (MWE). MWEs display higher or lower degree of idiosyncratic meaning. Such expressions are typically constructs with more or less unpredictable properties that have to be memorized and learned by the speaker. They vary in their size and complexity. As for their meaning, as much as they may be regular in their form representing sequences of words, the meaning of idiomatic constructs often is not atomic/ compositional in nature (at least not entirely). Rather they differ in their flexibility and degree of their compositionality. However, the fact that they are complex means that they are constructed, formed and created from at least two elements, having a certain structure. Thus they create a construction of this sort or another. These are meaningful constructions of the language.

In this paper we show how the notion construction can be very useful in describing and analyzing syntactic word combinations which display both word-like and phrase like properties and can serve as lexical units. In order to highlight the dual nature of certain phrasal lexical units and to show how the only way to account for a strong lexicon-syntax interaction and interrelatedness is via constructionist approach we will focus on formal and semantic properties of a particular type of *of-genitive* construction. As we will show the construction in question presents a cross-language phenomenon.

As lexical units can be both word level constructions and phrase level constructions it implies a much tighter relation of syntax, morphology and the lexicon. From the need for a theory which will provide the most suitable framework within which mutual commonalities and differences of syntax, morphology and lexicon will be accounted for the theory of Construction Morphology (CM) has arisen. CM does not see syntax and morphology as two separate language and lexicon components but rather as complementary segments.

Constructions, are pairings of meaning and form (and function). Traditionally speaking constructions lie in the domain of syntax rather than that of morphology. However, with advances of Construction Grammar the perception of construction has changed. In modern linguistic science it is considered to be an abstract linguistic unit which can be found on all linguistic levels, including morphological level.

Constructions resemble mathematical formulae in their formal structure which means that certain structures are possible while others are not, or at least not with the same reference. This is illustrated in the following examples of Determinative construction (1), Modifying construction (2) and genitive construction (3).

(1a) the underprivileged, a lion, my only child
(1b) * underprivileged the, * lion a, *only child my
(2a) hard-working man, women in black, love that stunned the world -
(2b) * man hard-working, * in black women, *that stunned the world love
(3a) A man of courage, a portrait of an artist
(3b) Courage of a man, ? an artist of a portrait

Examples (1), (2a) and (3a-b) can be schematically represented as (4a-c).

(4a) [[x]det[y]N] for Determinative Construction
(4b) [[x]adj[y]N] or [[x]N[z] PP] for Modifying construction
(4c) $[[X]_{Ni} [[of]_P [[the]_{det} [x]_{Nj}]_{NP}]_{PP}]]_{NP}$ for *Of*-genitive Construction

Formal structures such as those represented in (4a-c) typically trigger certain (general) semantic interpretation. For example, modifying construction triggers the interpretation "X modifies, describes Y by attributing certain qualities to it", while a prototypical meaning of *of-constructions* is that of possession. While the slots in (4a-c) are distributionally fixed and categorically specified, there are numerous individual instantiations of these two types of constructions as given in (1a) (2a) and (3a-b), which are referred to as constructs. They represent concrete realizations of the patterns given above.

Clearly all given constructions are syntactic in their nature and meaning. The distribution of their elements and their category are restricted and fixed, whereas the choice of particular words-lexemes, which represent variables, is free. By varying the variables various constructs get formed. Constructs enable us to get concrete, particular semantic interpretations of (general) abstract constructions. For example, in the phrase *deep sea* Y is the concrete noun with particular meaning *sea* ("a large body of water") which is modified, qualified by X, the adjective *deep* (with the meaning "having a quality of great depth").

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In (4a-c) we have given constructional schema for syntactic structures with more or less grammatical meaning (denoting grammatical relations). However, a large number of syntactic patterns are lexical in their semantics, which means that they not only have a rather fixed syntactic structure but also the choice of lexemes may be quite restricted or even totally fixed. When they are completely fixed both formally and lexically with specific semantic content, which may be accompanied with rather low productivity of the pattern (but not necessarily), they are referred to as *idiomatic phrasal units* (idioms).

English lexicon is full of complex lexical units with a higher or lower level of idiosyncrasy and with more or less fixed choice (and distribution) of words for a particular construction. They are referred to as *multi-word-units*. When dealing with such complex words which are phrasal in nature, the notion of construction comes particularly interesting and useful. Like all constructions, multi-word-units represent syntactic patterns in which certain formal properties correlate with certain semantics. They, too, can vary in the degree of lexical and syntactic fixedness.

In some cases new lexical units with syntactic properties may reflect the syntactically productive pattern which is typically interpreted to carry syntactic meaning. Such are patterns for constructions with strong grammatical meaning and relevance such as *of-genitive* construction (5a). In (5a) a syntactic pattern for Norman genitive is used for naming purposes to denote titles or particular concepts etc, which is not the case with (5b).

(5a)   The Queen of England, the Duchess of Cambridge, the ace of spades, the change of heart.

(5b)   I did not possess a painting of an artist.
Both examples (5a -b) can be formally represented by a constructional schema as follows:

(6) $[[X]_{Ni} [[of]_P [[the]_{det} [x]_{Nj}]_{NP}]_{PP}]]_{NP} \leftrightarrow [SEM_j \text{ possesses } SEM_j]_{NP}$

In such cases we speak of open syntactic constructions which reflect only distributional and categorial fixedness. In other words, the combination in the structure det+ N+ of+ N is fixed and as for categorial fixedness it means that each slot can be filled only with a particular lexical category. Speakers freely choose the lexical units to fill the slots, also known as variables, as long as they follow the restrictions specified in the constructional schema. Thus, they compute new constructs according to the stored schema pattern and the interpretation is always the same. For example, the combination

Adj. (X)+ N (Y) always instigates the meaning: Y has the quality X. Typically, all instances of syntactic constructions of the type given in (1a), (2a) and (3a-b) are compositional in their meaning.

Syntactic constructions with idiomatic status, on the other hand, reflect very high level of syntactic and lexical fixedness; consequently, they need to be stored in our lexicon. They are not computed by the speakers but simply retrieved as prefabricated chunks of language.

However, there are phrases that follow a completely regular pattern and whose meaning may be compositional, though it is highly conventionalized as those given in (7).

(7)   a hell of a trip, a nightmare of a journey, an angel of a woman.

Such expressions follow seemingly prototypical syntactic patterns reflecting general structures of particular syntactic structures while instigating specific lexical (idiomatic) meaning. Our examples follow the pattern of Norman genitive construction (*of*-genitive construction). They typically display partial fixedness in the domain of their structure and the distribution of their elements. Their meaning is either only partially compositional (which is the case with our examples) or not compositional at all. This means that their meaning cannot be (entirely) inferred based on the atomic meanings of their constituents but it has to be stored. In other words, the semantics of lexemes constituting particular constructs participates in the meaning of the entire expression but they have to be interpreted in certain order and with certain reference. Quite often due to their lexico-semantic and syntactic properties they are examples of the lexical units in which morphology, syntax and lexicon interact and overlap.

Formally, expressions like those are structurally nearly identical to those presented in (5a-b). Yet, their reading is different and can be represented with the constructional schema as follows:

(8) $[[x]_{Ni}[[of]_P[[a]_{Det}[x]_{Nj}]_{NP}]_{PP}]_{Nk} {}_{\leftrightarrow}[SEM_j \text{ with } SEM_i \text{ -like property}]_k$

From the constructional schema (8) we see that such phrases exemplify the general structure of English NPs with an N as a head, preceded by the primary determiner and followed by a prepositional phrase. Semantically, however it is the noun within the prepositional phrase (N2), which is positioned as a prepositional complement, that acts as head, while N1 acts as its modifier. As head, N2 also governs further syntactic pronominal agreement.

(9)   That giant of a <u>woman</u> brought all <u>her</u> kids with <u>her</u>.

Despite its structural similarity to the possessive *of*-genitive construction, there is no doubt that this type of syntactic phrase is the type that has to be stored in the lexicon as highly conventionalized. As a result, the schema like (8) is to be classified as a constructional idiom (Booij 2010: 13). In other words, it is a type of an idiom in which not all positions are lexically fixed. In structure (8) the nominal positions are open and in principle, can be filled with any noun. However, the prepositional and determiner positions are specified. The schema of this constructional idiom represents a productive pattern, which means that the list of expressions is not fixed. The constructs of this type can be extended though the extension is not unlimited. The key factor for extension are the semantic restrictions that this construction as a whole imposes on its variable constituents. The implication of this form on the extension possibilities will be discussed later in this paper after we have given an overview of its formal, structural and lexico-semantic properties (frame).

2. Formal properties of *of*-genitive construction and constructional idioms of the type *a monster of a truck*

In the previous part of this paper we have seen that the constructional idiom of the type *a monster of a truck* in formal aspect follows the pattern of *of*-genitive construction, the one that is prototypically interpreted as conveying a possessive relationship between N1 and N2. The possible extensions of this prototypical possessive meaning which are all seen as regular compositional grammatical meanings are given below.

a) Semantic interpretation of of-genitive construction

As noted before, the pattern of *of*-genitive construction is prototypically interpreted as conveying a possessive relationship between N1 and N2.

However, even a prototypical meaning of *of-* genitive construction with the schema $[[X]_{Ni} [[of]_P [[the]_{det} [x]_{Nj}]_{NP}]_{PP}]]_{NP} \leftrightarrow [SEM_j \text{ possesses } SEM_j]_{NP}$ may have multiple meanings. Although the meanings are numerous, they all directly or indirectly originate from possessive relation that exists between N1(h) as a possessum and N2 (d) as a possessor. Different instances of *of*-genitive construction given below represent a higher or lower degree of extension of the prototypical meaning (and schema) – possessive meaning. However, we must point out that the extension of meaning (and schema)

does not in any way affect the structure and form of this constructional pattern.

Of-genitive construction triggers the multitude of interpretations. According to Miladinović (Miladinović 2015: 230-234)[1] the possible relations that is established by this construction between N1 and N2 include among others body-part, kin, subordinate, superior relations as well as the relations indicating ownership, cause and result, content, temporal relation, measures etc. In total, he gives some 36 different relations that are depicted by the pattern $[[X]_{Ni}[[of]_P[[the]_{det}[x]_{Nj}]_{NP}]_{PP}]]_{NP} \leftrightarrow [SEM_j \text{ possesses } SEM_j]_{NP}$.

b) *Formal properties of constructional idiom* a monster of a truck

The constructional idiom of this type is structurally identical to *of-* genitive construction. Syntactic distribution of this construction's constituents is different, which results in its different semantics. In *of*-genitive construction N1 is postmodified by prepositional *of*-phrase (of+N2). Actually, N2 as a postmodifier is added extra semantic content (denoting the genitive) by being preceded by *OF*. In other words, it is the noun N2, formally marked for genitive that modifies N1. All this is explicitly encoded in the constructional schema of this pattern given in (8).

On the other hand, the constructional idiom *a monster of a truck* actually displays the syntactic relation of a premodifier +H. Many scholars see this pattern as two NPs in apposition with N2 being the head. N2 is formally marked for genitive while N1 is a dependant constituent of the construction. The fact that the head is prepositionally marked for genitive is atypical for English.

Proof that the particle *of* actually stands for genitive here can be found in a number of different languages that recognize this pattern with exactly the same syntactic and semantic interpretation. Such patterns are found in Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian, German and Serbian among other languages.

(10)   Dutch: een schat van een kind (a sweetheart of a child)
German: ein Teufel von einem Mann (a devil of a man)
Spanish: esa mierda de libro (that shit of book)
French: ton phenomene de fille (your phenomenon of daughter)
Serbian: beda od čoveka, lutka od deteta, krš od automobila

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[1]   Miladinović derives his sub-classification of *of-genitive* meanings from the classification given by Huddlestone and Pullum for the Saxon genitive (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 473). For a detailed list of all *of-genitive* meanings see Miladinović (2015: 230-234).

They all share the same common property that the H is the latter noun and that it is formally marked for genitive both inflectionally (as in Serbian) and syntactically-prepositionally (as in French, Dutch)[2]. The prepositions used in the cases of inflectional languages (Serbian) are typically those occurring with genitive (only). In English it is the preposition of and in Serbian the preposition *od* as in *beda od coveka, lutka od deteta*. Thus, such prepositions do not trigger any meaning other than genitive. It would be interesting to delve into the meaning of genitive here. We hope it to be a matter tackled in subsequent papers and research. There is a rather problematic issue of the existing genitive meanings specified earlier since in this pattern, it is the semantic head of the phrase that is marked for genitive. Such "genitive head" is modified and qualified. Therefore, the qualifying and descriptive meaning of the genitive cannot not refer to the meaning of the entire head as it is the head that is modified. The meaning could be interpreted as " an instance, one particular aspect of the genitive noun N2 is N1 as a premodifier". In the example *a monster of a truck* it is the truck which has all properties prototypically associated with trucks which are additionally accompanied with some secondary properties that emphasize its huge size. Secondary properties expressed by N1 usually become (either truly or metaphorically) so dominant that they overshadow the prototypical properties of N2.

It is a very open frame which displays morphological nature in the respect that new items can be created when thought desirable thus making *nonce-formations or portmanteau formations* (e.g. 'a ponytail of a waterfall'). On the other hand, this is the frame whose certain instances become highly colloquial (e.g. 'a gem of a …', '… of a man') or strongly lexicalized ('a whale of a time'). The frame has "long formed part of the syntactic description of English, but it has not been possible to describe it in much detail because of the paucity of authentic examples" (Coffey 2009).

A certain level of fixedness undoubtedly present in English genitive construction of the type NP1 + of + NP2 emphasizes the lexical side of its nature. Such fixedness is manifested in the following aspects:

a) (almost mandatory) presence of the indefinite article *a(n)* in the positions preceding both N1 and N2;

b) mandatory preposition *of* in medial position between NP1 and NP2;

c) free, open slots for lexical variables of N1 and N2.

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[2] In German this construction triggers the same meaning as in other languages but it is associated with dative rather than genitive.

Even at first sight, it is clear that what distinguishes prototypical *of*-genitive construction and this constructional idiom is that the latter requires presence of a determiner, preferably and prototypically indefinite article *a*[3]. Variable levels of fixedness of this construction are illustrated by the fact that other determiners may occupy initial position in NP1. In his research on grammatical and lexical frame of such phrases Coffey (2009: 237) determines that by far the most frequent initial phrase determiner was indeed indefinite article *a/an* with token frequency o of 241 out of 380[4]. As we see in the Table 1 (Coffey 2009: 237) given below, other determiners with relatively high frequency are demonstratives *that and this* (the former indicating disapproval and the latter interest, yielding or positive attitude) bearing affective or modal reference. In any case, the meaning of all determiners used in initial position is that of strong evaluative force which can be appreciative or pejorative.

Table 1: Phrase-initial determiners

a/an	one	the	that	this	poss.adj poss.noun *some sg.* ZERO sg. *some pl.* ZERO pl.					
241	2	17	53	40	7	4	5	8	2	1

c) Semantic analysis of the pattern a N1+ of +aN2

The very choice of initial determiners implies the meaning and connotation together with communicative value of the entire pattern itself. In most instances evaluative or descriptive value is distinguished. Although Coffey (Coffey 2009: 240) divides the two, we feel that in most cases descriptive and evaluative aspect intertwine and overlap. However, all instances of this constructional idiom are strongly emotionally charged implying either positive or negative attitude of the speaker, therefore highly subjective. Positive/negative attitude is reflected through the choice of N1 which, consequently, may be more positively or negatively charged and oriented.

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[3] This may lead to the conclusion that it is the determiner that is crucial for the ultimate interpretation of the constructional idiom.

[4] Coffey conducted his study on British National Corpus in which he found total of 7131 examples of the structure *a...of a* (in the corpus of 250000 words) (Coffey 2009: 230). He analized 380 different expressions of the given pattern.

Whether appreciative or pejorative (Downing and Locke 2006) in its reference, this construction is always attitudinal, i.e. it expresses the speaker's subjective evaluation of the referent and is interpersonal rather than experiential. That indeed we are dealing with a construction that is semantically anything but neutral is supported by Miladinović's findings (2015:269) which show that intensifier *the very* occurs relatively often in the determiner position.

> (11) He had the name of being <u>the very devil of a fellow</u>.

Whatever the level of syntactic fixedness this constructional idiom may display and irrespective of whether it displays evaluative or descriptive value, clearly, the semantic of the entire construction is rather restricted in the manner that this construction must be emotionally charged, highlighting a subjective attitude of the speaker.

As we are dealing with a productive constructional idiom, whose meaning is quite limited, certain items are much more frequent and more easily collocate within the construction both in N1 and N2 position.

Items appearing in the modifying slot (N1) in a larger number of constructs in descending order of frequency are the following: *gem* (25), *giant* (20), *devil* (19), *bitch* (12), *brute* (12), *monster* (11), *peach* (11), *fool* (9), *bear* (8), *cracker* (8), *dream* (7) (Coffey 2009: 233).

Semantically, Miladinović (2015: 280-284)[5] distinguishes the following classes of N1[6]:

1. proper N [+Animate, +Human] with a positive connotation: *an Achilles of a, an Apollo of a, a Brad Pitt of a, a Casanova of a, a Clark Gable of a, an Einstein of a, a Don Juan of a, a Hercules of a, a Napoleon of a, a Romeo of a, a Zeus of a...*

2. proper N [+Animate, +Human] with a negative reference: *a Brutus of a, a Hitler of a, a Macbeth of a, a Mussolini of a, an Othello of a...*

3. common N [+Animate, +Human] with a positive reference to people: *a baby of a, a beauty of a, a belter of a, a corker of a, a cracker of a, a genius of a, a humdinger of a, a marvel of a, a playboy of a, a prodigy of a, a stormer of a, a stunner of a...*

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[5] Coffey offers similar classification, somewhat less detailed, though. (Coffey, 233)

[6] Positive and negative features are not universal to all language communities. it is often the case that the same noun can have both positive and negative reference. Its interpretation is context and culture specific.

3a) Ns denoting mythological and imaginary creatures: *an angel of a, a colossus of a, a giant of a, a leprechaun of a, a monster of a, a saint of a, a wizard of a...*

4. common N [+Animate, +Human] with a negative reference to people: *a barbarian of a, a bastard of a, a bookworm of a, a brute of a, a coward of a, a fool of a, a freak of a, a geek of a, a hag of a, a humbug of a, an idiot of a, a liar of a, a loner of a, a midget of a, a rascal of a, a rogue of a, a savage of a, a scoundrel of a, a slob of a, a smart Alec of a, a sop of a, a swindler of a, a thief of a, a tramp of a, a vagabond of a, a villain of a, a whippersnapper of a...*

4a) Ns denoting mythological and imaginary creatures with negative reference: *a devil of a, a dickens of a, a dwarf of a, a ghost of a, a giant of a, a gnome of a, a monster of a, a pixie of a, a troll of a, a witch of a...*

5. common N [+Animate, -Human] with a positive reference to people:

a) N denoting plants: *a daffodil of a, a daisy of a, a dandelion of a, a flower of a, a lily of a, an orchid of a, a petunia of a, a reed of a, a rose of a, a sprout of a, a tulip of a, a willow of a...*

b) Ns denoting animals: *a bird of a, a bull of a, a butterfly of a, a crane of a, a dove of a, an eagle of a, a falcon of a, a gazelle of a, a hawk of a, a lamb of a, a lion of a, a maverick of a, a nightingale of a, a tiger of a, a wasp of a, a whale of a, a wolf of a...*

6. common N [+Animate, -Human] with a negative reference to people

a) N denoting plants: *a beanpole of a, a tree of a, a stick of a, a runner bean of a, a weeping willow of a...*

b) Ns denoting animals: *an ant of a, a bear of a, a beast of a, a bee of a, a bitch of a, a bull of a, a bulldog of a, a chicken of a, a cow of a, , a dog of a, an elephant of a, a frog of a, a giraffe of a, a gnat of a, a goat of a, a goose of a, a hornet of a, a horse of a, a louse of a, a mare of a, a moth of a, a mouse of a, a pig of a, a peacock of a, a rabbit of a, a ram of a, a rooster of a, a scorpion of a, a serpent of a, , a silly cow of a, a snake of a, a, a spider of a, a turtle of a, a walrus of a, a wasp of a, a whippet of a, a worm of a...*

7. Common Ns [-Animate, -Human] with positive reference : *a bastion of a, a blockbuster of a, a bulwark of a, a dream of a, a heck of a, a husk of a, a joy of a, a miracle of a, a slab of a...*

7a) Ns denoting precious stones: *a diamond of a, a gem of a, a gemstone of a, a jewel of a, a pearl of a, a rough diamond of a...*

7b) Ns referring to vehicles and machines: *a boneshaker of a, a bulldozer of a, a computer of a, a dynamo of a, a machine of a, a Porche of a, a rocket of a, a roller coaster of a...*

7c) Ns referring to natural phenomena: *an ocean of a, a rock of a, a whirlpool of a,*

7d) Ns referring to food: *a cherry of a, a dumpling of a, a honey of a, a peach of a, a plum of a, chocolate of a, a wizard of a...*

8. abstract Ns [-Animate] [-Human] with negative reference: *an abortion of a, a disaster of a, a farce of a, a headache of a, a hit of a, a joke of a, a nightmare of a, a pest of a, a ruin of a, a shambles of a, a wreck of a...*

8a) Ns referring to death: *a dead duck of a, a grave of a, a graveyard of a, a hades of a, a hell of a, a morgue of a...*

8b) Ns referring to natural phenomena: *a mountain of a, a volcano of a, a whirlpool of a,*

8c) Ns referring to food : *a ham of a, a hamburger of a, a hot dog of a, a mushroom of a, a sausage of a, a tomato of a...*

8d) Ns referring to household objects: *a hook of a, a trap of a, a ragbag of a, a razor of a, a battleaxe of a...*

8e) Ns referring to vehicles and machines: *a bulldozer of a, a truck of a, a tank of a...*

9. Ns denoting taboo words and vulgarisms bearing extremely offensive meaning: *an ass of a, an asshole of a, a bugger of a, a fuck of a, a slut of a, a sod of a, a shit of a, a shit hole of a, a whore of a...*

10. common Ns with partitive and attenuating meaning usually with favorable reference: *a flicker of a, a glimmer of a, a knob of a, a skeleton of a, a stump of a, a wisp of a...*

11. common Ns referring to mass, size or quantity: *a bundle of a, a heap of a, a hunk of a, a trickle of a, a hulk of a, a lump of a, a scrap of a...*

12. common Ns referring to speed or strength: *a blitz of a, a lash of a, a piledriver of a, a scorcher of a, a whiplash of a, a whizzer of a...*

In addition, Coffey (Coffey 2009: 233) distinguishes a group of miscellanea nouns for which the reference is not quite clearly stated as obviously it can be seen as either positive or negative. In some cases even purely neutral

only highly descriptive. This group seems to rely on context more than other groups. Nouns that Coffey listed as belonging to this group are the following: *bear hug, bolster, bone-shaker, bulwark, chop (movement), colossus, frown, freak, ham (the shape is important), headthumper, iceblockbuster, papyrus, ponytail, razor, scorcher, sexquake, sink, tank-buster, trap, trickle, vocoder, whiplash.*

As we can see, in many cases the meaning that the modifier shows a higher or lower degree of (metaphorical) extension. Quite often the positive/negative interpretation will depend on the semantics of N2 it modifies but also on vernacular it is used in and on pragmatic and extra-linguistic factors of a particular discourse. For example, in the vernacular of African-Americans the constructs such as *a bitch of wheels*, *a bitch of a bike* will be understood as extremely favorable expression describing a particular car or motorbike, while the same modifier in *a bitch of a landlady* will not be perceived to have a positive reference whatever the social discourse and situational context.

This brings us to the semantic of N2. Coffey (Coffey 2009: 235) notices that the most frequent second nouns are *man* (73), *woman* (15), *girl* and *song* (8), *game* (6), *goal* and *thing* (5). Other nouns that show relatively high token frequency are *day, evening, free kick, job book, doctor, horse, hotel, house, husband, interview, pass (in sport),place, shot (in sport), spider, story, wife, boy, city, clue, cousin, delivery (in sport), dog, father, hill, horseman, match, planet, residence, rush, time, village, voice, wave, year.* In most cases N2 has [+Animate, +Human] reference; the nouns with male reference are more than twice as frequent as those with female reference while the nouns indicating common gender are the least frequent. A wide range of nouns [+Animate+ Human] are found in N2 with *man* being the most frequent.

Apart from denoting people, which is the most common N2 reference, other notable semantic references of N2 are: a) sport (e.g. '*a freak of a goal*'); b) other forms of entertainment (e.g. '*a Godfather of a track*'); c) time reference (e.g. 'a bastard of a year'); d) buildings or parts thereof, (e.g. '*that grave of a house*'); e) fauna (e.g. '*a beauty of a horse*'); f) vehicles and machines (e.g. *a monster of a truck*).

As noted above the phrase N1ofN2 structurally strongly resembles that of *of-genitive* phrase and in some cases may be completely identical as in (12a-b).

    (12a) But now Bob was obsessed with the idea that he should get <u>a skeleton of a woman</u> and <u>a skeleton of a horse.</u>

    (12b) She was <u>a skeleton of a woman</u> whose only desire was to get a two dollar special.

All these semantic features of N1 and N2 create the schema given in (8) which has very few things in common with the genitive meaning as given in (7). Clearly, the two are structurally quite similar but semantically very distinct. Based on what has been said so far, in the following segments of this paper we argue that the pattern *a N1 of a N2* is equally syntactic and lexical in its nature. Undoubtedly this is a syntactic word combination that forms a phrasal lexical unit which as such can be characterized in terms of syntactic schema with specific semantic properties (but syntactic as well).

3. Constructional Morphology approach to the pattern *a N1 of a N2* and its interpretation

The formal, structural and semantic properties of the pattern *a N1 of a N2* imply that it shows many phrasal and word-like properties. As such it requires a particular attention and we suggest that it be considered within the framework of CxG, namely CM which such constructions sees as constructional idioms thus doing justice to the two-faced nature of this phenomenon. Constructional idioms are morphological or syntactic schemas in which one or more positions are lexically fixed (in our case preposition slot is fully lexically fixed, determiner slot is semantically fixed thus lexically semi-fixed) whereas other positions are open slots, represented by variables (Jackendoff 2002).

    In the following segments of this paper we will provide arguments for constructional morphology view of *of-*genitive constructional idioms. We will show that they behave as lexical units in a number of ways.

    We have seen that the constructional idiom *a N1 of a N2* mainly reflects evaluative and/or descriptive meaning being at the same time strongly emotionally charged. With its constructional properties it qualifies as both a syntactic form and a lexical unit.

    Although many regard this kind of construction to be just a marginal phenomenon, which is away from the prototypical genitive construction,

it can be recognized in some extremely frequent fixed expressions and collocations such as *a whale of time, a hell of a..., a heck of a....* Expressions like this are nothing else but highly lexicalized genitive constructional idioms. Due to extremely high level of lexicalization they tend to be perceived as lexical units instead of syntactic units. In perception and conceptualization of such constructs their meaning and lexical nature overshadows their structure.

In retrospect of everything noted before we may say that the construction $[[x]_{Ni}[[of]_P[[a]_{Det}[x]_{Nj}]_{NP}]_{PP}]_{Nk\leftrightarrow}[SEM_j$ with SEM_i -like property$]_k$ shows both syntactic and word-like lexical unit properties. Its features presented above definitely classify it as a lexical unit or a lexical fixed expression. In order to illustrate the double nature of this construction we argue that the same pattern triggering the same interpretation is found in constructs that are either

a) open idiom structures manifesting fairly low level of fixedness with both N1 and N2 slots open and only fixed prepositional *of* form while determiner slots are only categorially and semantically closed (therefore , partially closed). Such is the case with all instances described above as in *an angel of a baby, a monster of a truck, this shit of a hotel, etc.*

b) proper idioms acting as fixed expressions (closed expression). This same constructional schema triggering the same interpretation is found in some more idiomatic expressions except that they display lexical fixedness and are perceived as conventionalized fixed expressions such as *a whale of time, a chit of a girl.* They represent invariable syntactic word combinations which are stored in mental lexicon. The speakers perceive them as wholes which refer to particular concepts and are associated with a specific meaning. They are never computed but retrieved. Moreover, the atypical syntactic distribution and ordering of this pattern may be also regarded as idiomatic.

c) semi-open idioms with semi-fixed structure in which the H (N2) is lexically variable and M (N1) is fixed both lexically and semantically with intensifying meaning. Such instances of this construction are *a heck of..., a fuck of a.., a hell of a....* .

The classification illustrates the multi-faced nature of this construction which has both lexical and syntactic properties and as such lends itself

for Construction Morphology. Traditionally, the pattern that is the topic of this paper is seen as a productive syntactic structure that belongs to the syntactic module of language. The idiomatic instances as in b), on the other hand, would be regarded as conventionalized syntactic chunks with a non-compositional semantic interpretation.

Whatever level of fixedness it shows the interpretation and the schema remains the same. What differs though is that they acquire additional communicative and pragmatic value. Therefore, we speak of the constructional idiom which incorporates both phrasal and word-like properties of *a N1 of a N2*.

We have seen that in this syntactic phrase N2 does not function any longer as a post-modifier of N1 but as a head. At the same time, N1 assumes the role of N2 modifier attributing certain quality to N2. However, the semantic analysis of N1 shows that the words used in N1 position no longer carry their literal meaning as specified in the lexicon but rather a metaphorical meaning with strong emotional charge and intensity. For example, in *a dumpling of a woman* it is not the woman that has prototypical properties of a dumpling, as a woman can hardly be related to a prototypical property of dumplings. Nouns used in N1 position are actually embedded in the open lexical slot thus acquiring new and quite specific bound meaning , as seen from the given example. The reason for this bound meaning may lie in the fact that N1 is used within a specific bound syntactic environment which affects its meaning. Consequently, for proper reference of the extended N1 modifying meaning a wider both linguistic and extra-linguistic context is needed like in *a Godfather of a track* and *a godfather of a boss.* Actually, it is the extra-linguistic factors that determine the bound meaning of the noun(s) used in N1 slot. Obviously, specific intepretations of all lexical items used in N1 slot are bound to this syntactic construction and they convey a specific modal and emotionally charged meaning only in this immediate syntactic surrounding. This phenomenon is known as heterosemy (Lichtenbeck 1991).

On the other hand, the entire structure has a specific usage and reference of its own and is likely to occur in some contexts rather than in the others. According to Coffey (Coffey 2009: 243) this pattern is found in literature (some 60 examples) but it is more likely to occur in the language of the media and marketing (e.g. *a Cracker of a Christmas at Mahnon's*). In our pattern N1 as a modifier has acquired a more general meaning, more abstract and intensive meaning of description and/or evaluation which is

typically additionally colored with either positive or pejorative meaning as well. In such cases, the meaning of the nouns most commonly used in N1 position differs from the one when they are used in other syntactic patterns such as regular *of-genitive* construction or when they are used as independent lexeme.

This naturally suggests that there is a tight semantic relation between N1 and N2 (N2 restricting the choice on N1) because N2 and N1 cannot be freely selected and combined, which strongly implies that we are truly dealing with the pattern that is more lexical than syntactic in its nature. Furthermore, it is not rare that the meaning of the nouns used as N1 significantly differs when used bound in this construction from the one they may have when used independently. Some nouns may be semantically neutral (e.g. *mountain, dumpling)* in independent use and then acquire positive meaning in one context and negative in the other, which only shows how all constituents of the pattern (both open and fixed) are mutually interdependent.

(13a) We call him Spud – a spider of a boy, little and quick and a jolly good sort.

(13b) A spider of a woman, hairy, dark, and venomous-looking she had a swollen goiter hanging over the bodice of her dress.

Be it positive or negative reference that N1 conveys, it is nearly always bound to the entire construction and always implies one or the other. Let us look at (13a-b) in which the noun *spider* has a positive evaluative/ descriptive reference in a) while in b) it has a negative reference when describing a woman. When used independently or in some compounds this noun usually has neutral reference (e.g. *spider veins*). However, in this *of-*construction it is anything but semantically neutral in whatever context it appears and whatever interpretation it may trigger.

Idiomatic constructional nature of this pattern is additionally emphasized by the fact that the entire pattern requires a determiner but restricts its choice with a particular meaning. Hence, we are faced with restrictions regarding the choice of determiner- class. The list of frequent determiners given table 1 suggests that all determiners carry similar meaning which in this particular construction is specialized. This is the meaning of a specific reference, indicating " a particular instance, aspect of ...", highlighting the meaning of uniqueness and expressing strong

approval or dissatisfaction.[7] This semantic restriction regarding the choice of the determiner also implies the idiomatic nature of the construction which for the reasons of its partial fixedness and idiomatic interpretation can be specified in the constructional idiom of the form given in (8).

In syntactic description of *of-genitive* constructional idiom we specified that it is not its syntax that deviates from the prototypical English NP but its semantics with the prepositional noun serving as a H while the default role of a prepositional phrase within an NP is that of a modifier. We refer to this construction as a prepositional head construction which, as noted above, is rather limited to a restricted number of N1and N2 elements. In the framework of CM, by assuming the constructional idiom of the type

$$[[x]_{Ni}[[of]_P[[a]_{Det}[x]_{Nj}]_{NP}]_{PP}]_{Nk} \leftrightarrow [SEM_j \text{ with } SEM_i \text{-like property}]_k$$

we can analyze prepositional head constructions without losing the generalization that in most English NPs with a prepositional phrase the latter serves as a post-modifier. Our schema representing the constructional idiom at the same time reflects the syntactic properties of the pattern but specifies the differences which distinguish this constructional idiom from a regular possessive *of-genitive* construction. The given schemas (7) and (8) specify the relation that N1 and N2 have in both constructions. By using the concept of constructional schema the two syntactic forms receive a clear and straightforward interpretation (Booij 2010: 68). The pattern *a N1 of a N2 is* not a paragrammatical structure but a constructional idiom. For its atypical syntactic properties our constructional idiom may be called a syntactic nut, which Jackendoff defines as a non-canonical structure of English that is strongly entrenched in the grammar of English, and productive as well (Jackenfoff 2008).

So far we have presented features of the *of-genitive* constructional idiom which suggests that despite its seemingly clear syntactic structure there is no straightforward syntactic interpretation. Its idiomatic semantic nature shows how it expresses word-like properties which justifies morphological view of such constructions.

Here we provide some arguments for morphological treatment of this particular constructional idiom:

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[7] If we carefully look into the meanings and references of the determiners used in this construction other than indefinite article *a* we will notice that none of the determiners has its prototypical meaning. For example, *this, that* and *some* have modal affective, emphatic meaning.

Firstly, the meaning of such constructional idiom often relies on context. The pattern is stored in the lexicon as it is associated with a particular meaning which distinguishes it from the regular computable *of-genitive meaning*. Its meaning is more lexeme-like. It is more specific in its semantic reference, not as ambiguous and unclear as genitive (e.g. a portrait of an artist). it is phrasal in structure but not entirely compositional in meaning.

Secondly, we have seen that this undoubtedly (structurally) syntactic construction is semantically parallel to compounds and lexical units in three respects:

a) It is highly (subjectively) descriptive;
b) It has a rather bound meaning that is (although compositional to certain extent) quite conventionalized and not fully cumulative (just as is the case with compounds). It is compositional and conventionalized at the same time. The conventionalized aspect of the meaning *of-genitive* constructional idiom is expressed as a property of the whole construction.
c) The semantics of N1 and N2 are interdependent and interrelated which is rarely the case with syntactic phrases. On the other hand. the collocability of constituents is rather frequent in compounds.

Lastly, we argue that the meaning of the preposition *of* in this construction has been strongly lexicalized. The argument for this may be found in the fact that none of the meanings expressed by *of-genitive* in English can be associated with the meaning of this constructional idiom. Here, the meaning of preposition *of* is in a way bound to this specific construction.

4. Conclusion

The study of the case *of-genitive* constructional idioms illustrates how languages use complex syntactic patterns to broaden their lexicon (Booij 2010: 191). There is no strict boundary between syntactic and lexical constructs. The pattern *a N1 of a N2* illustrates how syntax permeates the lexicon because syntactic units can be lexical. The grammar is a network of syntactic and morphological constructions, with conventionalized instantiations for both types of constructions listed in the lexicon.

Constructionist approach to syntax, morphology and lexicon can do justice to the fact that large number of phrasal units constituting the lexicon are not words in morphological sense, and yet may form open sets of lexical expressions. Such subsets of complex words with their semantic and functional similarities to simple words are best accounted for through the concept of constructional idioms without giving up the distinction between words and phrases. Construction Morphology operating within Construction Grammar provides an insightful framework for modeling the regularities in the semantic interpretation and formal composition of complex words. In this way our view of the lexicon becomes hierarchical and the neat division between grammar and lexicon ceases to exist. In that respect morphological word-formation operations and syntactic operations function in the same way. In constructionist grammar language production rests on the unification operation of speakers. This means that "well-formed words and sentences are constructed by unifying pieces of information that are specified in the "construction", the list of constructions and simple words of a language" (Booij 2010: 257).

The existence of the type of constructional idiom discussed in this paper across-languages with nearly identical syntactic and semantic properties indicates the strong relation that exists between the two, at the same time opening interesting issues on the cross-linguistic relation that exists between form, meaning and human conceptualization of language structures. Therefore, constructions such as *a N1 of a N2* may not be so marginal as they may appear at first sight but require a thorough holistic approach.

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RELATIVE CLAUSES IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Abstract
Despite English and Danish being similar languages, even Danes who are proficient in English (university students of English) seem to have difficulties with relative clauses in English. This paper explores this issue by first making a detailed contrastive analysis of English and Danish, and then comparing the hypotheses drawn from this analysis to a corpus of texts, consisting of essays and summaries in English, and translations from Danish into English, written by Danish university students. The corpus study is supplemented by questionnaires testing the students' abilities to form relative clauses in English. It is found that the types of errors predicted from the contrastive analysis do occur to a large extent in the students' texts and in the questionnaire responses.

Keywords: relativization, second language acquisition, syntax

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1. Introduction

The main purpose of the author's PhD project is to document and analyse the challenges that Danish university students (primarily freshmen) face in their acquisition of written English and in their learning of descriptive/ theoretical grammar. The project has its point of departure in the interlanguage and contrastive hypotheses (Selinker 1972; Lado 1957, Corder 1981, Ellis 2009, 2012, Jarvis 2011), and instances of the influence of the L1 (Danish) on the L2 (English) in the students' writings are indeed ubiquitous (Madsen 2014, 2015, forthcoming). In this paper, the focus is on the acquisition of English relative clauses.

The impetus to this study was the informal observation that Danish university students of English seemed to have trouble with the use of *whose* as a relative pronoun. It was surprising since Danish has a cognate (*hvis*), which is used in the exact same way syntactically as *whose*. This phenomenon was investigated in Madsen (2015). During that project, further problem areas with the use of relative pronouns by Danes were identified, and the present paper focuses on these areas, expounded in the next section.

2. Theory and hypotheses

As mentioned in the introduction, the theoretical approach of this paper is the contrastive hypothesis, i.e. a learner's L1 influences the learner's acquisition of the L2 (Lado 1957). Since Lado's seminal work it has been recognised (Pavlenko et al. 2002, Jarvis et al. 2008, Jarvis 2011, Odlin 1989) that not only the learner's mother tongue can influence the language being learnt, but also other languages that the learner has acquired previously. Such a possible non-Danish-language influence has been ignored in the present study although some of the informants are descendants of immigrants and have thus been raised bilingually. One reason for ignoring this possible influence is that there are only a few early-childhood bilinguals among the informants, and consequently, it is not possible to make a reliable statistical analysis of this group compared to the monolingually raised informants, especially since the former group is heterogeneous representing very different parallel L1s, such as Arabic, Turkish, Vietnamese, etc. Another reason is that all these informants have grown up in Denmark and attended Danish schools, and their Danish is

on a par with that of their monolingually raised peers. By not excluding the bilingually raised informants, this study describes the "average" student *citizen* of Denmark, and not an idealised group of students raised monolingually in Danish. On the other hand, an exchange student was excluded from the study even though her written Danish compared favourably with that of native Danes, because she did not grow up in and was never a resident of Denmark.

The hypotheses that were tested in this work were based on a contrastive comparison, which is explicated below (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Togeby 2003). Both being Germanic languages, Danish and English are expectably similar with respect to the formation of relative clauses. The most frequent type of relative clause in Danish is the finite postmodifying relative clause introduced by a relativizer. Just as in English, the relativizer can be omitted when it is the direct or indirect object or is part of a prepositional construction. When the relativizer is part of a prepositional construction, the preposition is stranded most frequently[1]. Danish allows non-finite postmodifying clauses too in the same way as English does; however, these are used much less frequently than in English (Hjulmand and Schwarz 2012). On the other hand, Danish allows non-finite premodifying clauses too, much like German, although such constructions are restricted to legal language or legalese.[2] The focus of this study is – as mentioned in the introduction – on the use of relativizers; consequently, it concerns itself with the use of finite postmodifying relative clauses.

Table 1 lists the relativizers of Danish. It is disputed whether all or in fact any of them can be called relative *pronouns* (Lehmann 1984, Togeby 2003); however, that discussion is beside the point of this study. Relativizers that correspond to *where, why* and *when* were ignored in this study because they are limited to antecedents with special features, such as place, reason and time. However, a study is planned to investigate the use of *where* by Danes because its Danish cognate *hvor* has a much wider

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[1] In the case of the relativizer *som*, the preposition is invariably stranded. In the case of *hvem* and *hvilken*, it is typically preposed, and when the relativizer would be *hvad*, the cognate of *what,* it and the relativizer are fused. E.g., *om hvad* becomes *hvorom* 'whereabout'.

[2] There is some evidence that non-finite premodifying clauses are difficult for people not trained in legal language to comprehend. A survey that was supposed to test the informants' ability to translate Danish sentences containing non-finite premodifying clauses into English failed because many informants apparently did not even understand the Danish originals even though these were rather simple clauses in which one of the NPs merely contained a non-finite premodifying clause.

application than *where*, and it seems for this reason that Danes sometimes misuse *where* when writing English.

Table 1: Relativizers in modern Danish

Relativizer	Antecedent	Syntactic function in relative clause
som	any except a clause	any except possessor
der	any except a clause	only subject
hvilket	a clause	any except possessor
hvad	a clause	any except possessor and subject
hvad der	a clause	only subject
hvilken	inanimate except a clause	any except possessor
hvem	animate	any except possessor
hvis	any	only possessor

Hvilken and *hvem* are the cognates of *which* and *whom*, respectively, and are almost exclusively used as interrogative pronouns, only seldom as relativizers in modern Danish. If *hvilken* is indeed used, it agrees with its antecedent in grammatical gender and number. *Hvilket* is the neuter singular of *hvilken*; however, in modern Danish it is almost only used with a clausal antecedent. In any case, *hvilken* and its declensions can only refer to inanimate antecedents. *Hvem* is originally the dative form of the animate interrogative/relative pronoun; however, it has completely replaced the original nominative form *hvo*. *Hvo* appears only in a couple of proverbs in modern Danish. *Hvem* can only refer to animate antecedents. *Hvis* is the genitive of *hvo/hvem*; however, it can – just as the English *whose* – also be used with inanimate antecedents. *Som* and *der* are the relativizers that are used by far the most frequently in modern Danish. It must be noted, however, that *som* and *der* are also the translation equivalents of *as* and *there*, respectively. *Der* is of course not only the translation equivalent of *there*, but also its cognate. Both *som* and *der* are indifferent to animacy and can refer to any antecedents except clauses.[3]

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[3] In apparently careless writing, *som* is sometimes found referring to a clausal antecedent. *Der* has not been attested in this function regardless of writing style.

Danish does not distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses as far as the relativizer itself is concerned. In other words, there is no difference in the choice of relativizer similar to the distinction in English between *that* on the one hand and *who/which* on the other hand. Nor is the distinction between parenthetical and restrictive relative clauses reflected consistently in punctuation, i.e. comma usage. The Danish Language Council does not recommend the use of comma before restrictive relative clauses, similarly to the standard orthographic rule in English, which precludes the use of comma before restrictive relative clauses. However, this recommendation has existed only since 1996, and the comma is still allowed before any subordinate clause regardless of its nature. Before 1996, it was obligatory to place a comma before every subordinate clause, as in German. In the experience of the author of this paper, who has educated teachers of Danish since 2000 and has given countless public lectures on the use of punctuation in Danish since 2009, the abovementioned recommendation has gone unnoticed by both the general public and teachers of Danish. Consequently, most Danes are completely unaware that there is at all a difference between parenthetical and restrictive relative clauses, and the teaching of this distinction in English is a perpetual challenge.

Based on the contrastive analysis above, it is expected that negative transfer from Danish to English occurs in the following cases, which constitute the hypotheses for this study:

1. *Which* and *who* may be confused with respect to the animacy of the antecedent because the most frequently used relativizers in Danish (*som* and *der*) do not make this distinction;
2. *Who* and *whom* may be confused in the way that *whom* is used erroneously as the subject of the relative clause since *whom* has an obvious cognate in Danish (*hvem*), which can readily be used as the subject in modern Danish, whereas *who* does not have a widely known cognate at all anymore;
3. Entirely wrong words may be used, i.e. *as* and *there* in place of a proper relativizer because *as* and *there* are also translation equivalents of the Danish words most frequently used as relativizers, namely *som* and *der*. Naturally, the correct use of *as* as relativizer is not considered a mistake;

4. Parenthetical and restrictive relative clauses may be confused with respect to both the choice of relativizer (*that* vs. *who/which*) and the use of comma.

Even though it is formulated above, the present paper does not concern itself with hypothesis 4 because it is planned to dedicate a separate study to the use of punctuation in English by Danes. The reason for devoting a separate paper to that issue is that as much as about 20% of all mistakes detected in the writings of Danish students have to do with punctuation, especially with the use of comma (Madsen 2014).

3. Method

For the testing of the hypotheses outlined above, a group of freshmen of English Business Communication at Aalborg University, Denmark served as informants. Two types of data were gathered: results of a questionnaire specifically developed for this study and error analysis of texts that the students had written independently of this study (Corder 1981, Oppenheim 1992). The questionnaire contained a set of gap-filling and a set of multiple-choice questions, in both of which the students had to insert the appropriate relativizer into matrix clauses, together with an appropriate preposition if needed. The two sets of questions will be henceforth referred to as the gap-filling and multiple-choice test, respectively. The tests were administered electronically with the help of the quiz functionality of the Moodle software package, which is used for all study-related administrative and educational purposes in Aalborg University. The questions were presented to the informants in a random order, so no two informants received the questions in the same order. The set of answers to the multiple-choice questions was also randomised and contained besides the correct answer both wrong, but sensible answers (i.e. answers with wrong relativizers or wrong prepositions) and nonsensical answers (i.e. answers that did not even contain a relativizer, including of course the words *as* and *there*). Neither the relativizer *that* nor the zero relativizer was part of the set of answers to the multiple-choice questions in order to force the informants to choose between *who* and *which* (Table 2). With one exception, the zero relativizer was never a viable choice to the gap-filling questions; thus empty responses automatically counted as mistakes. Because of the rigidity of

the quiz function of Moodle, prepositions always had to be preposed the relativizer, never stranded. Table 2 lists the questions of both the multiple-choice and gap-filling tests, and Table 3 shows the answers to the multiple-choice questions. The tests actually contained four more questions each that concerned topics outside the scope of this study; they are thus not reported here.

Table 2: The questions of the tests

Relativizer sought	Multiple-choice questions	Gap-filling questions
Who	She misses her grandma, { } died a couple of weeks ago, very much.	I watch videos featuring a chemist, { } is now my new hero, on YouTube.
Whom	Jackie Chan, { } I admire, is a famous actor.	Prof. Poliakoff, { } I watch on YouTube, is an excellent chemist.
Which as direct object	I sold the sofa { } no one liked very much.	I like the videos { } Prof. Poliakoff and his team make.
Which as subject	I bought a new sofa, { } was on sale in IKEA.	I like to watch videos { } feature science.
to whom	My students, { } I give many exercises, are getting better and better.	Peter, { } Julie has told a sad story, is a good listener.
from whom	Prof. Poliakoff is someone { } you can learn a lot.	She misses her grandma, { } she has inherited a sofa.
about which	The sofa { } you may have read elsewhere doesn't exist.	The elements and molecules, { } Prof. Poliakoff lectures in his videos, are very exciting.
of which	Nordrhein-Westfalen, the English name { } is North Rhine-Westphalia, is my favourite federal state of Germany.	Vatican City, the major "industry" { } is religion, is the smallest state in the world.

Table 3: The set of answers to the multiple-choice questions

as	*there*	*which*	*who*	*whom*	*whose*	*where*
why	*What*	*from whom*	*because*	*to whom*	*of which*	*about which*

In order also to have a textual base for the study, a body of texts written by freshmen in the five academic years from the autumn of 2010 to the spring of 2015 was analysed for errors in the use of relative clauses. The informants participating in the test described above, and the informants providing the texts are two different groups since the tests were conducted in the autumn of 2015. The texts were composed in the course Production of Written Texts within three genres: short composition (e.g. business letters, ads) in English, summarising in English of an English original, and translation from Danish into English.

4. Analysis

In the first two subsections, the results of the two tests are presented. The responses were assigned the following six labels: correct, wrong form but correct animacy, Danism, wrong animacy, *whom* instead of *who*, and empty or nonsensical. A response was classified correct when it was the correct relativizer, spelled correctly, and if necessary, accompanied with the correct preposition. The label wrong form but correct animacy covers cases in which the relativizer was misspelled, accompanied with an incorrect preposition or did not have a preposition when one was called for. A response was classified as Danism when it was *as* or *there* (see hypothesis 3). The label wrong animacy covers cases in which a relativizer with the wrong animacy was used regardless whether it was spelled correctly or had the correct preposition (see hypothesis 1). The label *whom* instead of *who* covers cases in which *whom* had been used erroneously as subject. This label is only relevant for one question in either test (see hypothesis 2). The label empty or nonsensical covers cases in which the response did not contain a relativizer at all. Since only 81 informants participated in the tests, the percentages are rounded to the nearest whole number. That is why the sum of the numbers in one row may not equal 100; nevertheless, all responses are accounted for.

4.1. Results of the gap-filling test

The gap-filling test was used to see if the informants were able to insert the right (form of the) relativizer together with a preposition if needed. Table 4 shows the test results in percentage of the total number of responses.

Table 4: The results of the gap-filling test

n=81	Response categories					
Target relativizers and prepositions	correct	wrong form but correct animacy	Danism	wrong animacy	*whom* instead of *who*	empty or nonsensical
Who	79	1	0	7	10	2
who(m)	89[4]	2	0	5	n.a.	2
which as direct object	86[5]	0	0	6	n.a.	7
which as subject	77[6]	1	0	1	n.a.	20
to whom	15	72	0	5	n.a.	9
from whom	1	83	0	10	n.a.	6
about which	10	74	0	1	n.a.	15
of which	9	59	2	2	n.a.	27

The low number of correct answers in the case of *to whom* can be explained by interference from Danish since Danish does not require the use of a preposition when the relativizer is to function as indirect object in its relative clause. The use of the preposition *til*, the counterpart of *to*, is allowed, but seemingly disfavoured. However, the other cases of a

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[4] 65% of the informants responded with who, and 23% with whom. Both answers were accepted as correct.

[5] 53% of the informants responded with that, and 33% with which. Both answers were accepted as correct. No informants used the zero relativizer.

[6] 42% of the informants responded with which, and 36% with that. Both answers were accepted as correct.

relativizer combined with a preposition, which also had a low number of correct responses, cannot be explained in such a straightforward manner because Danish also requires the use of a preposition in these cases. Nevertheless, no preposition was provided at all in the vast majority of the responses. The only possible explanation with reference to Danish may be that modern Danish strongly dejects prepositions combined directly with a relativizer; a stranded preposition is clearly the favoured choice.

4.2. Results of the multiple-choice test

The multiple-choice test was taken by 81 informants. Table 5 shows the test results in percentage of the total number of responses.

Table 5: The results of the multiple-choice test

n=81	Response categories					
Target relativizers and prepositions	correct	wrong form but correct animacy	Danism	wrong animacy	*whom* instead of *who*	empty or nonsensical
who	88	0	1	2	7	1
who(m)	96[7]	0	1	1	n.a.	1
which as direct object	70	7	2	9	n.a.	11
which as subject	91	1	7	0	n.a	0
to whom	49	42	0	9	n.a.	0
from whom	69	20	0	9	n.a.	2
about which	30	35	25	7	n.a.	4
of which	31	65	2	1	n.a.	0

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[7] 57% of the informants responded with *who*, and 40% with *whom*. Both responses were accepted as correct.

As in the case of the gap-filling test, the items that required a relativizer with a preposition proved to be the most challenging ones although to a lesser degree. Also in the multiple-choice test, the prevalent problem was the omission of the preposition – even though required in Danish as well – not the use of a wrong preposition. On the other hand, the multiple-choice test elicited considerably fewer empty or nonsensical responses than the gap-filling test did. Contrary to this, the multiple-choice test resulted in many more Danisms in the responses than the gap-filling test did. The results of the two tests are similar to each other as for the wrong choice of relativizer with respect to the antecedent's animacy, and the erroneous use of *whom* as subject.

4.3. Results of the error analysis

The error analysis of the corpus was used to see to what extent in actual practice the students made mistakes with relativizers with regard to the hypotheses posited in this study. 1421 texts in English containing more than 370 000 words were analysed. Of all the mistakes that were detected, roughly 1.09% have to do with relativization. This error type is therefore not the most critical one by and large. Table 6 shows the summary of the error analysis.

Table 6: Results of the error analysis

Text type	Relativizer used	Number of instances	Wrong animacy	Wrong case
Translation from Danish into English 539 texts, 174 000 words	*who*	441	26 (5.86%)	n.a.
	whom	16	0	15 (94%)
	which	996	1 (0.10%)	n.a.
	Danism	15	n.a.	0
Summary 408 texts, 97 000 words	*who*	361	4 (1.11%)	n.a.
	whom	7	0	3 (43%)
	which	368	3 (0.82%)	n.a.
	Danism	0	n.a.	0

Free composition 474 texts, 107 000 words	*who*	80	5 (63%)	n.a.
	whom	8	1 (13%)	5 (63%)
	which	402	0	n.a.
	Danism	2	n.a.	0
Altogether 1421 texts, 370 000 words		2696 (0.56% Danism)	40 (1.49%)	23 (74%)

Instances of *that, why, where, when* and *whose* used as relativizer were ignored in this study since they are not covered by the hypotheses. Instances of wrong or non-use of a preposition with a relativizer were also ignored because those errors had been classified as preposition errors and thus fell outside the scope of this study.

The sum of all the instances of the relativizers also includes Danisms (the erroneous use of *as* and *there*), which constitute 0.56% of all the instances of the relativizers used by the students and investigated in this study. Danisms were ignored in the calculation of the percentages of the instances of wrong choice of animacy since the underlying Danish words do not distinguish between animate and inanimate antecedents. The possibility of wrong case usage, on the other hand, does exist with Danisms. As can be seen in Table 1, *der* can only be used as the subject of the relative clause. Thus, if *there* were used in a function other than the subject, it could be construed as an error in case even though *der* and *som* can hardly be considered declensional forms. In any case, no such errors were detected, and thus, the percentage of the sum of the instances of wrong choice of case reflects only the erroneous use of *whom* as subject in proportion to all instances of *whom* as relativizer.

It seems that *who* is more often used erroneously with inanimate antecedents than *which* is used with animate antecedents. One partial explanation is that the students often use *who* with reference to a firm or company, but with the verb in the singular. These mistakes were classified as mistakes with the relativizer for this study; however, in principle, they could also be categorised as mistakes with subject-verb agreement. If so, *who* may not be significantly more misused than *which*.

4.4. Summary of the analyses

Table 7 summarises the main results of the tests and the error analysis.

Table 7: Summary of the tests and the error analysis

		wrong animacy	wrong case	Danism
Error analysis		1.49%	74%	0.56%
Test	multiple-choice	4.8%	7%	3.8%
	gap-filling	4.8%	11%	0.3%

The confusion of the relativizer with respect to the antecedent's animacy is more pronounced in the tests than in actual writing, and it does not seem to matter how the students are tested. Whether this difference is significant or not, is impossible estimate. In any case, it is somewhat consoling that the students do better in the actual use of English than in artificial tests.

The erroneous use of *whom* as subject is, unfortunately, much more pronounced in actual writing than in either of the tests, which seem to yield similar results. Since *whom* is not used very often, as shown in Table 6, one might argue that it does not cause so many mistakes in practice, either. Nevertheless, it is somewhat worrying that whenever the students do attempt to use it, they do so almost invariably erroneously. Thus, it may warrant the introduction of some extra exercises in class.

The erroneous use of *as* and *there*, here called Danism, has similarly low prevalence both in actual writing and in the gap-filling test. The relatively high occurrence of this error type in the multiple-choice test might be due to the fact that the students are explicitly presented with *as* and *there* as possible answers, and this might elevate the students' inclination to use them. In any case, since the prevalence of this error type is so low in practice, it does not seem to be the biggest cause for concern.

5. Conclusion

Generally, all the three hypotheses that were posited in this study were verified, to differing degrees. The most significant of the hypotheses is number 2, the erroneous use of *whom* as subject. Although *whom* is not a

word that is used frequently by the students, also not when it could and ought to be used in an academic text, it is almost always used erroneously when it is used. Thus, it seems to deserve increased attention in the teaching of academic and scientific English to Danish students.

It is debatable how much one should worry because of the fact that about 1.5% of the relativizers used by Danish students show a mismatch with respect to the animacy of the antecedent. In an informal interview, some of the informants acknowledged that this distinction is so basic that one ought not to make a mistake with it. On the other hand, the interviewees contended that the mistakes were not due to lack of knowledge, but to lack of proper attention when doing their assignments. If this claim is warranted, it may not be necessary to focus on the technicalities of *who* and *which* in class, but rather on training for paying closer attention when writing and editing written work.

The erroneous use of *as* and *there*, here called Danism, merits the least concern since it has a rather low occurrence in the actual writing of the students. Its relatively frequent occurrence in the multiple-choice test is likely attributable to the artificial and biased nature of the test.

A result that was not anticipated has also emerged from the tests used in this study. Using relativizers with preposed, not stranded prepositions seems to be rather challenging for the students. The error analysis can neither corroborate nor falsify this finding because this issue was not known when the error analysis was performed. Nevertheless, based on the tests, practising the use of relativizers with prepositions would to be a very good idea.

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MIND THE GAP! THREE YEARS DOWN THE LINE FROM THE ENTRANCE EXAM AT THE ENGLISH DEPARTMENT, FACULTY OF PHILOLOGY, BELGRADE

Abstract
This paper examines the nature and degree of correlation between the candidates' entrance exam results and their respective results in the Contemporary English G5 exam in the third year of undergraduate studies at the English Department, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. It assesses the predictive validity of the entrance exam as a selection tool and highlights the need of a more balanced development of language competences and skills in EFL university studies. The analysis comprises the scores achieved by 218 students from two generations (entrance exam 2011 and 2012, Contemporary G5 exam 2014 and 2015, respectively) in the following exam components: English in use (grammar and vocabulary), reading comprehension, listening comprehension and writing. The findings indicate satisfactory overall predictive validity of the entrance exam, whereby, more specifically, they reveal a high degree of correlation between the writing and listening comprehension scores but a considerable discrepancy between the English in use (grammar and vocabulary) and reading comprehension scores

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achieved in the entrance exam (B2+ level) and in the third year Contemporary English G5 exam (C2.1 level). The findings should ultimately serve as a basis for further qualitative research and improvement of the interaction between teaching, learning and assessment across different levels of EFL university studies.

Key words: *entrance exam (B2+), Contemporary English G5 exam (C2.1), English in use, reading comprehension, listening comprehension, writing, predictive validity*

1. Introduction

Using a specifically designed entrance exam as a selection tool is one way of ensuring that universities get the best candidates in a particular field of study, who will in return make the most of their education and later successfully apply that knowledge in their professions. Among other things, this is also a way in which these tertiary institutions establish and maintain their reputation. In the Serbian education system, discipline-specific entrance exams have traditionally been used as a selection tool at state universities. They are generally administered for two reasons: (i) to select fewer candidates when the number of applicants exceeds the limit set by a faculty, and (ii) to choose the most prospective candidates (Fajgelj and Knebl 2004).

This is also the case with the English Department at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, where the current entrance exam (for candidates who apply for the *English language, literature and culture* curriculum, on average twice more than the set limit) assesses Grammar and Vocabulary, Reading Comprehension, Listening Comprehension and Writing at the B2+ CEFR level (cf. Council of Europe 2001), with the minimum requirement entry score being 60%.

However, within the ongoing process of education reforms in Serbia, by the year 2020, discipline-specific university entrance exams are to be replaced by a standardized national matriculation exam, which should serve as the general admission test for different fields of university studies (with the exception of university programmes requiring special skills such as drama, music, art or sports, whereby the status of foreign language skills as special skills is unclear).[1] The development of the upcoming

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[1] This change has been planned since 2012 in the official Serbian Government *Education Development Strategy 2020* (*Službeni glasnik Republike Srbije* 107/12, 2012) and the

matriculation exam is still in progress, but it should roughly correspond to the A-level exams in the UK, or the SAT college admission test in the US.[2] Obviously, deciding on the most appropriate testing format which would be effective as an admission tool for a wide variety of university programmes is far from an easy task. All the more so from the point of view of foreign language university programmes, in particular EFL university programmes, which require a certain level of foreign language proficiency already at the entry. In this regard, the importance of a well-designed test capable of determining with a great degree of accuracy the right profile of a candidate cannot be overemphasized.

Exploring the relationship between students' success in the admission test and their performance in the first and later years of study at different levels of tertiary education is an important area of research (cf. Zwick 2002, 2006, 2007, Kuncel, Hezlett and Ones 2001). One of the underlying ideas of this kind of research is to keep the admission procedures in sync with university requirements and the objectives and outcomes of tertiary education. The awareness of the quality of entrance exams or other selection tools and their correspondence with later stages of study is one way of ensuring that students really benefit from the education they get and develop to their full potential.

With this in mind, in this paper we address the issue of the predictive validity of the discipline-specific entrance exam at the English Department, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. In particular, we examine the nature and degree of correlation between the candidates' entrance exam results (B2+ CEFR level) and their respective results in the Contemporary English G5 exam (C2.1 CEFR level) in the third year of undergraduate studies, on the basis of a quantitative analysis of a sample of results

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interim 2015 *Action Plan* for its implementation (http://www.mpn.gov.rs/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Akcioni_plan.pdf). In November 2016, the Serbian Education Minister publicly announced that the implementation of the matriculation exam replacing university entrance exams would start as of 2018 (http://www.b92.net/info/vesti/index.php?yyyy =2016&mm =11&dd= 10&nav_category= 11&nav_id=1197925).

[2] A-level exams are standardised tests in a number of subjects taught in high school, the scores of which are used as an admission tool by universities in the UK. The SAT is a standardised university admission test in the US, assessing a candidate's knowledge of critical reading, writing and mathematics.

achieved by 218 students from two generations.[3] Thereby, we focus on the following research questions:

(1) How do the candidates' entrance exam scores in the four pertinent components (Grammar and Vocabulary, Reading Comprehension, Listening Comprehension, Writing) relate to the scores in the analogous components of the third year Contemporary English G5 exam?
(2) What do the obtained results reveal about
(i) the predictive validity of the entrance exam under consideration,
(ii) the expected balanced development of EFL proficiency from B2+ to C2 level during the course of university studies under consideration, and
(iii) the challenges of the discipline-specific entrance exam under consideration being replaced by a general matriculation exam as envisaged in the current reform of university admission policy in Serbia?

The study is case specific, but it may have broader implications in the context of EFL university education. The paper is structured as follows: the data and analytical procedure are described in Section 2, the results are presented and discussed in Section 3, and general concluding remarks with implications for further research are provided in Section 4.

2. Data and analysis

The analysis is based on two datasets comprising the scores achieved by 218 students who passed the Contemporary English G5 exam in 2014 (119 students) and in 2015 (99 students).[4] These two groups of students took their entrance exams in 2011 and 2012, respectively. We compared the

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[3] The label *G5* in *Contemporary English G5* stands for the core EFL course in the fifth term of undergraduate English studiesat the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade ("G" is short for the Serbian word *glavni* 'main', which refers to the category of core foreign language courses; at the English Department, this category comprises Contemporary English G1–G6 courses during the first three undergraduate years).

[4] Included in the analysis are only the scores of the students who passed the exam; the pass rate in the Contemporary English G5 exam was 82.6% in 2014 and 76.7% in 2015.

results of the entrance exam components and their Contemporary English G5 exam counterparts specified in Table 1:

Table 1. The exam components included in the analysis[5]

Entrance exam components (B2+ level)	Contemporary English G5 exam counterparts[1] (C2.1 level)
Grammar and Vocabulary (a twenty-item multiple choice test, containing a cloze and a set of isolatedsentences)	English in Use (a forty-item test of grammatical and lexical knowledge with the following tasks: a gapped text, word formation, transformations and error correction)
Reading Comprehension (two texts treating general topics, each followed by five multiple choice items)	Reading Comprehension (a twenty-item test consisting of three parts: a text with multiple choice comprehension questions, a gapped text and a lexical cloze)
Listening Comprehension (two recordings treating general topics, each followed by five multiple choice items)	Listening Comprehension (two recordings, one with a multiple choice task and the other with a three-way matching task 'Who Says What', five items each)
Writing (a guided task with detailed instructions regarding the background information about the topic and the specific points which need to be covered)	Writing (two in-class assignments; in the first one, students interpret visual data (graphs, charts, tables) and write about trends; in the second, students develop a topic by integrating ideas and arguments from a limited number of sources, using techniques such as paraphrasing, summarising and quoting)

The entrance exam combines achievement and aptitude testing features. The former are reflected especially in the Grammar and Vocabulary component, whose creation is strictly guided by the EFL curricular elements covered at previous levels of education. In order to help prospective students prepare

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[5] In addition to the components specified here, the Contemporary English G5 exam also contains the Speaking part, which the entrance exam lacks. The current format of the entrance exam was introduced in 2009, as a modification of its 2006 predecessor, which originally assessed oral production as well; unfortunately, the speaking component was abandoned after three years due to the complexity of entrance exam administration.

for the exam, each year the Faculty of Philology publishes a collection of past papers (cf. Daničić and Ilić 2015). The Contemporary English G5 exam involves achievement-based summative assessment. It builds on the topic-based syllabus of the corresponding course (and its counterparts in the first two undergraduate years), designed to foster the integration of language skills (with special emphasis given to productive skills, i.e. writing and speaking), the enhancement of lexical, grammatical, phonetic/prosodic, orthographic/orthoepic, discourse, pragmatic, interactive and sociolinguistic competences, and the development of accuracy, fluency and range in accordance with the targeted level of proficiency.

In the analysis of the two datasets, for the purpose of comparison and ease of reference, all entrance exam and Contemporary English G5 exam scores were converted to a 10-point scale. We compared individual student scores for each exam component, and calculated average scores and discrepancy values (± in relation to the entrance exam) for each component, as shown in Tables 4 and 5 provided in the Appendix. In assessing the predictive validity of the entrance exam components, we used a three-level grading scale designed for the purpose of analysis (mean discrepancy <0.5: strong predictive validity; mean discrepancy 0.5–1.0: satisfactory predictive validity; mean discrepancy >1.0: weak predictive validity).

3. Results and discussion

The results of the analysis of the two datasets concerning the average scores and discrepancy values for each exam component are summarised in Table 2:[6]

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[6] Abbreviations: G5=Contemporary English G5 Exam; EE=Entrance Exam; EinU=English in Use; GV=Grammar and Vocabulary; RC=Reading Comprehension; LC=Listening Comprehension; W=Writing; Avg.=Average Score; Discrep.=Discrepancy.

Table 2. The Contemporary English G5 exam scores vs. the entrance exam scores

Dataset (1): G5 2014 : EE 2011, 119 students

	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.
	EinU	GV		RC	RC		LC	LC		W	W	
Avg.	6.69	8.37	−1.68	7.16	9.0	−1.84	8.01	7.51	+0.50	8.16	8.05	+0.11

Dataset (2): G5 2015 : EE 2012, 99 students

	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.
	EinU	GV		RC	RC		LC	LC		W	W	
Avg.	7.17	7.92	−0.75	7.51	8.09	−0.59	7.89	7.89	0.00	8.12	8.24	−0.13

As can be discerned from this summary, in both datasets there is a significantly high degree of average score correlation in the writing and listening comprehension components, while the average scores in the English in use (grammar and vocabulary) and reading comprehension components manifest considerable discrepancies.

Specifically, the highest degree of average score correlation is found in the writing component, with a +0.11 discrepancy in the results in favour of the G5 exam for the 2011 generation, and a –0.13 discrepancy in favour of the entrance exam for the 2012 generation (the mean discrepancy value: –0.01). The correlation in the listening comprehension average scores is also significantly high, though less balanced in the two datasets: there is a +0.5 discrepancy in the results in favour of the G5 exam for the 2011 generation, while the results for the 2012 generation turn out to be identical in the entrance exam and the G5 exam (the mean discrepancy value: +0.25).

In the remaining two parts of the test – English in use (grammar and vocabulary) and reading comprehension – there is a noticeable decline in the G5 exam results compared to the entrance exam results, with the mean discrepancy value of over one full grade in both cases. Within the English in use (grammar and vocabulary) part of the test, there is a –1.68 discrepancy in favour of the entrance exam for the 2011 generation, and a –0.75 discrepancy in favour of the entrance exam for the 2012 generation (the mean discrepancy value: –1.215). As for the reading comprehension scores, there is a –1.84 discrepancy in favour of the entrance exam for the 2011 generation, and a –0.59 discrepancy in favour of the entrance exam for the 2012 generation (the mean discrepancy value: –1.215). Thereby it can be observed that, while the discrepancy in these two exam components is considerably higher in the dataset for the 2011 generation (–1.68 for EinU and –1.84 for RC) than for the 2012 generation (–0.75 for EinU and –0.59 for RC), the overall decline pattern is discernible in both datasets.

The pertinent discrepancy figures for the two datasets are summarised in Table 3:

Table 3. Average score discrepancies in the G5 and entrance
exam components

	G5 2014 : EE 2011	G5 2015 : EE 2012	Mean discrepancy value
EinU (GV)	−1.68	−0.75	−1.215
RC	−1.84	−0.59	−1.215
LC	+0.5	0.00	+0.25
Writing	+0.11	−0.13	−0.01

These findings indicate that the entrance exam on the whole is a satisfactory predictor of future students' achievement in the core EFL courses at the English Department, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade: taking into account all four test segments under consideration, the overall mean discrepancy would be –0.5475 in favour of the entrance exam compared to the third year Contemporary English G5 exam. Thereby, the findings also reveal a substantial asymmetry in the degree of correlation between the entrance exam and the G5 exam scores in different exam components, which is particularly noteworthy in view of both assessment and teaching practices.

On the negative end, there is a considerable discrepancy between the entrance exam and the G5 exam in the English in use (grammar and vocabulary) and reading comprehension scores. Leaving aside the subjective factors (such as motivation and dedication or learning styles), this discrepancy could generally be attributed either (i) to the imbalanced difficulty of the pertinent tasks with regard to the required level (i.e. that the entrance exam tasks are too easy for the B2+ level or that the G5 exam tasks are too difficult for the C2.1 level) or (ii) to the imbalanced development of these competences and skills at more advanced levels of EFL university studies. Given that both the entrance exam and the G5 exam tests are carefully designed in accordance with the respective CEFR level requirements, and that our analysis includes the data pertaining to two generations of students, it is reasonable to exclude the first option as the major factor. Hence, we focus our attention to the second option and would like to highlight the need of a more balanced development of grammatical

and lexical competences and reading skills in EFL university studies, with a view to the qualitative content underlying the quantitative data presented above. Namely, based on our yearlong experience in teaching third year undergraduate students at the English Department, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, we can observe the following issues in particular:

(1) With regard to grammatical competence: students at C2.1–C2.2 level often keep struggling with some grammatical structures that should have been acquired at previous levels of study, even when they are comfortable with more complex structures suited to the targeted level of proficiency. Typical examples include the incorrect use of the Present Perfect in the transformation exercise or students' failure to even recognise the grammatical context requiring this structure (describing trends, pertinent time adverbials), or the incorrect use of mixed conditionals and inversion after negative adverbs, although these areas of grammar are dealt with in detail during the previous years of study.

(2) With regard to lexical competence: feeling comfortable with the already acquired advanced vocabulary, students at C2.1–C2.2 level tend to circumvent systematic vocabulary development suited to the targeted level of proficiency and show insufficient progress in enhancing lexical range and accuracy required for conveying finer shades of meaning. Typical examples include new idiomatic expressions, more complex intensifiers and other emphatic expressions, as well as required topic-based and more technical vocabulary (e.g. economy, global trends, the labour market). Generally, students' awareness of register and style still seems to be inadequate at this level, which is most visible in their discussing abstract topics or subjects which are not in their immediate sphere of interest.

(3) With regard to reading skills: apart from the backwash effect of the imbalanced vocabulary development described in (2), students generally read less and are insufficiently exposed to texts that require critical thinking.

On the positive end, there is a significantly high degree of correlation between the entrance exam and the G5 exam in the listening comprehension and writing scores. With regard to listening skills, this could likely be attributed to the ever increasing exposure of students to different audio materials

in the media, especially the Internet – a factor that exceeds the scope of the present analysis. Thus we focus on the high degree of correlation in the writing scores, an issue that merits closer consideration for several reasons.

The writing segments of the two exams under investigation differ both in terms of the targeted level (B2+ and C2.1 respectively) and in terms of the nature of tasks, as described in Section 2. Nonetheless, they are comparable in terms of the structure of tasks and in terms of the standardised marking process. In both the entrance exam and the G5 exam, the writing tasks are guided and come with clearly defined instructions. The entrance exam task contains instructions which enable the candidates to use appropriate grammatical and lexical range, as well as strict guidelines on developing the topic. For the G5 exam tasks, students are provided with a great deal of lexical and grammatical task-specific input and are taught how to use appropriate strategies in elaborating on the topic. On both occasions every test is marked by two independent examiners and the scores are then averaged; passing scores range from 6 to 10, and if there is a 2 grade discrepancy, another examiner (core reader) is called upon to make the final decision.[7] The marking process is also standardised through band descriptors for the respective levels (B2+ for the entrance exam and C2.1 for the G5 exam).Considering that the third year language instructors and examiners are not familiar with the students' writing achievements in the entrance exam and in the first two years of studies, it is safe to say that under the circumstances the grading is objective, unbiased and standardised.

As stated above, the analysis shows a remarkably high degree of correlation between the writing scores in the entrance exam and in the G5 exam (the mean discrepancy: –0.01). Such a high degree of correlation suggests that (1) writing tasks are a reliable indicator of students' actual grammatical and lexical competences (i.e. in the writing tasks students use the grammar and vocabulary that they feel confident about, as opposed to the English in Use exam component, which elicits grammar and vocabulary items that students are expected to have acquired at a given level), and (2) from the point of view of the predictive validity of the entrance exam, it

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[7] For more details on the development and application of this scoring procedure in the entrance exam at the English Department, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, see Katz 2008.

is the writing component that is the clearest indicator of future students' achievement.

These findings confirm the validity of the writing component as a selection tool in admission tests for EFL university studies (with a standardised marking process as a prerequisite). As emphasized by Zwick (2007: 32) with regard to higher education admission testing in general, "the proponents of aptitude tests and the advocates of classroom-based exams typically agree on a significant point: An assessment of writing ability should be included in admission tests ... [because] writing undeniably plays a key role in college-level work". Our analysis shows that this point also applies to EFL university entrance exams in particular.

Furthermore, if writing is such a valid indicator of students' future success in the core EFL courses, the question arises whether other components of the entrance exam are necessary at all, i.e. whether the writing component alone could be used as a reliable selection tool. Although this might contribute to the efficiency of administering the entrance exam and possibly yield a selection outcome similar to that of the current entrance exam format, we would like to stress the importance of comprehensive language assessment in admission tests for EFL university studies not only as a more precise indicator of the targeted proficiency level but also as a platform for adjusting and fine-tuning the syllabi of EFL university courses.

In particular, having in mind the manifest decline in students' performance in the English in use (grammar and vocabulary) and reading comprehension exam components, we would like to place emphasis on the need of paying more systematic attention to the explicit teaching and formative assessment of these aspects of EFL proficiency at the university level (hence the warning in the title of the paper). This especially concerns grammatical and lexical competence, commonly acknowledged as the necessary component in theoretical accounts of communicative competence (cf. Hymes 1972, Canale and Swain 1980, Savignon 1997[1983], Trbojević 2003), but often backgrounded in the practice of communicative language teaching. As long observed by Swan (1985b: 78): "Unfortunately, grammar has not become any easier to learn since the communicative revolution."[8] In this regard, building on Gipps's (1994: 15-16) view of assessment "in dynamic interaction" with teaching and learning, we see the feedback on

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[8] For more details on the advantages and disadvantages of the communicative approach to language teaching, see e.g. Swan 1985a, 1985b, Bax 2003, Harmer 2003.

the problematic issues arising in the C2.1 level summative assessment as instrumental in fostering a better vertical synchronization across the EFL university curriculum.

Finally, in view of the fact that the Serbian education system is about to replace the discipline-specific university entrance exams with a general matriculation exam (as described in the Introduction), the question arises whether such an exam would be an appropriate selection tool for EFL university programmes or whether it would be necessary to keep the discipline-specific entrance exam, treating foreign language skills as special skills. Based on the findings obtained in this study, we argue in favour of the second option, underlining that the effective selection of candidates for EFL university studies requires an admission tool specifically designed for this purpose.

4. Concluding remarks

On the basis of a quantitative analysis comparing the results achieved by 218 students from two generations in the Contemporary English G5 exam (C2.1 level) and the entrance exam (B2+ level) at the English Department, Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, we have established the following: (1) the highest degree of correlation occurs in the writing scores, which indicates that the writing component of the entrance exam has the strongest predictive validity; (2) there is a manifest decline in the English in use (grammar and vocabulary) and reading comprehension scores, which indicates the need of paying more systematic attention to the explicit teaching and formative assessment of these aspects of EFL proficiency at the university level; (3) from the perspective of EFL competences and skills, the discipline-specific entrance exam has advantages over a general matriculation exam as a more appropriate selection tool for EFL university programmes. These findings, as presented and discussed in Section 4, could provide a fruitful basis for further qualitative research (both longitudinal and cross-sectional) with a view to enhancing the interaction between teaching, learning and assessment across different levels of EFL university studies.

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Appendix

The tables below provide individual student scores (converted to a 10-point scale) for each Contemporary English G5 and entrance exam component, as well as the pertinent average scores and discrepancy values in the two datasets.

Table 4. The 2014 G5 exam scores compared to the respective 2011 entrance exam scores

	G5 EinU	EE GV	Discrep.	G5 RC	EE RC	Discrep.	G5 LC	EE LC	Discrep.	G5 W	EE W	Discrep.
1	6.37	8	-1.63	5.25	8	-2.75	8	6	2	8.1	8	0.1
2	7.5	8.5	-1	8.25	10	-1.75	8	8	0	9.1	8	1.1
3	7.37	8.5	-1.13	6	9	-3	8	6	2	8.3	6.5	1.8
4	5.5	5.5	0	5.25	6	-0.75	9	8	1	5.8	7.5	-1.7
5	5.87	8.5	-2.63	6.5	8	-1.5	9	7	2	8.9	8	0.9
6	8.25	8	0.25	8.75	10	-1.25	8	9	-1	9.45	10	-0.55
7	9.25	10	-0.75	6.75	10	-3.25	9	8	1	9.55	9.5	0.05
8	5.12	9.5	-4.38	6.5	9	-2.5	8	8	0	7.7	6.5	1.2
9	7.37	8.5	-1.13	6.5	8	-1.5	9	8	1	7.9	8	-0.1
10	7.25	7	0.25	5.75	8	-2.25	8	7	1	8.7	9.5	-0.8
11	7	8	-1	8	9	-1	9	7	2	8.35	8	0.35
12	6.75	10	-3.25	8.5	9	-0.5	9	9	0	8.55	9	-0.45
13	5.75	8.5	-2.75	5.75	10	-4.25	8	8	0	7.65	8	-0.35
14	5.5	8.5	-3	6.5	8	-1.5	6	7	-1	7.75	7	0.75
15	7.62	9.5	-1.88	9.5	9	0.5	7	9	-2	9.1	8.5	0.6
16	6.12	7.5	-1.38	8	9	-1	7	5	2	6.5	7	-0.5
17	7.62	8.5	-0.88	8	10	-2	9	10	-1	8.85	8	0.85
18	7.25	7.5	-0.25	5.75	9	-3.25	8	5	3	6.6	8	-1.4
19	5.25	10	-4.75	6.75	10	-3.25	6	10	-4	7.75	9.5	-1.75
20	5.37	8	-2.63	7	10	-3	7	7	0	7.65	8	-0.35

	G5 EinU	EE GV	Discrep.	G5 RC	EE RC	Discrep.	G5 LC	EE LC	Discrep.	G5 W	EE W	Discrep.
21	6	7.5	-1.5	6.75	9	-2.25	7	8	-1	7.35	7.5	-0.15
22	6.37	6	0.37	6.25	8	-1.75	7	8	-1	7.15	7	0.15
23	5.5	7	-1.5	6.75	10	-3.25	8	8	0	7.65	7	0.65
24	5.87	8.5	-2.63	7	9	-2	8	9	-1	7.25	7.5	-0.25
25	7.5	10	-2.5	9	10	-1	10	8	2	8.6	7	1.6
26	8.5	8	0.5	9.5	9	0.5	10	10	0	8.95	10	-1.05
27	7.25	8.5	-1.25	5.75	10	-4.25	9	6	3	8.65	8	0.65
28	8.75	7	1.75	8	9	-1	8	6	2	8.25	8.5	-0.25
29	7.87	8.5	-0.63	9.25	8	1.25	10	7	3	9.25	10	-0.75
30	7.37	9.5	-2.13	8.25	9	-0.75	9	9	0	8.45	7	1.45
31	7	8	-1	9.25	9	0.25	8	10	-2	8.3	9	-0.7
32	6.62	8.5	-1.88	6.75	10	-3.25	8	7	1	7.35	7	0.35
33	5.12	9	-3.88	6	10	-4	8	8	0	9.35	7.5	1.85
34	6.12	9.5	-3.38	6.5	10	-3.5	8	7	1	8.9	9	-0.1
35	6.87	9	-2.13	8	10	-2	8	7	1	7.8	8.5	-0.7
36	7.62	9.5	-1.88	7	8	-1	7	7	0	8.35	9	-0.65
37	7.25	9.5	-2.25	8	10	-2	10	7	3	8.3	10	-1.7
38	8.12	9.5	-1.38	7.75	10	-2.25	9	8	1	9.45	8	1.45
39	5.87	8.5	-2.63	5.25	10	-4.75	6	8	-2	7.9	9	-1.1
40	6	8.5	-2.5	7.25	10	-2.75	9	8	1	7.1	8	-0.9

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	G5 EinU	EE GV	Discrep.	G5 RC	EE RC	Discrep.	G5 LC	EE LC	Discrep.	G5 W	EE W	Discrep.
41	5.12	7.5	-2.38	6.25	8	-1.75	8	7	1	7.4	8	-0.6
42	8.12	10	-1.88	7.5	8	-0.5	10	10	0	9.15	8	1.15
43	7.62	7.5	0.12	6.75	9	-2.25	10	8	2	9.05	8	1.05
44	6.75	8	-1.25	6.25	10	-3.75	9	7	2	8.6	7.5	1.1
45	6	6.5	-0.5	5.5	5	0.5	7	6	1	7	6	1
46	7.5	9	-1.5	9.25	10	-0.75	6	6	0	8.95	6.5	2.45
47	5.25	7.5	-2.25	6.25	9	-2.75	6	9	-3	6.9	7.5	-0.6
48	5.87	9.5	-3.63	7.25	10	-2.75	6	7	-1	6.9	9.5	-2.6
49	6	6.5	-0.5	6.5	8	-1.5	7	8	-1	8	8	0
50	5.12	7	-1.88	5.25	8	-2.75	9	5	4	9.6	9	0.6
51	8	7	1	7.75	8	-0.25	7	8	-1	9.2	9	0.2
52	7	8	-1	9	10	-1	8	9	-1	9.35	8	1.35
53	6.37	9.5	-3.13	6	8	-2	8	7	1	7.35	7.5	-0.15
54	5.75	9	-3.25	7	9	-2	6	9	-3	7.9	7.5	0.4
55	7.12	8	-0.88	7	9	-2	6	6	0	8.95	8	0.95
56	7	9	-2	9	10	-1	8	10	-2	9.5	8.5	1
57	9.25	10	-0.75	8.5	8	0.5	9	8	1	9.55	9	0.55
58	5.25	7.5	-2.25	5.5	7	-1.5	7	10	-3	7.4	7	0.4
59	5.87	9.5	-3.63	6.75	10	-3.25	9	9	0	7.85	8.5	-0.65
60	7	9	-2	7	10	-3	7	8	-1	9.4	9	0.4
61	6.5	8.5	-2	7.75	9	-1.25	7	6	1	7.95	8	-0.05

	G5 EinU	EE GV	Discrep.	G5 RC	EE RC	Discrep.	G5 LC	EE LC	Discrep.	G5 W	EE W	Discrep.
62	8.62	10	-1.38	6	9	-3	10	9	1	9.4	9	0.4
63	6.12	5.5	0.62	6	7	-1	8	7	1	7.05	6	1.05
64	8	9.5	-1.5	8.75	10	-1.25	9	8	1	8.8	8.5	0.3
65	7.5	9	-1.5	5.25	10	-4.75	8	7	1	8.8	8.5	0.3
66	6.25	8	-1.75	6.5	9	-2.5	6	8	-2	8.1	8	0.1
67	8.37	10	-1.63	9.5	10	-0.5	8	9	-1	10	9	1
68	6	8.5	-2.5	7.5	10	-2.5	6	7	-1	7.5	7	0.5
69	7.12	9.5	-2.38	8.25	9	-0.75	9	6	3	7.75	7.5	0.25
70	8.25	9	-0.75	8	9	-1	9	9	0	8.7	8	0.7
71	7.12	9.5	-2.38	9	10	-1	7	7	0	9.25	8	1.25
72	5.37	7	-1.63	6.25	9	-2.75	9	8	1	6.95	7	-0.05
73	5.5	7	-1.5	5.75	10	-4.25	8	6	2	7	6.5	0.5
74	5.12	8	-2.88	6.25	10	-3.75	7	7	0	7.3	7.5	-0.2
75	5.87	9	-3.13	5.75	10	-4.25	10	7	3	7.6	8	-0.4
76	7.87	10	-2.13	7.75	10	-2.25	9	8	1	9.75	9.5	0.25
77	7.25	9.5	-2.25	5.25	8	-2.75	8	5	3	8.7	8	0.7
78	5.12	8.5	-3.38	7	9	-2	9	7	2	8	9	-1
79	6.75	6.5	0.25	8.5	7	1.5	9	6	3	7.95	8	-0.05
80	6.62	9.5	-2.88	7.25	10	-2.75	7	8	-1	6.75	8	-1.25
81	6.25	9	-2.75	7.5	9	-1.5	7	6	1	9.25	7.5	1.75
82	7	8.5	-1.5	6	7	-1	6	7	-1	8.85	7.5	1.35
83	5.5	10	-4.5	6	8	-2	10	7	3	7.95	9.5	-1.55
84	5.75	9.5	-3.75	9.5	10	-0.5	10	8	2	7.85	8	-0.15

	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.
	EinU	GV		RC	RC		LC	LC		W	W	
85	6	9	-3	7.75	10	-2.25	9	8	1	8.85	9	-0.15
86	5.12	6	-0.88	6	7	-1	7	7	0	6.15	7	-0.85
87	5.75	9.5	-3.75	8.25	10	-1.75	8	8	0	8.15	8	0.15
88	6.75	7.5	-0.75	6.25	10	-3.75	7	7	0	6.95	7	-0.05
89	6.12	5.5	0.62	5.25	8	-2.75	6	6	0	8	7	1
90	8.12	7.5	0.62	5.5	7	-1.5	7	8	-1	8.7	7	1.7
91	7.25	10	-2.75	9.5	9	0.5	10	9	1	9.55	9.5	0.05
92	6.62	9	-2.38	7.75	8	-0.25	7	9	-2	7.1	8	-0.9
93	6.25	9.5	-3.25	5.75	8	-2.25	10	8	2	6.35	8.5	-2.15
94	6.62	9.5	-2.88	6.75	9	-2.25	7	7	0	9.3	9.5	-0.2
95	5.87	9	-3.13	7.25	10	-2.75	9	9	0	8.8	8	0.8
96	8.87	9	-0.13	9	8	1	10	9	1	9.8	8	1.8
97	8.5	9	-0.5	8.25	9	-0.75	7	7	0	8.35	8	0.35
98	6.5	9.5	-3	9.25	10	-0.75	9	9	0	7.95	9	-1.05
99	7.25	7.5	-0.25	6.25	10	-3.75	8	7	1	8.8	9	-0.2
100	5.12	8.5	-3.38	5.75	9	-3.25	6	7	-1	7.05	7	0.05
101	7.12	9.5	-2.38	6	10	-4	7	5	2	8.45	9	-0.55
102	7.5	8	-0.5	8.5	10	-1.5	8	8	0	9.45	8	1.45
103	6.37	8	-1.63	8.25	9	-0.75	9	9	0	8.95	8	0.95
104	7.25	7	0.25	6.5	8	-1.5	8	7	1	7.75	6	1.75
105	5.87	9	-3.13	7.5	9	-1.5	8	7	1	7.85	9	-1.15

	G5 EinU	EE GV	Discrep.	G5 RC	EE RC	Discrep.	G5 LC	EE LC	Discrep.	G5 W	EE W	Discrep.
106	5.37	8	-2.63	8	8	0	7	5	2	7.9	8	-0.1
107	5.5	6	-0.5	6.25	9	-2.75	6	6	0	6.9	7	-0.1
108	7.5	7.5	0	6.75	10	-3.25	9	7	2	8.95	8	0.95
109	5.62	6.5	-0.88	8.25	9	-0.75	6	7	-1	7.05	7	0.05
110	7	7	0	8.5	9	-0.5	8	7	1	8.55	6.5	2.05
111	6.37	8	-1.63	6.75	8	-1.25	8	6	2	7.15	7.5	-0.35
112	5.75	8.5	-2.75	6.75	9	-2.25	10	6	4	7.5	9	-1.5
113	9.25	8	1.25	6.25	10	-3.75	10	9	1	7.15	8	-0.85
114	7.75	6.5	1.25	7	7	0	8	7	1	6.9	8	-1.1
115	5.75	7.5	-1.75	5.75	8	-2.25	7	7	0	7.2	8	-0.8
116	5.25	8	-2.75	6.75	9	-2.25	8	7	1	6.75	7.5	-0.75
117	5.5	7	-1.5	7.75	9	-1.25	6	7	-1	6.9	8	-1.1
118	7	9	-2	9	9	0	8	6	2	8.7	8	0.7
119	8.5	9	-0.5	8.25	9	-0.75	9	8	1	9.1	9	0.1
Average	6.69	8.37	-1.68	7.16	9.0	-1.84	8.01	7.51	0.50	8.16	8.05	0.11

Table 5. The 2015 G5 exam scores compared to the respective 2012 entrance exam scores

	G5 EinU	EE GV	Discrep.	G5 RC	EE RC	Discrep.	G5 LC	EE LC	Discrep.	G5 W	EE W	Discrep.
1	7.50	7.00	0.50	9	8	1	8	7	1	8.05	8	0.05
2	7.38	8.00	-0.63	5.5	9	-3.5	8	10	-2	8.05	8	0.05
3	8.38	7.00	1.38	8.75	7	1.75	9	8	1	7.85	7	0.85
4	5.75	6.50	-0.75	9	8	1	8	9	-1	8.45	8	0.45
5	6.63	9.00	-2.38	8.5	10	-1.5	9	9	0	8	7.5	0.5
6	7.63	6.50	1.13	6.75	9	-2.25	7	10	-3	8.55	8.5	0.05
7	7.75	7.00	0.75	6	4	2	7	7	0	8.7	7	1.7
8	8.13	8.50	-0.38	7.75	9	-1.25	8	9	-1	8.55	9	-0.45
9	6.25	6.50	-0.25	7.25	8	-0.75	9	6	3	7.9	7.5	0.4
10	5.88	5.50	0.38	8.25	6	2.25	8	8	0	7	7	0
11	7.50	7.50	0.00	7.5	9	-1.5	10	8	2	7.45	7.5	-0.05
12	7.13	7.00	0.13	9.25	8	1.25	7	8	-1	7.7	9	-1.3
13	5.13	5.50	-0.38	6	7	-1	7	5	2	8.05	7	1.05
14	6.88	5.00	1.88	7	5	2	7	9	-2	8.05	8	0.05
15	9.13	9.50	-0.38	8.75	10	-1.25	8	9	-1	9.7	10	-0.3
16	6.88	9.50	-2.63	6	8	-2	7	9	-2	7.6	10	-2.4
17	7.88	8.00	-0.13	10	10	0	9	8	1	8.9	7.5	1.4
18	8.63	9.00	-0.38	10	9	1	8	10	-2	8.45	10	-1.55
19	8.38	8.50	-0.13	7.5	8	-0.5	6	6	0	8.7	7	1.7
20	8.13	7.00	1.13	8.25	8	0.25	9	8	1	9.75	10	-0.25

	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.	G5	EE	Discrep.
	EinU	GV		RC	RC		LC	LC		W	W	
21	8.13	8.50	-0.38	7.25	7	0.25	8	6	2	8.4	7	1.4
22	8.25	8.50	-0.25	8.75	10	-1.25	8	8	0	9.2	9	0.2
23	6.75	8.00	-1.25	7.25	6	1.25	7	8	-1	7.6	8.5	-0.9
24	5.50	5.00	0.50	6.5	9	-2.5	7	5	2	7.1	8	-0.9
25	6.50	9.00	-2.50	6	7	-1	7	9	-2	8.15	7.5	0.65
26	6.50	8.00	-1.50	6.5	7	-0.5	6	8	-2	8.05	8	0.05
27	6.88	8.00	-1.13	7.25	7	0.25	7	7	0	6.95	6	0.95
28	6.25	7.00	-0.75	6.25	8	-1.75	9	8	1	8.65	7	1.65
29	5.25	8.00	-2.75	7	6	1	6	7	-1	6.85	7	-0.15
30	6.63	8.50	-1.88	7.25	9	-1.75	10	9	1	8	8	0
31	6.75	7.00	-0.25	7.75	10	-2.25	9	9	0	8.05	7	1.05
32	8.63	9.50	-0.88	5.75	10	-4.25	9	9	0	9	9.5	-0.5
33	8.13	9.50	-1.38	9	10	-1	8	9	-1	8.5	8.5	0
34	7.88	8.00	-0.13	7.5	5	2.5	6	7	-1	7.9	8	-0.1
35	6.00	7.50	-1.50	5.5	6	-0.5	7	8	-1	7	7.5	-0.5
36	7.13	8.50	-1.38	7.25	9	-1.75	8	10	-2	8.9	8	0.9
37	6.25	9.00	-2.75	5.25	8	-2.75	7	7	0	8.65	8.5	0.15
38	5.13	9.50	-4.38	6	9	-3	9	9	0	8.95	9.5	-0.55
39	7.75	8.50	-0.75	6.5	7	-0.5	7	6	1	7.45	8	-0.55
40	5.25	7.50	-2.25	6.5	7	-0.5	8	7	1	7.05	8	-0.95
41	6.88	8.00	-1.13	7.5	7	0.5	7	8	-1	7.55	7	0.55

	G5 EinU	EE GV	Discrep.	G5 RC	EE RC	Discrep.	G5 LC	EE LC	Discrep.	G5 W	EE W	Discrep.
42	6.88	9.50	-2.63	5.75	10	-4.25	10	9	1	8.85	8	0.85
43	8.75	9.00	-0.25	7.25	9	-1.75	9	8	1	8.65	7	1.65
44	8.38	7.50	0.88	6.5	9	-2.5	10	7	3	8.25	8	0.25
45	7.88	8.50	-0.63	8.75	9	-0.25	10	6	4	8.65	8	0.65
46	5.50	6.50	-1.00	8.25	6	2.25	7	8	-1	7.9	8	-0.1
47	7.25	10.00	-2.75	5.5	9	-3.5	7	6	1	9	9	0
48	7.88	7.50	0.38	6.5	10	-3.5	7	8	-1	8.4	9.5	-1.1
49	8.38	8.50	-0.13	7	9	-2	8	8	0	9.3	10	-0.7
50	8.63	9.00	-0.38	8	6	2	7	8	-1	8.45	9.5	-1.05
51	6.13	6.00	0.13	6.5	3	3.5	6	8	-2	7.55	7.5	0.05
52	8.88	7.50	1.38	9.5	10	-0.5	9	9	0	8.95	9	-0.05
53	8.38	7.00	1.38	8.75	8	0.75	10	10	0	8.8	9	-0.2
54	6.00	9.00	-3.00	7	7	0	9	8	1	7	8	-1
55	8.25	8.50	-0.25	9.25	9	0.25	7	8	-1	8.85	7.5	1.35
56	7.38	9.50	-2.13	7.5	10	-2.5	8	10	-2	8.45	8.5	-0.05
57	7.88	7.00	0.88	7.75	8	-0.25	6	6	0	6.05	9	-2.95
58	6.12	8.50	-2.38	7.5	9	-1.5	8	7	1	6.9	9	-2.1
59	7.88	9.00	-1.13	9	9	0	8	9	-1	8.35	8.5	-0.15
60	6.13	7.00	-0.88	7.25	6	1.25	8	7	1	7.15	7.5	-0.35
61	7.50	8.50	-1.00	9.25	9	0.25	10	9	1	9.15	10	-0.85
62	5.50	5.00	0.50	6	8	-2	7	7	0	6.6	7.5	-0.9

	G5 EinU	EE GV	Discrep.	G5 RC	EE RC	Discrep.	G5 LC	EE LC	Discrep.	G5 W	EE W	Discrep.
63	5.25	6.50	-1.25	5.5	8	-2.5	10	8	2	7.45	7.5	-0.05
64	7.63	7.50	0.13	9	8	1	10	10	0	7.4	9	-1.6
65	8.88	10.00	-1.13	9.5	10	-0.5	7	10	-3	9.7	10	-0.3
66	5.38	8.00	-2.63	6	7	-1	7	8	-1	6.8	7.5	-0.7
67	8.88	7.50	1.38	10	9	1	8	10	-2	7.9	8	-0.1
68	7.63	6.50	1.13	7.75	5	2.75	6	6	0	7.75	8	-0.25
69	7.00	7.50	-0.50	7.5	10	-2.5	8	8	0	8.55	7.5	1.05
70	7.88	7.50	0.38	9.25	9	0.25	9	8	1	8.9	9	-0.1
71	6.88	6.50	0.38	6	9	-3	7	7	0	7.4	8	-0.6
72	6.50	7.50	-1.00	5.75	5	0.75	6	3	3	7.65	7	0.65
73	8.50	8.00	0.50	8.75	8	0.75	7	6	1	8.4	8	0.4
74	6.50	7.00	-0.50	5.25	6	-0.75	6	7	-1	7.65	9	-1.35
75	6.00	9.00	-3.00	9.75	9	0.75	10	8	2	8.55	8	0.55
76	5.38	8.00	-2.63	5.5	8	-2.5	7	7	0	5.95	7	-1.05
77	8.50	9.00	-0.50	8	9	-1	9	10	-1	8.6	9	-0.4
78	8.38	9.50	-1.13	8	10	-2	9	9	0	9.75	9	0.75
79	7.25	8.00	-0.75	6.75	8	-1.25	6	7	-1	7.3	8	-0.7
80	5.88	5.00	0.88	6	7	-1	6	5	1	6.5	7.5	-1
81	7.88	8.50	-0.63	8.75	9	-0.25	10	10	0	8	7.5	0.5
82	7.75	9.00	-1.25	8.5	10	-1.5	9	8	1	9	9	0
83	8.75	8.00	0.75	10	9	1	8	8	0	9.65	9.5	0.15

	G5 EinU	EE GV	Discrep.	G5 RC	EE RC	Discrep.	G5 LC	EE LC	Discrep.	G5 W	EE W	Discrep.
84	5.38	9.00	-3.63	7.5	10	-2.5	8	8	0	8.25	9	-0.75
85	6.25	6.50	-0.25	5.75	7	-1.25	7	7	0	7.4	7.5	-0.1
86	6.63	8.00	-1.38	6.5	8	-1.5	7	7	0	7.8	8	-0.2
87	5.63	8.50	-2.88	7.5	9	-1.5	7	7	0	7.85	8	-0.15
88	7.75	6.50	1.25	8	9	-1	10	10	0	8.65	8.5	0.15
89	6.88	8.50	-1.63	8	7	1	8	8	0	8	7.5	0.5
90	6.63	7.00	-0.38	6.75	5	1.75	7	5	2	7.45	7.5	-0.05
91	9.13	9.50	-0.38	8.5	8	0.5	10	7	3	8	9	-1
92	8.63	9.50	-0.88	9	10	-1	6	8	-2	9.35	9.5	-0.15
93	7.00	8.00	-1.00	5.5	9	-3.5	6	7	-1	7.45	7	0.45
94	7.63	8.50	-0.88	8.75	6	2.75	9	8	1	7.85	9	-1.15
95	6.00	9.50	-3.50	7.25	10	-2.75	8	9	-1	6.55	9.5	-2.95
96	7.88	9.50	-1.63	8.5	10	-1.5	9	9	0	9.65	9	0.65
97	5.13	7.50	-2.38	8	8	0	8	8	0	7.65	8	-0.35
98	9.38	9.00	0.38	9.75	10	-0.25	10	9	1	9.6	10	-0.4
99	6.88	8.00	-1.13	6	5	1	6	8	-2	8.55	9	-0.45
Average	7.17	7.92	-0.75	7.51	8.09	-0.59	7.89	7.89	0.00	8.12	8.24	-0.13

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PEERS OF THE DIGITAL REALM

Abstract:
This paper is based on three years of teaching freshmen the basics of argumentative essay writing as part of the coursework for Integrated Skills seminars of Contemporary English language courses at the English Department of the Belgrade University Faculty of Philology. The blended approach to teaching was first suggested as part of this author's JFDP (Junior Faculty Development Program) innovation project based on the experience gained and courses attended at the University of South Carolina, USA in 2012.
Three generations of around 150 students and a team of two teachers worked on process writing both in the new digital environment (provided by the Moodle platform) and in the traditional classroom, combining peer and teacher feedback, and different mediums of communication. In the course of work, the following issues were raised: the issues of *digital literacy* (what is the minimum and assumed know-how required of digital natives and how comfortable they actually are in a new digital environment), (*digital*) *politeness* (especially student-student communication online – on the Moodle platform, and face to face), and the nature and quality of *feedback (teacher and student perceptions, assumptions and expectations* of meaningful and effective feedback). Here politeness can be assumed to include the (development of) strategies to communicate successfully while giving feedback.
This paper presents some of the insights gained using a combination of surveys, interviews, classroom observation/discussion over the three years of work, and an analysis of student submissions.

Key words: blended learning, teaching writing, peer feedback, digital literacy, politeness, communication

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1. Introduction

This paper is based on three years (academic years 2012/13, 2013/14, and 2014/5) of teaching freshmen the basics of argumentative essay writing as part of the coursework for their Integrated Skills seminars of G1 and G2 Contemporary English language courses at the English Department of the Belgrade University Faculty of Philology. The blended approach to teaching was first suggested as part of this author's JFDP (Junior Faculty Development Program) innovation project based on the experience gained and courses attended at the University of South Carolina in 2012. The original idea was sparked by the course on Technology in Foreign Language teaching, where we learned about a group of post-graduate students who used Internet chat and wikis as means to write their course essays as pair assignments (Elola, Oskoz 2011: 176-180). Given the class sizes at Belgrade University and the intricacies of following individual class contributions and preventing plagiarism, the use of wikis for straightforward collaborative writing was reluctantly abandoned. However, three generations of around 150 students each and a team of two teachers still worked on process writing both in the new digital environment (provided by the Moodle platform) and in the traditional classroom, with combined peer and teacher feedback, and using different mediums of communication.[1] The students were divided into 6 groups according to their entrance exam results to facilitate best teacher input, and since they were freshmen, the work required initial learner training for pair and group work and work with the Moodle platform. There were further technical constraints such as technical and equipment issues and availability of facilities, which in practice meant that the Moodle (online) work had to be completed by the students at home.

The work on the writing component of G1 and G2 courses focused largely on an introduction to academic writing and training the students to write argumentative essays. In both courses the students had to write individual essays (2 in G1 – first semester and 1 in G2 – second semester) but one assignment in each term entailed writing an essay and submitting it for peer review/wiki review by their peers. The peer feedback assignment was part of the final grade for the course and simultaneously an integral part of training for writing the exam essay. The feedback differed in focus

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[1] Given the number of students and the minimum number of practice essays that needed to be corrected I am grateful to my colleague Milica Prvulović for undergoing the process with me.

depending on the focus of the course (cohesion-linking words, paragraphs structure, esp. topic sentences for G1, and introductions, thesis statement, and conclusions in G2).

The underlying assumptions for introducing online (wiki) peer feedback were: that students were digital natives, who are comfortable in the digital environment and thus digitally literate (although literacy can always be improved); our belief that students would benefit from reading and reflecting on other people's work (helping them to reflect on their own); that peer review tasks should foster cooperation, improve organisational and communicational skills, and develop critical thinking skills.

The feedback given to students during the process was diverse: each practice essay merited general class feedback (which focused on common errors of structure and organisation), sometimes followed by individual remarks when necessary, while peer feedback essays meant feedback from other students in the wiki comment sections, followed by brief teacher remarks, and final assignments were always marked individually by the teacher with exam-style comments. For the final essay, there was sometimes an additional feedback option following the first draft and before the final submission (Moodle chat option online) or classroom peer feedback. In both these cases students chose their partners themselves within the groups they were assigned to, with the aim to facilitate the task and create/utilise rapport.

Here is an example of the practice essay task with wiki peer feedback:

Choose **<u>one</u>** of the following topics and write an argumentative essay (introduction, one paragraph for and one against the topic, conclusion):

- English is a world language and so it would be helpful if English words were spelled according to a logical system (e.g. comb, cough and caught should be spelled kome, kof and kort). Discuss.
- Endangered languages should be allowed to die out. Discuss.
- All children should start learning English form the age of six. Discuss.
- There should be a universal language. Discuss.
- The spread of English has a harmful effect on "small" languages like Serbian. Discuss.

> Your essay should be around **250** words long. Do not forget to write a **plan** first. Pay special attention to the structure of your paragraphs: indent the first line, make sure the paragraphs have topic sentences and relevant supporting ideas which you need to connect using appropriate linking words and phrases. Once the time for submitting essays is over, your task is to read the essays of other people from your group and provide meaningful feedback/comment on their work (focusing on the paragraph structure, grammar and vocabulary use and content).

The peer feedback instructions given prior to the assignment included a brief introduction in one of the course books (Zemach, Rumisek 2005: 21-24) on how to give peer feedback, while classroom instructions from the teacher were simply to 'be gentle but truthful' and to exert themselves to be helpful because their partner in the exercise might not return the favour if they did not provide any pertinent comments. This vagueness as to form and structure of the comment stemmed both from the belief that students as digital natives would be comfortable enough working in the online environment but also from a desire to enable them to form their own community of practice should they be inclined to do so.

Following the end of the G2 course and during the G2 orals (exam periods between May and December 2014), generation 2013/4 was given an anonymous questionnaire on their experiences with Moodle/wiki work to complete (participation was completely voluntary) and 58 students responded. The average age of the students was 19-20, where the oldest student who filled in the questionnaire was 22 at the time.

2. Findings – (Peer) Feedback

Regarding the main methods for giving feedback (face to face or online –wiki or chat), 22 students (or 38%) stated that they preferred to give peer feedback face to face, while 34 (59 %) expressed a preference for doing it online. Among the main reasons given for these respective choices were that it was easier 'to express yourself' and avoid misunderstandings (face to face), or that when feedback was given online there was more time to think and compose the message, and it was thus an easier and more objective method for those who preferred it. As one of the responders explained: '*Not everyone appreciates constructive criticism. I get to word my*

feedback more carefully.' However, to the question about the preferred method of receiving feedback, with the following options: teacher feedback (classroom), teacher feedback (individual), peer (face to face), and peer feedback (wiki/online), most of the students responded that their preferred method was teacher feedback in the classroom. As for the reasons behind their selection, those who expressed a preference for individual teacher feedback stated that it was because they had the full attention of the teacher, and the feedback was more detailed/accurate and impartial. Those with a preference for general class feedback wrote that it was due to the opportunity it provided to see others' work, ask questions and see good examples of possible problems/errors. While some of these preferences are naturally due to the psychological profiles and how extroverted the students might be, there is an underlying belief on the part of the students that, (similar to one of the common complaints while learner training for pair/group in class), only teacher feedback is worth having (corresponding to the belief that speaking with other students is inferior practice compared to having a one-on-one conversation with the teacher). On a Likert scale, the respondents to the questionnaire gave the usefulness of wiki work for learning writing an average mark of 4.49. In general, student comments described it as 'useful', 'practical', 'I enjoy it', and "a good approach to that aspect [of the course]'.

Since the point of the Moodle essay and peer feedback is to provide opportunity to practice writing essays and read and reflect on other people's work and later on one's own, it is essential to offer incentives in the form of percentages of the final mark for each stage of the process to ensure that most students participate in the task. It has also proved to be essential to give some teacher feedback after these sessions, however brief and to the point, not only due to the expectation that the teacher's feedback is more objective and accurate but also to what some observers have labelled 'a tendency to avoid uncertainty' in Serbian students. This feedback after the Moodle peer feedback session also serves as 'proof' that the teacher has in fact read the essays and comments and is not merely a silent observer, which in a way validates the task for the students.

3. Digital literacy

Out of the total number of respondents, 67% percent had had some computer lessons before enrolling at University but only 20% of the total

number (30% of those who had them) said that they had found them useful for working on/with the Moodle platform. At the same time, the students rated their own computer skills as 3.8 on average (on a scale of 1-5). However, despite the initial assumption that digital natives would take to the Moodle like ducks to water, the beginning of the work was littered with glitches of a technical nature (poor internet access at the crucial moment, server issues) and some unexpected enquiries (*How do I change the format of a word document? How do I upload the essay to the Moodle? Can you see the essay is from me?*). The assumed level of literacy was that the students would be familiar with using Word and a social network (Facebook or any other platform), which should have given them some familiarity with Moodle. However, 86% of student responders wrote that future generations would benefit from a Moodle orientation session, which was subsequently included in the course for the next generation. Another issue emerged as pertinent: as emails from students encountering difficulties inevitably arrived, some with the essay in the main body of the message instead of an attachment, some with an attachment but no body message, and some even with greetings in the beginning but no names when they signed off, a brief instruction on how to write appropriate formal emails has also been included since.

4. Digital politeness (Peer to Peer)

An interesting issue emerged as a result of the questionnaire. Namely, two questions referred directly to politeness, asking whether it was more important to be polite or to be truthful, both face-to-face and online. As expected, 71% responded that it was more important to be truthful, both face to face and online. There were 12% of those that felt that it was more important to be polite face to face but truthful online, while 7% believed that it was more important to be truthful in person but polite online, while only 3 people opted for 'polite' regardless the manner of communication. It seems that online wiki feedback also confers the advantage of making it easier to give critical remarks without facing the person, for the minority who feel that they have to refrain from any criticism face to face. Again the personality profiles of students undoubtedly play a part. Given that students who found themselves in an unfamiliar situation (giving peer feedback), intuitively feel that a certain amount of 'facework' (Brown and

Levinson 1987) is necessary to mitigate the imposition, it is no surprise the online medium might provide some degree of removal/indirectness to facilitate the task for some students. It was precisely to accommodate the less extrovert students ('Someone can see my work and I'm shy') that the initial 6 big groups of around 25 students were further divided into 4 groups of 5-6 people each. This ensured both that only 5-6 other people can read any one essay and that everyone will get feedback (instead of some essays being read and commented on several times across the group), and hopefully made the task easier for the shy.

Looking at examples of the first wiki peer feedback from a group that initially tested at a good B+ range in the entrance exam, we can notice some general feedback features. These were 24 good students who were further divided into 4 smaller groups. If, as Watts remarks, politic behaviour is based on habit(u)s and experience (Watts 2003: 289, 291), and if, according to Brown and Levinson, politeness is a function of power, distance, and degree of imposition, it is reasonable to assume that these students, faced with an unfamiliar task, chose the format of feedback that would help them deal with the imposition aspect in the best way and be at least somewhat familiar/comfortable for them. Given that the power and distance dimensions were not directly relevant to their communication in a group of peers, although they all knew that the teacher would eventually be reading both the essays and the comments, the degree of imposition (critical remarks leveled at a peer's essay) was probably the most important factor when choosing the format and linguistic means for delivering feedback. The message formats included among others full letter formats ('Dear ____ ___, ...signed by the student's name), letter salutations (Dear _____), and in terms of structure most of them followed the model from their course book to include something positive about the essay, beginning and ending with a compliment. In terms of linguistic devices, most comments included questions, conditionals, and modals, with only one instance of the use of the imperative and passive respectively. Therefore the general characteristic of this group's feedback is that it is indirect. However, there was some 'Netspeak', or typically Internet language, both in terms of spelling and the format: *'All in all i think this essay is a job well-done', 'Oh, and I forgot, I was commenting on an essay by ___ ',* or *'@ Milica: your essay is...',* which saved the feedback from becoming too formal and was clearly a transfer of existing habits and experience in a new situation. An interesting but not completely unexpected fact (given the Serbian largely prescriptivist

tradition in language matters) was that as many as one-third of students included comments on the spelling and grammar/vocabulary of the essays even after being instructed to focus on the structure/organisation.

5. Peer feedback-end of term interviews

The 2014/5 generation of students had the option of doing their peer feedback in class face to face after they had written the first draft of their final essay for their second term (G2 course). They could record their conversation and send it to the teacher for bonus credit. Out of the 7 interviews submitted with 24 participants (sometimes feedback was given by a group, as a conversation with the author of the essay), a preliminary analysis indicates that in general strategies range from indirect (off record) to bald on record.

Example 1: K: Your vocabulary range is exceptional, and I think, erm, that you managed to fit all the words into the right context. The collocations are cleverly used as well. For example, 'severe impact', 'absolutely talentless', 'artificially created', 'simply adore', 'extremely dangerous', and 'improper behaviour'. Also, everything is perfectly organized.

M: Thanks a lot! I've gone through yours as well, and it lived up to my expectations. You depicted every single aspect of the topic in question, using not only a great range of vocabulary, but also solid grammar constructions. For instance, you've used mixed conditional, passive, the perfect aspect as well.

....However, there are, er, a couple of things that I would change if I were you. First of all, I would shorten the conclusion, and add some, fancy words (...)

K: I've found your criticism very constructive and helpful, thanks. Erm... Concerning your essay, I've also noticed some minuscule details that I would like you to change so that your essay would be flawless, erm … I think that you should change the topic sentence of the second paragraph, since the way it is now, it resembles the thesis statement …

This was the most representative example of indirect strategy, and it may be assumed that the choice of strategy was influenced by the fact that these two students were very aware of the fact that they were recording their conversation and therefore chose to be more formal than expected.

Example 2:

> To begin with, I am pretty satisfied with Ivana's essay. I personally am satisfied with her vocabulary, it's pretty decent. However, there are few spelling and grammar mistakes, but they're not considered to be such an important thing, because those are just minorities, er… as far as the Intro is concerned, her background intro-info is certainly satisfying, she had pretty reasonable arguments, er, and she made it quite clear why procrastination is the biggest problem to her-to exam stress. Also, her thesis statement is, well, it's not really strong but you can't consider it to be weak because it's – it explains a lot, erm. As far as the main paragraph is concerned, erm, her linking <???> is pretty ok, her topic sentence is…great…

This interview is representative of what the students were expected to have produced, more natural spoken production and less formality with enough information to be constructive.

Example 3:

> In terms of essay organization, it's quite good, you clear-clearly spot introduction, two main paragraphs, and the conclusion (…) In terms of the introduction, it's ok. It's nothing special but it's ok, it gives, erm, background on what, er, taking gap year is all about, what does it mean, and when it comes to the thesis statement, I think it is rather weak. (…) When it comes to the mark, I think she should have, she should get a pass mark, but not more than a six [marks awarded are 6-10].

This was the most direct strategy found and the most unexpected interview, given that these two students were perceived to be good friends based on their classroom interaction, where we can see clearly that the student giving feedback prioritized truthfulness and not politeness in a face-to-face interaction and went bold on record.

6. Digital politeness – chat

The same generation of students had the option of giving peer feedback to the first draft of their final essay in the first term (G1) as well but in the form of a Moodle – Internet chat. They still had to work within their groups but they could choose chat partners and the time and the number of sessions on their own. In general, we can conclude that these chat sessions exhibit typical properties of Internet chat of Serbian native speakers (Radić-Bojanić 2007: 38) in terms of their similarity with spoken language, turn-taking features, interruptions, and self-corrections, with the inherent and expected appearance of punctuation errors (leaving out the final punctuation at the end of the sentence, commas, etc.) and typing errors.

It might be interesting to look at an example chat session between two students, one of whom (M) also appeared as one of the speakers in the first example interview:

19:53 M: I definitely enjoyed reading your essay, especially because you tackled every aspect and made your point.

19:54 M: Your vocabulary and grammar are also impressive

19:55 M: However, I think your conclusion is somehow too general

19:57 M: And regarding your spelling, everything is in a perfect order, except you mis-spelled word BEHAVIOUR.

19:57 A: Well, thank you, I'm really glad you liked it

19:58 A: Oh and behaviour wasn't my fault, autocorrect changed it to the American version

19:58 M: :*

19:59 M: Hahahah I completely understand you

This feedback format is probably the most familiar of all those used during the academic year, and although in both cases the student is working on the task with a classmate, this seems to contain the expected and appropriate degree of (in) formality for a conversation with a peer, unlike the interview example (whose format was not unfamiliar except for the demand to

record the conversation). The use of emoticons and verbalizing laughter is in line with typical Internet chat behaviour. The only surprise regarding chat feedback was that it did not become a favourite among the students, even if it is by nature the least formal and the quickest of all. When offered the option to do the final essay feedback as a chat, most students were against the idea. It seems that the immediacy of the chat abolishes one of the key advantages of giving written feedback online: the opportunity to reflect on the message and take some time to compose it.

7. Conclusion – Challenges and Reflections

Even though the online method of giving peer feedback via Moodle wiki tasks has generally proved to be satisfactory, it is regrettably still true that the full potential of the wiki as a collaborative tool cannot be explored in a context where student plagiarism is rampant, without considerable learner training and raising their awareness on the importance of genuine individual contribution. If/when making the decision to try digital peer feedback, technological aspects must be carefully evaluated, given that reliable and fast Internet access and some initial training for both students and teachers are essential, along with good and available technical support. As more and more generations of digital natives come to university it is to be expected that online communication will become more commonplace and in a sense more standardized as some forms of online communication stand the test of time, but for the time being it cannot be expected that digital literacy issues will not crop up even with these new generations. It has been observed in a study email politeness of BU students (Trbojević 2011: 59) that email communication is still perceived as a hybrid medium, and that there are no 'e-politeness' manuals for the academic environment, giving rise to the question of 'whether this type of communication should be taught in an academic setting'. However, given that these issues have persisted in Moodle/wiki work from the first, this might indicate that better training for the new mediums of communication at pre-University levels would be not just common-sense but beneficial. The observed generations of students who are already digital natives (more comfortable typing their essays than writing them by hand, as they still have to do for their final writing exam) seem to be caught in the gap between new technological inventions and the inertia of the educational system. One of the ongoing

challenges will be to overcome the student prejudice against peer input in both speaking and writing, although studies indicate that Serbian students are not alone in their preference for teacher feedback (Zhang 1995: 209-222). Another difficulty which is not inherent to the medium is posed by the (argumentative) essay format itself, given that the essay structure modelled is unfamiliar and contrary to the habits acquired in the students' previous experience (which was usually limited to writing in the native language, and thus more focused on self-expression than argumentation), especially given the relatively small number of words per essay (250-280) which is often perceived as unnecessarily rigid by the students, who on average have been encouraged to write more and in a more elaborate style in primary and secondary school. Although it has been mentioned that 'students don't give good feedback', especially in the beginning of the course when they are still training to both write and evaluate essays, from a teacher's perspective there are definite benefits for critical thinking and reflection. Another important point to mention is that the (wiki) peer feedback puts the focus on the structure of the paragraph/essay and releases the teacher from the obligation to correct every language slip and nuance or spelling errors, which is a significant benefit given the class sizes and the fact that one teacher is responsible for an average number of 75-80 students per year, with a syllabus where writing is just one segment of the material taught in the course. One of the significant advantages of moving peer feedback to the digital realm is also that this frees a portion of class time for other tasks, e.g. more speaking/other skills practice, or vocabulary development, and makes it a more flexible part of the work schedule.

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THE AGONY OF CHOICE – EXPLORING STUDENTS' ANSWERS IN MULTIPLE CHOICE TESTS

Abstract
Multiple choice tests, in which students have to choose the correct answer from a limited set of options, belong to the category of selected-response assessments. They are considered to be relatively objective, fast and easy to mark. Most teachers believe that students should not change their first choice, although they are often in two (or more) minds about which answer is correct. In this research we tried to see whether this widely accepted belief was true and whether there was a connection between the student's level of knowledge and how prone he/she would be to changing his/her mind. We analyzed 342 tests taken in October 2014 by the students at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. The results showed that students with higher test scores changed their minds as frequently as those with lower test scores. On the other hand, the former were more likely to benefit from changing their minds than the latter.

Key words: *multiple choice tests, selected response assessment, testing*

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1. Introduction

According to Weitzman (1970: 71), "A multiple-choice item is a question presented with a number of possible answers or an incomplete statement accompanied by a number of possible completions, only one of which is correct. A person responding to the item ordinarily must make a single choice among the alternatives offered."

Since they are given a choice of possible answers, students are often in two (or more) minds about which one is correct. Most teachers believe that the first chosen answer is usually correct, and students are often advised not to change their first choice. In this research we will try to see whether this widely accepted belief is true in the case of the students who chose English as their subsidiary subject at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. We analyzed 342 tests, which consisted of 30 multiple choice vocabulary and grammar tasks, taken in October 2014. Our goal was to investigate whether there were gains to be made by changing answers. We deem this to be important since learning takes place even while students are being tested.

2. History and development of MCTs

It is believed that the first multiple choice tests (MCTs) were used by an American psychologist Edward Thorndike (1874-1949) who is considered to be the father of modern educational psychology (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Multiple_choice). His work led to the creation of tests which were introduced in 1917 and used to evaluate both intellectual and emotional characteristics of World War I recruits. Literate recruits took Army Alpha tests (Picture 1) which consisted of a number of questions with several answers to choose from, while the illiterate ones were tested with Army Beta tests (Picture 2) which consisted of pictures. These tests are considered to have been the first systematic MCTs.

Picture 1: Army Alpha

Picture 2: Army Beta[1]

The popularity of MCTs grew during the twentieth century, and it especially increased since the sixties (Jarnagin & Harris 1977: 930), when teachers started using them in assessing the progress their students had made in various fields because they "permit a greater breadth of topics [...] and reduce the grading workload" (Jarnagin & Harris 1977: 930). These tests are believed to be "useful for measuring a fairly wide variety of different kinds of precise learning points" (Brown 1998: 659).

3. MCTs in learning languages – advantages and disadvantages

MCTs are especially popular in the field of language teaching. According to Brown (1998: 653), MCTs belong to the category of selected response assessments, together with true-false and matching exercises. In these three types of tests, test-takers have to search through a limited set of options and choose the correct answer (Brown 1998: 659). Thornbury (2010: 228) groups MCTs together with gap filling, and believes that their popularity lies in practicability. MCTs are considered as more appropriate for measuring receptive skills like listening and reading but should be avoided for productive skills like writing and speaking (Brown 1998: 658-659).

Another advantage of MCTs is that that they are fairly reliable. Although, according to Edge and Garton, "no test is or can be perfectly valid or perfectly reliable" (2012: 162), a test is considered to be reliable if it produces similar results under similar circumstances, that is to say "[...] if two people of the same ability do the test, or if the same person does it twice, they should score the same" (Edge & Garton 2012: 162). Apart from these tests being relatively objective, their scoring is also fast and easy (Valette 1967: 88). We certainly know from personal experience that even hundreds of tests can be easily marked with a well-made key, since teachers do not waste time trying to decipher their students' handwritings.

On the other hand, MCTs have certain disadvantages. These tests are very difficult to write, as all language teachers know. The distractors offered must be "plausible alternatives" (Smith 1982: 212), unless we want the item to be too easy to solve. Also, one needs to make sure that there is only one correct answer, even in various contexts. Furthermore, the correct answer should not be noticeably longer or shorter than the distractors or stand out in any other way (Edge & Garton 2012: 163). The "nature and difficulty of an item may be altered dramatically by changing the set of

distractors for the item" (Smith 1982: 212), so it can be quite demanding to come up with suitable distractors.

One of the objections against MCTs is that students can sometimes guess the correct answers and achieve higher scores (Valette 1967: 87). Jarnagin and Harris also believe that "a correct answer might be attributable to chance" (1977: 930). Another objection could be that cheating in these tests might be easier – this we know from personal experience.

Although there are some test-takers who find this format confusing, the others prefer it and find it easier since it contains the correct answer as well as the clues for choosing it (Smith 1982: 210). Our students usually prefer taking MCTs. Apart from having the advantage of recognizing the right answer when they see it, they probably also like the fact that no spelling or pronunciation mistakes can be made. When it comes to changing one's answer, teachers usually believe that the first chosen answer is correct, and they often advise students not to change their answers. According to previous research (Reiling & Ryland 1972: 67), most students actually benefit from changing their initial answers. Their research showed that "final grade, sex of the student [...] had no significant impact on gains from changing responses" (1972: 67). We will try to find out how all this applies in the case of students who chose English as a subsidiary subject at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade, but we will focus on the differences in successful answer-changing according to their levels of knowledge. Since MCTs are used in various fields, we believe that teachers of other subjects like mathematics, history, biology etc. could also benefit from the findings of this study.

4. Participants and test

The research was conducted with 342 students of various languages at the Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade. All of them were students of 1st, 2nd or 3rd year, aged between 18 and 25. The participants had chosen to attend the first year of English as a subsidiary course and were given a short MCT to determine their level of knowledge. The answers they gave in this test were analysed in the research.

Picture 3: Test samples

The test, which lasted for 35 minutes, consisted of 30 grammar and vocabulary items. All of them were multiple choice items with 4 options to choose from. Only one option in each item was correct. Before the test started the students were told by the invigilators that they could change their answers as many times as they wanted, as long as it was clear which answer represented their final choice. Picture 3 shows two samples of the described test and how the students marked their answers after changing their minds.

If we observe items 7 and 9, we will see what usually happens when students do MCTs. In item 7 the student chose answer D, and this was the correct answer. In item number 9 the student opted for answer D, although C was the correct answer. So, the student got one point for answering item 7 correctly, and lost one point for making a mistake with item number 9.

However, since our students were allowed to change their initial answers, we found a wide range of different examples while we examined the tests. If we look at item number 20, we will see that the student doing this test chose answer C, and then changed his or her mind, opting for answer A, which in the end proved to be the correct answer. And so, in this case, the student benefited from changing his or her mind. Next, in item

number 8 we have a situation where the student first chose answer D and then B, but actually D, the first choice, was the correct one, so the student did not benefit from changing his or her mind. Finally, if we look at item number 11, we see that the student changed his or her mind, but both times the answers he or she chose were wrong, i.e. in this particular case the process of changing his or her mind was neither beneficial nor harmful to the final test score.

Having observed the existence of these different outcomes which occurred when the students were allowed to change their answers, we assumed that there must be something causing some of the students to change their minds, and benefit from these changes. We thought this was due to the students' overall knowledge of English and their performance in this particular MCT. We therefore divided them into two groups according to their test scores: group A consisted of students who had higher test scores (30 to 26 points, 30 being the maximum number of points) and group B consisted of students who had slightly lower test scores (21 to 25 points). There were 151 students in group A and 191 in group B, which makes a total of 342 students.

5. Hypotheses

Before analysing the data from the tests, we had made the following assumptions:

1. The students in group A would change their minds about the answer fewer times than the students in group B.
2. The students in group A would be right to change their minds (i.e. their second choice would be the correct one, and they should therefore be encouraged to think twice and question their initial answers), whereas the students in group B should stick to their initial answers.
3. When the students in group B changed their minds, they would often choose an incorrect answer, alongside the incorrect choice they had made the first time, whereas this would rarely or almost never happen to the students in group A.

With our small exploratory study we also aimed to answer an important question: What advice should teachers give to their students who are taking a MCT?

6. Results and discussion

To compare how changing their answers correlated with their levels of knowledge, we divided the participants into two groups (A and B) according to their scores on the test. From Table 1 we can see that 151 (around 44%) students had high test scores – 26 to 30 points – and these were included in group A. Group B consisted of 191 students (around 56%) with lower test scores – 21 to 25 points. Table 1 represents the number of students in correlation to whether they changed their initial answers at least once or not at all.

Table 1: Number of students

	Group A	Group B	total
Students who changed their minds at least once	75	110	185
Students who did not change their minds	76	81	157
Total number of students	151	191	342

As can be seen from Table 1, almost exactly half of the students from group A (75 of them) changed their initial answers at least once, while the other half (76) did not change any of their initial answers. When we observe the numbers for the students belonging to group B, we can notice that 110 of them (which is around 58%) changed their minds once or more, while 81 (around 42%) did not. This means that the first hypothesis we postulated (that students with higher test scores would change their minds less frequently) was not correct. The difference between the two groups was only 8%, i.e. both groups of students, those with better and not so good knowledge of English, had an equal tendency towards questioning their answers in MCTs and changing them. We would like to point out that these numbers do not say how many times a particular student changed his or her answer in a particular test. We have the data for students who changed their minds at least once, and maybe many more times in a single test, and those who did not change their minds at all. This is because we were trying to investigate whether the students in group A or group B had a general tendency towards questioning their answers in MCTs and changing them.

Table 2 represents the numbers of actual changes made by the students as well as the outcome of these changes. In the 342 tests that were analysed there were 346 changes. 124 (around 36%) were made by group A, and 222 (around 64%) by group B. This means that, although both groups of students were inclined to change their answers in MCTs, students in group B were more likely to make several changes in a single test.

Table 2: Number of changes

	Group A	Group B	total
Changing their mind led to a correct answer	17	128	145
Something else was correct (a 3rd option)	12	48	60
Changing their minds – TOTAL	124	222	346

First, we will analyse the results for group A. From Table 2 we see that the 75 students from group A who changed their minds (see Table 1) made a total of 124 changes in their tests. Some of them made just one change, some of them more. The student from this group who changed most of his or her answers in a single test did so 6 times. Out of the 124 changes, 95 proved to be good choices, i.e. the student's second choice was the correct answer to the test question. In only 17 cases the students from group A made the correct choice the first time they answered the question. Even fewer (only 12) made a completely wrong choice altogether, i.e. they chose one answer which was incorrect, then changed their minds, again choosing the incorrect answer. If we view this through percentages, we get the result that almost 77% of the time the students in group A were correct to change their first answers. This proves the first part of our second hypothesis: students who achieve better test scores can benefit from questioning their initial answers in MCTs and changing them if they feel their first choice was incorrect.

Next, we will analyse the results for the group of students with lower test scores (group B). The 110 students from group B who changed their minds once or more (see Table 1) made a total of 222 changes, which is almost twice as many times as the other group (one student from this group made as many as 8 changes in a single test). The students were right to change their answers in only 46 cases, which is around 21%. Many of the students belonging to group B chose the correct answer the first time,

and then changed it (128 changes of this kind were made, which is around 58%). This proves the second part of our second hypothesis: students with lower test scores should not be encouraged to change their minds in MCTs, but stick to their initial answers. There were also many of them in this group who made a completely wrong choice altogether, choosing the wrong answer both the first and the second time (48 mistakes of this type were made, which is 4 times more than in group A). This proves our third assumption: students from group B made wrong choices both before and after changing their minds.

7. Conclusion

In this paper we have discussed and roughly illustrated how students' general knowledge of English and their test scores influence their inclination towards second-guessing their answers in MCTs and changing them, as well as the consequences of those changes. We have found all of our hypotheses, except the first one, to be true. Both the students with better knowledge of English and those with a lower level of knowledge are prone to changing their minds in MCTs. Next, students with higher test scores should be encouraged to question their initial choices in MCTs, as they are likely to benefit from changing their minds. Finally, when students with lower test scores change their minds, they often have the wrong answer to begin with, so it makes no difference whether they change their minds or not and should therefore be neither encouraged nor discouraged to change their minds.

Our study sought to answer one main research question: What advice should teachers give to their students who are doing a MCT? According to Clark (1970: 21), "intuitive problem-solving is an aspect of education neglected almost everywhere except in multiple choice tests [...] it needs to be understood that [...] the quality of intuitive insight is directly related to the amount of knowledge brought to the problem." The results we obtained indicate that teachers should advise the students with better test scores and better knowledge of the English language to analyse and second-guess their initial answers when they are not sure if they are right. On the other hand, the students who tend to get lower test scores and who are not very good at English should be told to use their intuition and stick to the answer they thought was correct the first time around. We admit

that such an approach is highly controversial, and we do not recommend it unless some other possible explanations are explored. For example, there is some evidence that significant differences in test taking exist between boys and girls. Gurian et al. (2001) claim that MCTs are easier for boys than girls, that boys are more likely to take a chance and guess the answer, whereas girls prefer to be certain about their answers. Maybe there are gender differences in students' tendencies to change their answers in MCTs and the outcome of those changes. We believe that further research in this field would prove beneficial to helping students achieve higher scores in their tests as well as learn English more efficiently.

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THE DESIGN AND IMPLEMENTATION OF SIMULATION AS AN EXPERIENTIAL TECHNIQUE IN ENGLISH FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES (ESP)

Abstract
This paper describes the design and implementation of the Company Simulation, offered as an experiential, communicative, student-centered and task-based project in the English language course for students of business informatics and e-business at the Belgrade Business School.

In Languages for Specific Purposes, simulations are seen as a viable action-based solution to the challenging requirements of new globalized contexts of learning and working. The integrated acquisition of linguistic and subject matter competences and skills via purposeful and meaningful interactions in activities designed to replicate real-world professional tasks has shown to raise students' interest, engagement and investment in their work.

Key words: simulation, communicative approach, experiential learning, English for Specific Purposes (ESP), task-based approach

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1. Introduction and background to the study

> *One learns by doing a thing; for though you think you know it,*
> *you have no certainty until you try.*
> *Sophocles*

Teaching in the 21st century and preparing students for the workplace of the contemporary Conceptual Age, a new era where the analytical and logical abilities valued in the Information Age will have to be accompanied by inventive and empathic abilities (Pink 2005), confronts educators with many challenges. New generations of learners, the so-called digital natives of the "game generation" (Prensky 2001: 65), the millennial generation, "google" or "youtube" generation, as they have been identified in various contexts and media, and the complex requirements of the new globalized educational and workplace arena set many expectations before educational approaches and classroom practices, demanding critical analysis and a quest for imaginative and creative solutions aimed at whole person development.

The first part of this paper will describe the rationale for the chosen approach, its theoretical and methodological foundations, and the definition, role and place of simulation as a pedagogical technique in the field of language education, while the second part will be devoted to the design and implementation of a task-based experiential project using simulation as an alternative/complementary approach to teaching English for Specific Purposes to the students of business informatics and e-business at the Belgrade Business School. This project resulted from our search for a viable, holistic, learner-centered and meaningful instruction format in compliance with the tenets of the communicative approach to language learning and teaching, adapted to the needs of language and professional communication in the future workplace (Huhta *et al* 2013). The project objectives were to prepare students for operating effectively in a professional environment, by acquiring the pertinent jargon, a set of academic, i.e. professional skills in our case, and a repertoire of language skills used in everyday informal chat and interactions with colleagues (Gatehouse, 2001).

The aims and motivation for this project were to try out the pedagogical and linguistic effectiveness of experiential, deep-end strategies in:

a) creating a learning experience that would be closer to the world and the way digital natives think and act, including a strong fun and game element, offering excitement, challenges and cooperation;

b) bringing teaching and learning closer to real-world professional experiences, by integrating language, content and skills development into meaningful and purposeful tasks that replicate target tasks.

In this way we tried to accommodate to the ever-increasing demands of 21st century language education in the field of English for Specific Purposes, in the hope of increasing motivation and achieving deeper and more comprehensive learning results.

2. The context of the study

The introduction of new innovative techniques was preceded by a comprehensive needs analysis conducted on a wide range of stakeholders, students, teachers and IT professionals, revealing valuable and reliable data on the actual needs of our students in their future multidimensional workplace of IT engineering and business informatics, where there are no strict boundaries between different fields, and domains are often fuzzy and blurred.

The survey has shown both the need and desire for a combination and integration of general, business and IT English, thus necessitating a wide-angle approach with a specific emphasis on various communicative aspects, particularly the business and social aspects of communication. Our findings concur with the conclusions of seminal research that has shown that integration in the workplace relies not only on skilled formal communication, but on competent informal interactions as well, such as chat on professional and everyday topics, building rapport, humour, etc. (Holmes 2005: 345).

This is consistent with a highly pronounced contemporary tendency to emphasise the role of soft skills as an important prerequisite for success and advancement in the professional world of engineers (Gilleard and Gilleard 2002; ABET 2014: 3). Although language teaching in this particular field has in the past predominantly put emphasis on written texts and reading skills with a primary orientation on preparing students for studying their

specialist subjects and following developments in their field, a careful study of the workplace needs has shown that professionals in the engineering field should acquire skills enabling them to communicate effectively in a number of situations, including social communication on both technical and nontechnical matters (Hutchinson and Sawyer-Laucanno 1990: 136).

This has inspired us to explore simulation as a technique that will enable both combination and integration in developing communicative, interpersonal, social and cognitive competences and skills, along with professional and content knowledge and skills, thus promoting creativity, cooperation and teamwork as the key elements in professional success and performance (Knutson 2003; Ellington, Gordon, and Fowlie 2006). Simulation as a technique is both communicative and interactional and has a strong game element in it, making it a highly inspiring and engaging instruction format and therefore conducive to effective learning (Hutchinson and Sawyer-Laucanno 1990: 135-141; Basturkmen 2006: 22-23)

3. Simulations – an overview

Although games and simulations have been present in the field of amusement and entertainment for thousands of years, their use in education and training started much later at the end of the 18th century. The first applications of games and simulations were recorded in the field of military training, followed later by management and business education and training and soon games and simulations started gaining ground in a range of other disciplines (Ellington, Gordon, and Fowlie 2006: ix-x). Over time, we have witnessed an impressive development in the field of gaming and simulation, and a growth in the variety of types and range of applications (Ellington, Gordon, and Fowlie 2006; Crookall 2010). Today, "it is a promising, and rapidly expanding field of study", changing and developing, and constantly improving and evolving, "with new trends emerging, and new avenues of thought being explored" (USA Information Resources Management Association 2011: xxiv-xxv).

Simulations are growing in popularity in both schools and institutions of higher education, and a renewed interest in simulations has also been witnessed in the field of foreign language teaching (Levine 2004: 26; Dupuy 2006: 3). One of the many reasons for their rising pervasiveness stems from the fact that teaching practice has not fully followed in the footsteps

of the insights gained in SLA and the proclaimed changes in the direction of the Communicative Language Teaching paradigm (Levine 2004: 26). Simulations may offer an answer to this problem as they reflect both the communicative and the interactional view of language seen "as a vehicle for the realization of interpersonal relations and for the performance of social transactions between individuals" (Richards and Rodgers 2001: 21).

3.1. Simulations - the theoretical and methodological background

Simulations belong to the field of experiential learning, "learning by doing", which highlights the central role of experience in learning (Kolb 1984: 20-1). It views learning as a dialectic process, involving a transaction between the person and the environment, "whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (*Ibid*: 38).

Experiential learning requires active participation, doing something meaningful, being in touch with the phenomenon being studied, and not just observing it (Kolb 1984; Kohonen 2001; Knutson 2003). "In the field of second-language acquisition (SLA), the experiential approach encourages learners to develop the target language skills through the experience of working together on a specific task, rather than only examining the discrete elements of the target language" (Knutson 2003: 53). It promotes learning by means of self-discovery and experimentation, and it helps build a stimulating atmosphere full of excitement and enthusiasm, encouraging effort and motivation in both students and teachers.

In its various forms, experiential learning is conducive to the integration of communication, content and skills acquisition. It mirrors real life communication, encourages collaborative learning and teamwork, and fully complies with the priority goals and recommendations proposed in many official standards and documents for the 21st century educational context (EU Commission 1995: 49; 62; Council of Europe 2001; Framework for 21st century learning). It fosters the development of interpersonal skills and enhances the four C's – critical thinking, collaboration, communication, and creativity/ innovation, preparing students to apply their knowledge and skills and develop a "global competence for their future careers and experiences" (World-Readiness Standards for Learning Languages. 21st century skills map).

Experiential learning is highly compatible with the requirements of Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) in general, and easily lends itself to ESP settings and requirements for authentic language use and authentic tasks, with a focus on the language of discourse and learner-centeredness (Oxford and Crookall 1990; Stoller 2006). In ESP, simulations of workplace situations can easily be adapted to suit the target needs of students in professional fields with the effect of promoting enhanced learning.

In language learning pedagogy, simulations are often identified as deep-end strategies, teaching and learning strategies where performance is the starting-departure point (Dudley-Evans and St. John 1998: 4-5; 187-195). Students are thrown in at the deep end; they are placed in a communicative situation where they are expected to perform, to execute a task resembling a target real-world professional activity using whatever existing language and specialist knowledge/ competence or skill available with minimum teacher input (Bloor and Bloor 1986: 12-13; Dudley-Evans and St. John 1998: 190). Linguistic forms are not determined in advance, yet the drive to communicate and reach the required outcome in a meaningful and purposeful interaction necessitates the activation of all old and new forms and strategies (Willis and Willis 2001: 173-4).

As a highly versatile and flexible technique, simulation is believed to be particularly suitable for intermediate and advanced level students in activating, consolidating and reinforcing existing competences and skills thus enhancing the learning experience, "powers of application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation" (Ellington, Gordon and Fowlie 2006: 6). Furthermore, it creates an extremely powerful environment for promoting the development of the verbal repertoire and revealing holes in the existing knowledge system, creating a metacognitive state where there is a readiness and susceptibility to receive instruction (Basturkmen 2006: 4).

Although the focus in deep-end strategies is assumed to be primarily on the output, in simulations we generally encounter a richly intertwined texture of output, input and interaction, thus incorporating the key factors to second language acquisition. For this reason, simulations can be expected to meet the terms of all the three most relevant SLA hypotheses: input (Krashen 1982), output (Swain 1985) and interaction (Long 1981) hypotheses. The richness and variety of output, modified interactions and negotiation of meaning in the direction of creating comprehensible input, are the core of communication and building social relations and the key

and indispensible ingredients of successful language learning (Richards and Rodgers 2001: 228).

4. The Company Simulation – design, structure and implementation

Following Jones' (1982: 5) definition of simulation as "a reality of function in a simulated and structured environment", with the Company Simulation we have made an attempt to create a representation resembling the settings of the corporate world reality with the students acting out their chosen business roles. The Company Simulation was deemed a relevant framework for the English I course as it encompasses all the business elements and tasks relevant to both business and IT students who are being increasingly encouraged to enter the entrepreneurial world of IT startups believed to have great future potential. It offers just the kind of context and experiences that may arise in the future workplace and working life of our students, either in setting up their own companies, or being involved in the process of looking for a job, performing different functions in an enterprise, exchanging telephone calls and e-mails, requesting information, making quotations, placing orders and socializing with foreign guests and associates.

As presented in Table 1 below, we have built the Company Simulation around the tasks and subtasks involving some of the typical situations in the target culture: establishing companies, dividing company roles and recruiting personnel, attending a trade fair, and different business interactions and transactions.

Table 1: The Structure of the Company Simulation

Stage I	Company establishment	A Briefing – Framework
		B Setting up a company
		C Deciding on a business idea
		D Delegating roles and responsibilities
		E Presentation

Stage II	Recruitment and job applications	A Briefing – Framework
		B Job applications – CVs & cover letters
		C Review and reflection
Stage III	Attending a business fair	A Opening activity – Framework
		B Booking flights & accommodation
		C Making contacts at the trade fair
		D Wining and Dining
		E Review and reflection
Stage IV	Conducting business transactions	A Opening activity – Framework
		B E-mailing – enquiries, offers, placing an order, complaints
		C Review and reflection
Stage V	Final Presentation	
Stage VI	Debriefing and Evaluation	A Feedback and Comments Evaluation & Discussion

The Company Simulation has six stages, with the briefing and debriefing phase/ session accompanying most phases of the project. The briefing session, the exposure phase, is the opportunity to introduce students to the simulation in general and the subsequent tasks, to introduce some specialist vocabulary and useful expressions (Bullard 1990: 59-60), to give students a relevant framework and to activate the content and linguistic and socio-cultural background knowledge (Knutson 2003: 56-57).

On the other hand, the reflection/debriefing session serves as "a bridge between practical experience and theoretical conceptualisation" (Kohonen 2007: 1-2), a pre-requisite for successful experiential learning to take place. It requires learners to actively engage with their own past acquisition experiences and focuses them on the future. It involves a joint reconstruction of the learning experience, analysis and evaluation of its success, and reflection on the emotions and challenges faced (Jones 1982; Bullard 1990; Knutson 2003). It opens the door for corrective work, and is the key to the transformation of experience into knowledge (Kolb 1984: 38).

The simulation method is essentially task-based. It revolves around the completion of tasks and meets the four criteria for task-based instruction, where meaning is primary, there is a goal which needs to be worked towards, the activity is outcome-evaluated and there is a relationship to the real world (Skehan 1996: 38).

The tasks in the Company Simulation were built around different appropriate communicative situations, and structured to trigger the simulation, stimulate information exchange and provide an incentive to communication (Horner and McGinley 1990: 37-39). The tasks were structured in such a way as to have tangible outcomes and clear and meaningful purposes. They involved information gathering and decision-making activities, cooperation, knowledge sharing and negotiating of meaning in bridging information gaps and other problem-solving situations.

In the first stage, following a short brainstorming session aimed at building the conceptual framework of company set-ups, organizational charts and the roles of different departments, the students in mixed-ability teams composed of 4 to 8 members set about the task of establishing their own companies, defining the company ownership and organizational type, name and headquarters, defining their business operations and main business ideas, along with the selection of roles appropriate for the chosen type of practice and business plan (general manager, executive secretary, financial manager, etc.). This stage ended in short company presentations intended to serve both as a "hook", an exciting activity aimed at engaging and sustaining student motivation in further work, as well as a necessary step for the further development of the simulation.

Stage two revolved around designing and preparing CVs and cover letters for the appropriate company positions. The students were given the freedom to keep their own identity or build a new one for the purpose of the simulation, depending on their personal choice and creativity. This was part of our effort to create a learning experience which would lower the anxiety level and students' self-consciousness so that they would feel free and unconstrained.

Phase three, one of the most exciting stages in the project, was designed around preparations for attending a business fair, and was aimed at practicing different interactions common in the professional world, such as booking flights and accommodation, making contacts with prospective business associates, and conducting both formal and informal social

interactions important in establishing, building and maintaining rapport in business relations. The goal of this phase was for each company to make at least one business deal with another team, as an introduction to phase four, in which, upon familiarizing themselves with different types of business letters and rules of business correspondence, the companies exchanged e-mails to develop and finalize the business deal.

The project culminated in oral presentations prepared by the companies, exhibiting all their activities and transactions. The final presentation also involved the submission of a portfolio containing all the documents generated throughout the simulation: CVs, e-mails and planners, as well as the journals kept by each student during the simulation with the goal of registering their progress in the execution of tasks, consciousness-raising in their process of language learning, as well as improving metacognitive strategies (Oxford and Crookall 1990: 110, Spelman 2002: 381). An explicit focus on the knowledge, content and skills encountered, acquired and used in their work, helped encourage the students to concentrate on specific aspects of learning and elements of achievement (Beckett and Slater 2005: 109-110).

As part of the reflection process on the pedagogic and linguistic effectiveness of the project, the students completed an evaluation questionnaire expressing their attitudes, views and satisfaction on the different aspects and relevance of the simulation in English language learning. The results of this questionnaire were meant to serve as a valuable source of information on the students' expectations and needs and a guideline for further improvement of the program.

Since a detailed analysis of the questionnaire results goes beyond the scope of this paper, we will just briefly summarise its major points. All the students unanimously expressed the utmost satisfaction with the overall success of the project, pointing particularly to the usefulness of the communicative and interactional aspects of the simulation, as well as the effectiveness of cooperation and teamwork. "Learning Business English with ease in a pleasant and relaxed atmosphere that looks like a game", "overcoming fear of public speaking", "learning while socializing", "learning formal business terms", "practicing for the future workplace", "acting out the scenarios of the business world"… are just some of the many positive aspects the students referred to in their comments. Questions about the merits of team-building and the value of engaging and helping out the students with lower self-esteem and a lower level of English were also raised by several participants.

The students expressed a high degree of agreement with the statements related to the content relevance, the structure and correspondence of the tasks with both their needs and interests and the course objectives, with strong mean scores of over 4 on a scale from 1, meaning strongly disagree, to 5, meaning strongly agree.

The simulation learning method was found to be useful and interesting by more than 92.6 % of the participants, thus confirming our initial expectations and our desire to create an enjoyable learning experience coupled with feelings of fun and flow. It was preferred to traditional learning methods and was found to be particularly relevant for the acquisition of vocabulary, presentation skills and professional knowledge, once again supporting our original motivation and inspiration in developing and implementing this pilot project.

5. Concluding remarks

Focus on learner autonomy promotion and development, cultivating independence and responsibility, encouraging cooperation and fostering interpersonal skills, the growth of self-esteem and risk-tasking, and appreciation of individual differences in learning styles and strategies, all make simulations a format which brings together many aspects of the holistic and humanistic approach epitomized in experiential learning.

Simulations enable students to play an active role and take control of their learning, make their own decisions on what and how to learn, and effectively use the available resources, information and feedback (Tomlinson and Masuhara 2000: 159). They help them improve their affective, social, cognitive and metacognitive skills, they allow them to identify their dominant learning style, and develop their language learning strategies in planning, organizing and evaluating their learning process (Geddes *et al*. 1990: 82); in other words they build up skills of self-regulating learning. Developing a sense of self-efficacy in students is believed to be an important element of motivation, self-esteem and self-confidence (Dorneyi 2001: 21-2).

Relevance and usefulness for future work, encountering and resolving different communicative situations, meaningful communication, and interactional authenticity are some of the major reasons for the applicability of simulations in English for Specific Purposes. In a simulation, learning is

contextualized, built into the simulation of a real scenario, a target context providing authenticity in terms of purpose, approach, communicative reality, and discourse (Widdowson 1978: 80-81). Using simulations, learning and knowledge are not isolated from the real world, they are made relevant, useful, and functional, related to the world, experiences and interests of the learner, and as such are both purposeful and meaningful (Samuda and Bygate 2008: 20-21). As the focus is more on exchanging meaning and reaching a nonlinguistic outcome than on form and grammar, simulations foster deeper and longer lasting learning leading to fluency development (Hyland 1993: 17).

Simulations allow for the practice, development and integration of all language skills through negotiation and cooperation in conquering different communicative challenges posed by various situations and interactions.

The environment is safe, low-risk, and encouraging, and the presence of a non-linguistic outcome shifts the focus away from the language, inspiring natural interactions and the application of communicative strategies in a relaxed and pleasant atmosphere (Scarcella and Crookall 1990: 226), which reduces shyness and self-consciousness and lowers the affective filter (Krashen, 1982).

The sense of achievement, creativity, imagination, risk-taking, fun and excitement, and the feeling of "flow" and complete immersion in the activity, all create a state of optimal experience, while teamwork, cooperation and collaboration, all in line with social constructivism (Vygotsky 1978/1997), enable a shared experience of discovery and exploration (Breen & Candlin 1980: 95), peer modeling and knowledge sharing.

Simulations activate learners' analytical and creative, intellectual, social and emotional potential (Crookall and Saunders 1989; Oxford and Crookall 1990) and develop and consolidate both linguistic and professional competences. They are "revitalizing" and "dynamic" (Magnin 2002:395) and a viable alternative to "the talk-and-chalk tradition" (Crookall and Saunders 1989: ix).

This all leads us to the question of motivation, and in the words of Ellis (2005) "engaging learners in activities where they are focused on creating pragmatic meaning is intrinsically motivating", and according to Richards and Rodgers (2001: 207) *"People learn a second language more successfully when they use the language as a means of acquiring information, rather than as an end in itself"…"People learn a second language most successfully when*

the information they are acquiring is perceived as interesting, useful, and leading to a desired goal" (*Ibid*: 209).

ESP can also gain a great deal from the presence of intrinsic motivation, as besides relevance, it should also include elements of "enjoyment, fun, creativity and a sense of achievement" (Hutchinson and Waters 1987: 48). Being an active pedagogical approach successful in raising students' interest, stake, engagement and investment in their work, it instills inspiration and motivation and promotes deeper learning (Crookall 1990: 167).

Simulations are an "extremely powerful FL tool" (Crookall and Saunders 1989:97), they create "an environment which encourages interaction and communication" (*Ibid*), "overcoming certain limitations of the classroom as a learning environment" (*Ibid*), "encouraging the students to use FL communicatively, i.e. in a self-initiated and purposeful way" (*Ibid*). In comparison to teacher-centered classroom practices, the language in simulations becomes richer, more spontaneous, with more natural discourse elements, such as turn taking, negotiating, etc, with extensive FL input in an "appealing and relevant context" (*Ibid:* 98), where the anxiety level is lowered as participants are more oriented towards their peers than the teacher (Gardner and Lalonde 1990: 219).

Simulations bridge the gap between theory and practice, knowledge and action which is one of the cornerstones of education aimed at preparing students for the workplace arena. Using simulations, students at the tertiary level of education are given an opportunity to practice "the various multi-faceted, work-related skills that they will require once they enter employment" (Ellington, Gordon and Fowlie 2006: 107), and as "first-hand experience, active involvement and enjoyment underlie all effective learning" (Crookall, Coleman and Versluis 1990: 167), we believe simulations deserve a highly prominent place in teaching English for Specific Purposes.

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PHRASEOLOGY AND WORDPLAY IN VLADIMIR NABOKOV'S *TRANSPARENT THINGS*

Abstract
The article deals with the use of figurative units (mostly idioms) in *Transparent Things*, the novel of Vladimir Nabokov, as well as their representation in Russian and German translations. There appear to be two main techniques, namely idiom modifications, which are usually lexical or lexico-syntactical, and literal translations of non-English idioms. These techniques are often combined with each other, as well as with wordplay based on paronomasia within one language or across languages.

Key words: phraseology, authors' use of idioms by authors, Vladimir Nabokov's English novels, idiom modifications, wordplay

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1. Introduction

Vladimir Nabokov's creative activity has been attracting scholars and biographers (cf. Boyd 1993; Ляпон 2011). In this article, we shall focus on the use of idioms in one of his English novels, namely *Transparent Things*. The article deals with wordplay and the use of idioms and proverbs in the novel in question (Barabtarlo 1989, Maddox 2009). The author's text is compared to those of translators, the letter **a** marking the original examples [TT] and letters **b** и **c** marking their Russian and German translations made by Sergej Il'in [ПВ] and Dieter E. Zimmer [DD], respectively.

2. Wordplay in *Transparent Things*

Like many other Nabokov's novels, such as *Invitation to a Beheading* («Приглашение на казнь») or the unfinished *Ultima Thule*, *Transparent Things* are rich with wordplay passed on interlinguistic paronomasia[1]. For instance, the name of the protagonist, an American proofreader, is *Hugh Person*. The connection to the English word *person* is obvious (see the first phrase of the novel[2]), yet his last name may also be construed as the French *personne* 'nobody' alluding to his ordinariness (which is most transparent when the younger Hugh Person advertises stationery such as *the Person Pen*) and the shackles of convention[3] — as well as to *The Odyssey* and

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[1] One may notice puns on code-switching, e.g. *"Alors allons dans la maison," she said, faithfully translating from Russian* or Armande's speech patterns like *"One will go home now"*, a nod to the French impersonal constructions with the pronoun *on* (cf. the use of the German impersonate construction in [DD]: *Jetzt wird nach Hause gegangen*). Further information on code-switching in Nabokov's novels can be found in (Shafariants 2007).

[2] Interestingly, the translation of the first paragraph marks the stylistic properties of the entire novel, cf.: **a.** *Hullo, Person!* **b.** Привет, персонаж*!* **c.** *He, Sie Person!* Since the German *Person* is of feminine gender, the German translator is compelled to render the wordplay somewhat ungrammatical: **a.** Hugh, a sentimental simpleton, and somehow *not a very good Person* (good ones are above that, he was merely a rather dear one) <…>. **b.** Хью, сентиментальный простак и в общем-то *персонаж не из лучших* (лучшие выше этого, а он был просто довольно славный) <…> **c.** Hugh, ein Einfaltspinsel in Dingen der Gefühle und irgendwie *kein sehr guter Person* (gute stehen über solchen Dingen, er war einigermaßen nur lieb) <…>.

[3] Cf. the metalinguistic use of proper names and hedges (in terms of George Lakoff): *Jack, Jake and Jacques*, *Tom Tam*, in so-called *Switzerland (i.e., very shortly before the event that for him would cause everything to become "so-called")*.

James Joyce's *Ulysses*[4]. Nabokov stresses (twice, at the very least) that the protagonist's last name is often mispronounced as *Parson*. As is known, rich allusions and puns in characters' names are quite a trait of the author's, cf. Cincinnatus in *Invitation to a Beheading* and Martin Edelweiss in *Glory*.

Let us take a look at example (1).

1. a. The receptionist (blond bun, pretty neck) said no, Monsieur Kronig had left to become manager, imagine, of the *Fantastic in Blur (or so it sounded)*. A grassgreen skyblue postcard depicting reclining clients was produced in illustration or proof. The caption was in three languages and *only the German part was idiomatic*. The English one read: *Lying Lawn* – and, as if on purpose, *a fraudulent perspective had enlarged the lawn to monstrous proportions*. **b.** Консьержка (белокурый шиньон, милая шея) ответила — нет, мсье Крониг оставил их, чтобы занять, представьте себе, посту управляющего отелем «Воображение» в Буре *(или так оно прозвучало)*. В виде иллюстрации или же довода возникла травянисто-зеленая, небесно-голубая открытка с раскорячившимися постояльцами. Подпись на трех языках, и *только в немецкой имеется идиома*. Английская гласит: «Лежачий Лужок» — *и словно назло, мошенница-перспектива расперла лужок до диких размеров*. **c.** Das Mädchen am Empfang (blonder Dutt, hübscher Hals) sagte nein, Monsieur Kronig sei nicht mehr da, er sei, stellen Sie sich nur vor, Manager des *Phantastic in Blur* (so klang es jedenfalls) geworden. Eine grasgrüne himmelblaue Postkarte, die ruhende Hotelgäste im Bilde festhielt, wurde zur Illustrierung oder zum Beweis vorgelegt. Die Aufschrift war dreisprachig, und *nur der deutsche Teil war sprachlich korrekt*. Der englische lautete: *Lying Lawn, liegender oder lügender Rasen* – und wie mit Absicht hatte eine betrügerische Perspektive die Wiese zu ungeheuerlichen Proportionen geweitet.

In this extract, the wordplay is based on the contrast of homonyms and their meanings. The adjective *idiomatic* (rendered in Sergej Il'in's translation

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[4] Cf. the book Cincinnatus ponders over in *Invitation to the Beheading* – a certain *Quercus*, a biography of an oak [Russian дуб, phonetically similar to *The Dubliners*] written by a relatively young author living on an island by the North Sea. This technique is later used in the beginning of *Look at the Harlequins!*, where the list of works written by the narrator is a collection of puns based on Russian and English titles of Nabokov's own prose, *Dare* as a blend of Дар (*The Gift*), Подвиг (*Glory*), and *Despair*.

as a phrase только в немецкой имеется идиома 'only the German [part] contains an idiom'[5]) strongly implies that the original caption was written by a German speaker, the other captions being inaccurate translations. The *lying lawn* is, apparently, the German compound *Liegewiese* 'lawn with sunbeds'. The proximity of *lying lawn* to a *fraudulent perspective* leads to a double entendre. In the German translation (1c), *idiomatic* appears as *sprachlich korrekt* 'linguistically correct', whereas *lying lawn* is explained as *liegender oder lügender Rasen* 'lying [referring to horizontal posture] or lying [fraudulent] meadow'.

Another typical example is the rendering of a street sign: "*Confections. Notre vente triomphale de soldes*. Our windfall triumphantly sold, translated his father, and was corrected by Hugh with tired contempt". The butt of the joke lies in the similarity of the French words *vente* 'sale' и *vent* 'wind', as well as, possible, that of French *confections₁* 'manufacturing', *confections₂* 'garment manufacture', and English *confections₁* 'elaborate sweets or delicacies', *confections₂* 'medical manufacture', *confections₃* 'elaborate articles of clothing'), French *solde* 'balance, sales' and English *sold*.

Let us cite some more examples of puns based on alliterations and hedges (in George Lakoff's sense).

2. a. *Madame Charles Chamar, née Anastasia Petrovna Potapov (a perfectly respectable name that her late husband garbled as "Patapouf")*. **b.** Мадам Шарль Камар, рожденная Анастасия Петровна Потапова (весьма почтенная фамилия, превращенная ее покойным супругом в «Патапуф»).

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[5] One should note that such a translation of *idiomatic* and *idiom* appears in other Nabokov's novels rendered by Il'inm cf. *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight*: **a.** One day, at last, Sebastian blurted out that there was some mistake - he had not been born in Russia really, but in Sofia. Upon which, the delighted old man at once started to speak Bulgarian. Sebastian lamely answered that it was not the special dialect he knew, and when challenged to furnish a sample, *invented a new idiom* on the spur of the moment, which greatly puzzled the old linguist <…> **b.** Себастьян, наконец, выпалил, что тут-де какая-то ошибка, что на самом деле он родом не из России, а из Софии, отчего обрадованный старикан мгновенно заговорил по-болгарски. Себастьян неуклюже ответил, что этот диалект ему неизвестен, когда же от него потребовали предъявить образец, он не сходя с места соорудил новую идиому, долго занимавшую старого языковеда <…>. The author might have used *idiom* in the sense of 'language', not in that of 'fixed expression' (an opinion expressed by Julia Kristeva in Kristeva 1988). Anyway, both interpretations are possible, as Nabokov created constructed languages (conlangs) at least twice, in *Bend Sinister* and *Pale Fire* (Conley, Cain 2006; Filonov Gove 1973; Дронов 2014).

In (2), the pun is based on the phonetic similarity of the Russian last name *Potapov* and the French noun *patapouf* 'fat and clumsy man, fatso' (one might also suggest an allusion to *Mihajlo Potapyč,* a Russian fairy-tale nomination of a bear) в этом контексте возможна также аллюзия на сказочного *Михайло Потапыча*). *Chamar*, the maiden name of Hugh Person's wife, seems to convey a meaning akin to those of his own, cf. Portuguese *chamar* 'to call, to name'. Therefore, their names strangely coincide with the famous line from *The Odyssey*: Οὖτις ἐμοὶ γ' ὄνομα 'Nobody is my name'. This sort of interlinguistic paronomasia appears in other passages. For instance, Hugh Person's future mother-in-law associates the name *Diablonnet* with яблони, the Russian for 'apple trees'. Besides, *chamar* is also an Anglo-Indian word for a 'fan made of peacock's plumes', and, in his diary, Hugh Person remembers, albeit wrongly, seeing this word in Byron's poetry (in fact, the correct lexeme appearing in Byron's *The Giaour* is *symar/simar/cymar/simarre* 'a woman's short fur-trimmed jacket, popular in the 17th and 18th centuries'. For an unspecified reason, Sergej Il'in transcribes the name as Камар, reminiscent of the Russian комар 'gnat, mosquito', although he does not alter the *chamar* in the entry of Person's diary. This probably is merely a transcription error.

Besides, according to L. Maddox, the narrator, apart from being omnipresent, is also cyphered as an anagram (*Adam von Librikov* — see Example 4) and a graphic paronomasia: one particular character, the German-speaking and English-writing *Mr. R.*, has a name that reads as a mirror image of the Russian letter Я (i.e. 'I' or 'ego') and sounds as *our* (meanwhile, the protagonist's future wife, addressing Hugh Person on the telephone, pronounces his name with the French accent: *You Person?*) (Maddox 2009: 136). Interestingly, this sort of wordplay becomes an object of Nabokov's reflexion and self-parody, cf. an incredibly Cratylean footnote cited by the narrator pertaining to commentaries to *a notorious fraud, the late symbolist Atman* (perhaps, an allusion to Sanskrit *âtman* 'the inner self, the superior Me'): *The cromlech (associated with mleko, milch, milk) is obviously a symbol of the Great Mother, just as the menhir ("mein Herr") is as obviously masculine.*

> **3. a.** I have been accused of <u>trifling with minors</u>, *but my* <u>minor</u> *characters are untouchable,* <u>*if you permit me a pun*</u>. **b.** Меня обвиняют в том, что *я копаюсь в* <u>*пустяках*</u>*, но и* <u>*пустые*</u> *личности в моих книгах неприкосновенны,* <u>*если ты мне простишь такой каламбур*</u>. **c.** Es ist mir ein Vorwurf daraus gemacht worden, daß

> *ich mich an <u>Minderjährigen</u> vergreife*, aber die <u>Minderwichtigen</u> *meiner Figuren sind unberührbar, falls Sie mir einen Kalauer erlauben*.

Curiously enough, due to the ambiguity of *minor* in this context, the translators rendered the pun using different meanings, namely 'trifling matter' (lit. "empty matters" and "empty personalities") in Russian, 'not of legal age' and 'somewhat unimportant or irrelevant' (*Minderjährige* 'juniors who are not of legal age' vs. *Minderwichtige* 'those of lesser importance').

4. a. Sometimes he wondered what the phrase really meant – what exactly did "*rimiform*" suggest and how did a "*balanic plum*" look, or *should he cap the 'b' and insert a 'k' after '1'*? The dictionary he used at home was less informative than the huge battered one in the office and he was now slumped by such beautiful things as "*all the gold of a kew tree*" and "a *dappled nebris*." He queried the middle word in the name of an incidental character "*Adam von Librikov*" because *the German particle seemed to clash with the rest; or was the entire combination a sly scramble*? He finally crossed out his query, but on the other hand reinstated the "*Reign of Cnut*" in another passage: a humbler proofreader before him had supposed that either the letters in the last word should be transposed or that it be corrected to "the Knout" – she was of Russian descent, like Armande. **b.** Случалось, что смысл фразы ему не давался, – к чему, собственно, клонится «*промежек*» и что это за «*бурные бакланы*», *не переставить ли «к» и «л» и не заменить ли второе «б» заглавным*? Словарь, которым он пользовался дома, был не столь осведомителен, как издательский, встрепанный, огромный, и теперь он спотыкался на таких чудных вещах как «*вся прелесть юных черев*» или «*пятнастый небрис*». Он усомнился в имени «*Омир ван Балдиков*» — *голландская частица вроде бы не вязалась со всем остальным*; или все сочетание — попросту *лукавая перетасовка*? В конце концов он зачеркнул знак вопроса, зато в другом месте утвердил в правах "*Reign of Cnut*": робкая считчица, правившая текст до него, полагала, что нужно *либо переставить в последнем слове две буквы, либо совсем заменить его на* "*the Knout*", — она была из русских, как и Арманда. **c.** Manchmal fragte er sich, was der Satz wirklich bedeute – was genau hatte man unter "*kaneszent*" vorzustellen, und wie sah eine

"*Balanpflaume*" aus, oder *sollte er nach dem l ein k einfügen*? Das Wörterbuch, das er zu Hause benutzte, war weniger informativ als das riesige vielstrapazierte im Büro, und so schöne Dinge wie "*das ganze Gold eines Ginkgos*" oder "*eine gesprenkelte Nebris*" ließen ihn jetzt ratlos. Er stellte das mittlere Wort im Namen einer Nebenfigur, "*Adam von Librikov*", in Frage, weil *der deutsche Adelspartikel nicht zu dem Rest zu passen schien*; oder war die ganze Kombination *eine listige Buchstabenversetzung*? Er strich seine Frage schließlich durch, setzte aber in einem anderen Passus wieder "*Reign of Cnut*" ein: Eine niedere Korrekturleserin vor ihm hatte vermutet, daß entweder *die Buchstaben im letzten Wort umgestellt gehörten*, oder daß es "*Reign of the Knout*" heißen müsse, die "*Herrschaft der Knute*"– wie Armande war sie russischer Herkunft.

This extract is filled with puns based on the shape and meaning of various medical and botanical terms. The adjective *rimiform,* for instance is a rarely used term meaning 'resembling a cleft or slit'; due to its meaning and its similarity to *rim* (along with possible innuendos based upon both of these words), the protagonist does not understand what the phrase may mean. Interestingly enough, the translators do not use the same term but substitute it with rare non-terms such as промежек 'interval; gap' (4b, a dialectal counterpart of промежуток 'ditto' bearing some resemblance to the word промежность 'perineum; nether regions') and *kaneszent* 'turning grey [of hair]' (4c; obsolete). The obscenity of *rimiform* and *balanic plum* (that is to say, 'a plum similar to glans penis') mentioned in one context compels Hugh Person, as a proofreader, to suggest that the latter be substituted with *Balkanic* 'балканский'. In (4b), this pun is translated by means of contrasting word groups бурные бакланы 'fierce cormorants' amd бурные Балканы 'the fierce Balkans', whereas in (4c), a unique compound *Balanpflaume* appears. Zimmer renders *All the gold of a kew tree* (which may also be seen as the reference to *Kew Gardens*, where the oldest of these trees are found) literally as *das ganze Gold eines Ginkgos*, preserving the alliteration (4c); Il'in, on the other hand hand, changes the meaning of the phrase, using a substandard form of чрево 'womb; belly': вся прелесть юных черев 'all the charm of young wombs' (4b). *Dappled nebris* (*gesprenkelte Nebris,* пятнастый небрис) is a reference to *Papaipema nebris*, a species of moth (*dappled* being an accurate description of an adult moth's appearance), alluding at Nabokov's entomological hobby. A similar

autoallusion, a reference to oneself, is the anagram *Adam von Librikov* (*Vladimir Nabokov*; cf. *Vivan Darkbloom*'s foreword to *Lolita*). To preserve the anagram, Sergej Il'in turns Adam into Homer (an obsolete form Омир instead of Гомер) and substitutes the German honorific with the Dutch one. These allusions are quite obvious (*a sly scramble* – лукавая перетасовка – *eine listige Buchstabenversetzung*; the German translator refers to the anagram directly as 'a sly change of letters') and may be considered the eponymous transparent things.

The extract ends with another lengthy and transparently obscene pun based on interlinguistic paronomasia: the female proofreader who had been checking Mr. R.'s novel before the protagonist, misinterpreted the word group *Reign of Cnut* (that is to say, *Canute*) and opted for substituting it with either the Russian loan word *knout* 'whip' or the notorious English profanity.

3.Use of idioms

First of all, it is not atypical of Nabokov to modify idioms and materialize their underlying metaphors, cf. (5).

> **5. a.** With an oath and a sigh *Hugh retraced his steps, <u>which was once a trim metaphor</u>*, and went back to the shop. **b.** Выругавшись и вздохнув, Хью *поворотил оглобли<u>, что было когда-то меткой метафорой</u>*, и направился к магазину. **c.** Mit einem Fluch und einem Seufzer *nahm* er *seine Spur in umgekehrter Richtung wieder auf*, <u>was einst eine angebrachte Metapher war</u>, und ging zum Laden zurück.

The original (5a) contains a stylistically neutral idiom *to retrace one's steps* 'to walk back the same way'. The relative clause inserted into it is an example of metalinguistic lexico-syntactical modification (see [Dronov 2011; Добровольский 2007]; on metacommunicative framing of idioms see [Dobrovol'skij, Lûbimova 1993]) indicating the idiomatic character of the phrase and referring to the underlying metaphor. The idiom is used alongside with a free word group that has a similar meaning (*went back to the shop*), which leads to a comic double-entendre. The Russian translator uses the informal and somewhat obsolete idiom <по>воротить оглобли 'to go back' (lit. "to turn back traces [of a horse harness]"). This decision

seems original, if not entirely adequate, because *to retrace one's steps* is marked as neutral (since in phraseology, it is an informal idiom that may be considered unmarked; see [Баранов, Добровольский 2006a; Шмелев 1977]), whereas the Russian one is marked as obsolete, with no contexts in the Russian National Corpora found after 1889. In the German translation, the neutral phrase *jmds. Spur aufnehmen* 'to find one's trace' is used; this phrase does not appear in dictionaries such as [Duden 2008; НБНРС]) but can be found in [DeReKo].

> **6. a.** "Anyway – how are you?" asked Hugh, *pressing his disadvantage*. "*To make a story quite short*," replied Mr. R. (who had *an exasperating way not only of trotting out hackneyed formulas in his would-be colloquial thickly accented English, but also of getting them wrong*), "I *had not been feeling any too healthy*, you know, during the winter. My liver, you know, *was holding something against me*." **b.** «Во всяком случае — как ваши дела?» — спросил, *справясь с ощущеньем неловкости*, Хью. «*Говоря как нельзя короче*, — отвечал мистер R. (*имевший пренеприятное обыкновение не только прибегать к избитым клише в своем подпорченном тяжким акцентом, якобы разговорном английском, но к тому же еще их калечить*), — мне, понимаешь ли, всю зиму *неможилось*. Печень, понимаешь, что-то такое *затаила против меня*.» **c.** «Gleichviel – wie geht's Ihnen?» fragte Hugh, *auf seinen Nachteil pochend*. «*Um nicht lange um den heißen Brei herumzureden*», erwiderte Mr. R. (*der eine entnervende Art hatte, in seinem pseudo-umgangssprachlichen, mit starkem Akzent ausgesprochenen Englisch nicht nur mit abgedroschenen Klischees aufzuwarten, sondern sie obendrein auch noch durcheinander zu bringen*), «den Winter über habe ich mich nicht ganz besonders wohl gefühlt, wissen Sie. Meine Leber *hielt etwas gegen mich*, wissen Sie.»

The idiom *to press [home] one's advantage* 'to use an already existing advantage to succeed' has its noun group substituted with the cognate *disadvantage*. This lexical modification changes both the underlying metaphor and the figurative meaning, effectively reversing the latter (since the protagonist's lines make the whole communicative situation a failure). Example (6c) contains a modification of the same kind: *auf seinen Nachteil pochend* 'insisting on his disadvantage', where *Nachteil* is a substitute for

Recht from *auf sein Recht pochen* 'to insist on one's right'. Il'in's variant is a free word group *справясь с ощущеньем неловкости* 'having coped with the feeling of embarrassment' (6b), whose meaning is somewhat different than that of the original phrase. The idiom *to hold sth. against sb./sth.* (6a) is translated with the nearly equivalent figurative unit затаить что-л. против кого-л. (6b) and the lexically modified idiom *etwas gegen jmdn. haben* (6c). The verb is substituted with *halten* 'hold', effectively making it both a lexical modification and a literal translation.

The idiom *to make a long story short* has the adjective *long* omitted and an adverbial modifier inserted. This means of modification may be seen as a magnifier (LF [lexical function] Magn) in terms of Igor Mel'čuk's Meaning–text theory [Mel'čuk 2007]. Dieter E. Zimmer translates it *um den [heißen] Brei herumreden* 'not to speak to the point' (lit. "to talk around the hot mash") with a negative particle and an adjectival modifier: *nicht lange um den heißen Brei herumreden*. In the narrator's commentary, these modifications get a conclusive definition: *an exasperating way not only of trotting out hackneyed formulas <…> but also of getting them wrong*. This autocommentary is rather close to the views on idiom-breaking expressed by authors such as Aleksandr V. Kunin, Anita Načisčione, and Tim Ifill (Ifill 2003; Naciscione 2010; Кунин 1996). One should note that the character uttering the phrases cited in (6) is described as anything but a native speaker: Mr. R. is a writer with *a long German name, in two installments, with a nobiliary particle between castle and crag*. Here one has to consider the description of speech peculiarities of the protagonist in *The Real Life of Sebastian Knight* [RLSN], Nabokov's first English novel:

> 7. It appears that Sebastian's English, *though fluent and idiomatic, was decidedly that of a foreigner*. His r's when beginning a word, rolled and rasped, *he made queer mistakes, saying, for instance, 'I have seized a cold' or 'that fellow is sympathetic' – merely meaning that he was a nice chap. He misplaced the accent in such words as 'interesting' or 'laboratory'. He mispronounced names like 'Socrates' or 'Desdemona'.* Once corrected, he would never repeat the mistake, but the very fact of his not being quite sure about certain words distressed him enormously and he used to blush a bright pink when, owing to a chance verbal flaw, some utterance of his would not be quite understood by an obtuse listener. *In*

those days, he wrote far better than he spoke, but still there was something vaguely un-English about his poems.[6]

Judging by these remarks (interestingly, they demonstrate of a peculiarity of the stress in the word Дездемона in the speech of Russian emigrés, which appears to have been closer to that of *Desdémona* in Romance languages than that of the English *Desdemona* or its contemporary Russian counterpart), Nabokov's view is close to the so-called introspective approach in the studies of linguistic and cultural specificity of idioms (Баранов, Добровольский 2008b: 275–280). From this point of view, an opinion of native speakers on appropriateness or unfitness of an idiom in a foreigner's speech may be a sign of its specificity. This criterion may be applied to figurative units that are morphologically nonstandard or contain unique (possibly archaic) constituents (cf. English *kith and kin* 'friends and relatives', German *klipp und klar* '́оротко и ясно'), proper names (Russian петь Лазаря 'to beg alms', lit. "to sing [the parable of the Rich man and] Lazarus", English *[every] Tom, Dick and Harry* 'every or any person', Afrikaans *Jan Rap en sy maat* 'ditto', lit. "Jan Rap and his mate"), references to events and places (German *ab nach Kassel* 'a demand to leave the premises immediately', lit. "begone [and move] to Kassel [a rally point for German recruits sent to Great Britain and then to the New World during the Seven-Year War]", Serbian *i mirna Bačka/Bosna* 'and everything shall end well' [an ironic allusion to the nearly constantly war-torn regions]), rhymes and alliterations (Russian ни кожи ни рожи 'plain appearance [usually referring to a woman]', lit. "having neither skin nor snoot"; English *prunes and prisms* 'affected, primly precise, or priggish speech or behavior' [a reference to Mrs. General's speech in Charles Dickens' *Little Dorritt*]). This idea of appropriateness or unfitness of an idiom in a foreigner's mouth may be clearly seen in Zimmer's translation (6c): the idiom is barely altered (the modifier *lange* and negative particle are widely spread in German corpora such as [DⒺRⒺKo]).

> **8. a.** Insomnia and her sister Nocturia harry me, of course, but otherwise I am *as hale as a pane of stamps*. **b.** Бессонница и сестрица ее, Никтурия, конечно, порядком меня изнурили, но в остальном я *крепок, как пласт почтовых* марок. **c.** Insomnia und

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[6] Inter alia, this episode is addressed in Julia Kristeva's *Strangers to Ourselves* (*Étrangers à nous-mêmes*) [Kristeva 1988].

> ihre Schwester Nocturia plagen mich natürlich, aber sonst bin ich
> *heil wie ein Bogen Briefmarken*.

Here, medical symptoms are anthropomorphized, resembling ancient deities such as *Hypnos /* Ὕπνος 'sleep' and his mother *Nyx /* Νύξ 'night'. The apophatic comparison *as hale as a pane of stamps* is based on the model of set phrases such as English *as sound as a bell*, *fit as a fiddle*, German *(so) gesund/munter/fit wie ein Fisch im Wasser* 'as healthy/strong/fit as a fish in water', Russian здоров как бык 'as healthy as a bull', Serbian *zdrav kao dren/drijen* 'as healthy as a buckthorn'. The adjective *hale* (descended from Old English *hæl* 'whole') is used in the alliterated idiom *hale and hearty* but would not appear in comparisons of the aforementioned sort. Furthermore there is a play on the co-occurrence of *pane* with other nouns: judging by the text corpora, the most frequently used collocation is *pane of glass* 'лист стекла' (75 out of 81 contexts in the British National Corpus [BNC], 352 out of 391 contexts in the Corpus of Contemporary American English [COCA]), whereas *pane of stamps* (a synonym for *sheet of stamps*) is encountered only once and only in BNC. Zimmer translates this *heil wie ein Bogen Briefmarken*. *Heil* 'крепкий, здоровый', a cognate of *hale*, is not found in idioms. The collocation *Bogen Briefmarken* substitutes a more conventional compound *Briefmarkenbogen*.

4. Literal translation and idiom blending

The other typical approach is literal translation of a non-English idiom, often combined with blending several idioms. Cf. (9).

4. a. As to the title [*Tralatitions*], which is a perfectly respectable synonym of the word 'metaphor,' *no savage steeds will pull it from under me*. **b.** Что до заглавия [«Фигуральности»], представляющего собой вполне добропорядочный синоним слова «метафора», то *его из-под меня не выдрать и взбесившимся жеребцом*. **c.** Was den Titel angeht, der ein absolut respektables Synonym des Wortes „Metapher" ist, *so werden ihn mir keine zehn Pferde unter den Füßen wegziehen*.

The metaphor is based on a number of Russian, English and German idioms, namely: *jmdn. bringen keine zehn Pferde dazu (etw. zu tun)* 'someone is not intending to do something under any circumstances' (lit. "not even ten

horses would bring sb to sth"), *jmdm. den Boden unter den Füßen wegziehen* 'to take away support or assistance from someone, or to cause problems for them' with its counterparts in English (*to pull the rug from under sb.*) and Russian (выбить *(у кого-л.)* почву из-под ног 'to disturb someone beginning something, harming their confidence of success'). Zimmer translates this by blending the two aforementioned German idioms (9c).

The literal translation and blending become a technique of producing original metaphors, sometimes leading to sophisticated ones (10).

> **5. a.** Perhaps if the future existed, concretely and individually, as something that could be discerned by a better brain, the past would not be so seductive: its demands would be balanced by those of the future. Persons *might then straddle the middle stretch of the seesaw* when considering this or that object. **b.** Возможно, если бы будущее существовало, конкретно и индивидуально, как нечто, различимое разумом посильней моего, прошлое не было бы столь соблазнительным: его притязания уравновешивались бы притязаниями будущего. Тогда бы любой персонаж *мог уверенно утвердиться в середине качающейся доски* и разглядывать тот или этот предмет. **c.** Wenn die Zukunft konkret und individuell existierte, als etwas, das einem überlegenen Hirn erkennbar wäre, dann vielleicht wäre die Vergangenheit nicht derart verlockend: Ihre Ansprüche würden von denen der Zukunft aufgewogen. *Jede Person könnte dann mit gespreizten Beinen auf dem Mittelteil der Wippe stehen und kippeln*, um diesen oder jenen Gegenstand in Augenschein zu nehmen.

The author's metaphor *to straddle the middle stretch of the seesaw* seems to be a reinvention of that underlying idioms such as *to live on the edge* or *to teeter on the brink*. In (10c), the German translator uses the modification of the idiom *auf der Wippe stehen* 'to be in the state of unstable equilibrium' (lit. "to stand on the seesaw", which can be found in [НБНСР] but is not present in [Duden 2008]. Nor does it occur in text corpora. Yet, this expression is somewhat similar to a more widespread idiom *auf der Kippe stehen* 'to be in an unstable or critical situation' (lit. "on the tip/butt of a cigarette") whose figurative meaning is not unlike that of thee aforementioned *to teeter on the brink*. Meanwhile, the prepositional part *mit gespreizten Beinen* may serve as a reference to the idioms *mit beiden Beinen auf der Erde stehen* 'to be realistic, pragmatic, and down-to-earth' (lit. "to stand with both feet on

the ground") and *mit einem Bein im Grabe stehen* 'to be terminally ill or to be approaching death' (lit. "with one foot in the grave", cf. Russian одной ногой в могиле, Serbian *jednom nogom u grobu*, etc.).

5. Conclusion

Based on the evidence listed above, the conclusions one can arrive are as follows:

1. The figurative units, most notably idioms, found in *Transparent Things*, tend to be modified, the modifications being mostly lexico-syntactical (e.g. adjectival or adverbial modifier insertion) or lexical (such as substituting one constituent with another), as well as metacommunicative.
2. A literal translation of idioms from one language to another appears to be a widespread means of coining original metaphors.
3. The first two phraseological devices are not easy to discern, as literal translation often involves a blend of several idioms and their modification, cf. (8–10).
4. The peculiarities of the author's phraseology may be reflected in the translation. As one can see in the examples cited above, Sergej Il'in and Dieter Zimmer attempt at preserving idiom modifications, the German translator also trying to reconstruct the original idioms, as may be seen in (11).

These models of idiom use are highly productive, occurring in many novels of Nabokov's, such as *Pnin*, *Ada*, and *Look at the Harlequins!* What is also noteworthy is that the author's phraseology is intertwined with the wordplay based on interlinguistic paronomasia and code-switching (see [Safariants 2007]). Russian works of Vladimir Nabokov's feature a similar phaenomenon, for the figurative units used by their characters (as in *Camera obcura/Laughter in the Dark*) serve as hints of the plot's development or even plot devices [Фатеева 2004]. Some of the instances of Nabokov's wordplay cast a long shadow in other authors' creative activity, e.g. the phrase *yellow blue tibia* (the garbled version of the Russian sentence я люблю тебя 'I love you' learnt by a character of *Transparent Things*) has become the title of the British science fiction book written by Adam Roberts (published in 2009).

What is obvious is that Nabokov's metalinguistic use of idioms becomes an important stylistic and plot device, suiting his ever-present taste for metafiction one can observe in many a novel of his.

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TRANSFORMING THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH TO TRANSLATION TEACHING STRATEGIES

Abstract

The paper presents a different approach to teaching translation where the teacher is seen as a facilitator of the translation task: the lion's share of the transfer of knowledge is accomplished by the student. This approach has been used for teaching non-literary translation, translation assessment and cultural translation for four years now with the third-year students at the English Department of the University of Belgrade. Such an approach involves a mixture of translation-oriented reading comprehension strategies, problem-solving of linguistic, semantic and cultural dilemmas, managing "untranslatability" (i.e. what is being lost in translation), disentangling ambiguities. In theory, this approach leans on Jacques Derrida's deconstructive idea that translation always involves transformation. It is his concept that "the text can cross a border and continue, transformed".

Key words: *translation*, *non-literary translation*, *teaching translation*, *Jacques Derrida*, *deconstruction*, *transformation*.

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Non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu.
St. Jerome

1. Introduction

This paper presents the strategies which have been used for teaching non-literary translation, translation assessment and cultural translation for four years now with the third-year students at the English Department of the University of Belgrade. This approach involves a mixture of translation-oriented reading comprehension strategies, problem-solving of linguistic, semantic and cultural dilemmas, managing "untranslatability" (i.e. what is being lost in translation), disentangling ambiguities. Non-literary translation, as taught at the English Department, refers to the translation of texts: (a) from a variety of areas: science, culture, environment, politics, medicine, economy, law, etc., and (b) written in different registers: journalese English, scientific and technical English, the language of politics and current affairs, legal and court language, business English, banking English, medical English, computer English etc.

In this world, a poor non-literary translation can lead not only to a minor confusion and misunderstanding but it can be a matter of life and death. Hence the importance of training future translators not only in the command of the two languages (the source language and the target language) , but also in specific knowledge areas and professional ethics. Bearing all this in mind, in 2006 the English Department introduced a new course – Non-literary Translation. The course has put into focus the following:

- Acquiring further knowledge of the various language characteristics of different registers in English and their implications for translation (in terms of cultural differences, content, word choice, text function, syntactic patterns, information structure, etc.);
- Dealing with the issue of culture-bound language and its implication for translation;
- Recognizing and developing an awareness of the methodology of translation and terminology characteristic of particular subject fields;
- Developing practical research techniques necessary to find solutions for translation problems in the various subject fields;
- Becoming acquainted with different translation assessment strategies.

This has appeared to be a tough task, both for the teacher and the students who have not been taught similar translation techniques before and have not been familiar with many of the topics they now have to translate (they have to learn about new concepts and ideas) either owing to the gaps in high school education or to their personal uninterestedness. Additional difficulties might have arisen from the fact that this approach is far from the author-centred (traditional) translation model. It starts from the text-centred (structuralist) model, taking a little from the reader-centred (cognitive) model, but strongly leaning on Jacques Derrida's deconstructive idea that translation always involves transformation. It is his concept that "the text can cross a border and continue, transformed" (Pym 2010: 109). Hence, for the purpose of this paper, we will call this approach a 'transformational' model. Derrida views the translation process "as transaction and as transfer" (Derrida 2001: 176), not as a word-to-word conversion:

> The operation that consists of converting, turning (*convertere*, *vertere*, *transvertere*) doesn't have to take a text at its word or to take the word literally. It suffices to transmit the idea, the figure, the force. (Derrida 2001: 180)

In this *sense-for-sense* model, the presupposition is that the translator is familiar not only with the words, but also with the context which provides the sense. The first step – the proper understanding of the context – is related to careful reading and correct comprehension of the source text. Every attempt to teach the translation skill must aim at training the students to transfer the essence of the message and the meaning of the source text accurately. In addition to the reading comprehension ability, the pre-requisite for a satisfactory translation performance is the background knowledge of the subject. It would not be possible to produce a proper translation unless the translator is well-acquainted with the topic. The knowledge of background information, or lack of it, is largely reflected in the quality of students' translations.

In the second step the students need to solve semantic and cultural difficulties. The students have to be constantly conscious of the relationship between semantics and culture. Almost all of them would, at one point, come across a translation problem that requires the 'cultural' approach in order to transfer the meaning faithfully into the target language. As students already know, two cultures (British and Serbian) can be quite

different, and the fact that the students may have to translate the text written in any of the English-speaking countries in the world – even further complicates their translating task. Therefore, the students are asked to consider social, as well as semantic, meanings of the words they look up – their linguistic and non-linguistic values. When translating, words should be taken as symbols of the culture. This approach, naturally, coincides with avoiding literalness in translating. The meaning of any word or phrase must be considered in terms of the linguistic situation in which it occurs and in order to translate correctly students should study the actual usage.

2. Theoretical background

In his essay "What is a 'Relevant' Translation?", Derrida takes the notion that every original (already) lacks its translation. However, he expresses his preference for the term 'transformation' over the term translation which is defined as "a regulated transformation of one language by another, of one text by another" (Derrida 2004: 19). Derrida's idea of translation is seemingly ambivalent because he is of the opinion that translation is both impossible and necessary – impossible because of the undeniable lack between effable and ineffable, but necessary in order to make this lack functional. To reconcile these two, Derrida defines a relevant translation as a "translation whose economy, in these two senses, is *the best possible*, the most appropriating and the most appropriate possible." (Derrida 2001: 179, emphasis M.D.)

His ideas on translation make use of linguistics, literature studies, cultural studies, psychoanalysis. Derrida obviously uses the word translation in a very broad sense, underpinning the cultural, psychoanalytic and social (political, theological etc.) component of the translation process (Derrida 2001: 197). Translation in his mind is inextricably linked with the quest for broader knowledge. Thus, translatability lies beyond language and rests upon the meaning. This notion, in a way, shatters the linguistic imperialism in translation and solidifies the view that translation does not merely forward the legacy of the original – it has its own life, and the designer of that life is the translator himself/herself. In the contemporary translation theory, this overlaps with Jeremy Munday's notion that "the translator is not just an innocent mediator" (Daničić & Josipović 2015/16: 175) whose "main focus is on producing a coherent text". This approach

to the translation practice underlines that the translator's comprehension of the exact meaning of the source text is a critical point in the translation process. It becomes a prerequisite to any proper and truthful translation and it can explain the translator's choices that could have been made, but were not made.

3. In the classroom

Derrida's integration of knowledge in the translation process and Munday's perception of translation as a form of mediation or intervention can provide a simple answer to the question 'What has to remain constant in translation?' It is always *the meaning*. Nouns, verb processes, connectors can have slight variations, adjectives can have somewhat bigger variations, especially when there is no easy equivalent, but the meaning has to remain the same.

Bearing this in mind, in my classroom, the teacher is seen as a facilitator of the translation task: the lion's share of the knowledge transfer is accomplished by the students because translation is not perceived merely as a transfer process from a foreign language to the mother tongue and vice versa, but as the interaction of the two languages, two cultures, or sometimes even two worlds. This approach to translation teaching relies on the profile of the average third-year student that includes sound linguistic training in English (B2+, C1− or C1), an interest in a variety of cultural, political, economic, and scientific topics, high reading-comprehension competence, knowledge of the translation techniques, and adequate research skills.

The teacher's first step is to introduce the topic to the students. This is done much in advance – at least two or three weeks ahead. Once the students learn about the topic to be dealt with in translation classes, their first assignment is to get well acquainted with it: they can use electronic or printed resources, personal contact with their family members, friends or acquaintances who are experts in the field, or cross-cultural communication. Secondly, they must become aware of the importance of the correct comprehension of the source text and must be made to realize that incorrect comprehension significantly ruins the quality of the translation. Thus, they are instructed to use all available reading comprehension strategies – careful reading, recognizing style and register, underlining unknown words

and phrases, analyzing, inferencing, self-questioning, detecting translation difficulties, contextualizing lexical items instead of isolating them, making glossaries or translation journals, relating background knowledge. The next big step for students is trying to find solutions for dilemmas and making a draft translation. All the said steps/phases are done in advance – before the actual class takes place. Based on the principles of Derrida's deconstructive approach, the students are supposed to use all their previous linguistic training for the sole purpose of producing a meaningful and truthful translation: "Speaking, teaching, writing […] – I know that these activities are meaningful in my eyes only in the proof of translation, through an experience that I will never distinguish from *experimentation*." (Derrida 2001: 175, emphasis M.D.). The classroom work can best be described as a constant making of choices, i.e. Derrida's *experimentation* as a way of resolving uncertainties and precariousness. The translation of each sentence, paragraph, or translation unit is read aloud by a student, as Newmark suggests "translation is for discussion" (Newmark 1995), and everyone present is allowed to make comments, corrections, suggestions, or improvements, while the role of the teacher is to guide the discussion, be the final judge in tricky situations, clarify new concepts and give extra solutions where and if necessary. In this way, translation teaching becomes a cooperative process. Students are encouraged to take notes and make questions about all solutions provided by other students or the teacher. The process stops in the phase of final checking of coherence and cohesion of the translated text, which is done with joint effort.

4. Translation assessment criteria

The students' achievement in this course is checked and marked in the translation exam. The translation task in the exam includes the translation of two 250-word-long texts – one to be translated into English, the other from English. The texts are written in two different registers, they are topical and used to test students' competence to solve various linguistic, comprehension, orthographic, translation problems, all context-based. Students are allotted 120 minutes to complete the translation of the texts.

The assessment criteria are completely in sync with this method of translation teaching. The most serious errors, listed in order of seriousness, include the following:

- Mistranslation into the target language – the meaning of the original text is not conveyed properly in the target language;
- Misunderstanding of the original text – misreading, or misinterpreting the words, or the syntax of the source text;
- Incomplete sentence / passage – a substantially unfinished sentence / passage;
- Addition or omission – something is inserted that is not expressed in the original text, or something essential to the meaning is left out;
- Wrong terminology – in the contexts where words often have very specific meanings, it is essential that we select the most appropriate word among several which have similar (but not identical) meanings;
- Register – the register of the source language should be preserved in the translation;
- Too free a translation – "rewriting", or "improving" the original text is forbidden in translation. The tendency "to clarify" the original meaning should be resisted;
- Word-for-word translation – following the source text word by word often results in awkward and incorrect renditions;
- Indecision – giving more than one option;
- Grammar, syntax, punctuation – the rules and conventions of the target language should be followed;
- Style – if the source text is characterized by a distinctive manner of expression, this should be reflected in the translation.

The penalization of errors is explained to the students in advance – before they take the exam. The students must fully understand why they lose points and what should have been translated differently, as well as why they earn points for certain solutions to translation problems. In the previous years, the passing rate in the exam has varied between 55% and 75%.

5. Conclusion

Evidently, education and trainings for translators – "the ones who know how to read and write" (Derrida 2001: 174-175), should involve a set of translation-oriented skills: text analysis, reading comprehension strategies,

different language skills advancement techniques, cultural studies. These skills should be employed to encourage translation-driven thinking in students. During the translation course, students must learn the fact that meaning is not conveyed by words solely. They should come to realize that all their translations skills and techniques must aim at transferring the message from the source to target language while being faithful to the meaning of the source text. Therefore, students' translation competences should be appraised in terms of conveying the meaning and sense of the source text, as well as the coherence of the output which is evaluated through the application of proper lexical, grammatical, semantic, cultural, stylistic, orthographic transfer. Seeing translation as a cross-linguistic, cross-cultural means of communication, we transform the rigid traditional approach to translation teaching favouring Grammar Translation, Direct Method, or Classical Method.

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TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION: J.R.R. TOLKIEN'S *FALL OF ARTHUR*

Abstract

J.R.R. Tolkien's *Fall of Arthur* is his only venture into Arthurian literature, an unfinished poem of almost one thousand lines, written in alliterative verse, on which he worked in the 1930s. It was edited by Tolkien's youngest son, Christopher Tolkien, and published in 2013. The poem is an account of King Arthur's last campaign, his war against the Saxons, during which Mordred – appointed as regent – commits treason and allies with Arthur's enemies in order to seize power. Events described in the poem take place after Lancelot's adulterous relationship with Guinevere has been disclosed and he, Lancelot, has saved her from the pyre, accidentally killing Gareth and Gaheris, and after the lovers' exile and final parting, when Arthur agrees to welcome Guinevere back as his queen and decides to banish Lancelot from his fellowship and his realm forever. The news of Mordred's treason causes Arthur to return to Britain, but the poem is interrupted immediately before the final battle begins. This paper looks into the Arthurian tradition the author borrows from and examines the transformations he has made, arguing that the general atmosphere of the poem is predominantly Old English, that is, more archaic than that of medieval Arthurian works, whereas the portrait of Lancelot betrays the features of a modern-day character, as Tolkien gives us an insight, albeit brief, into Lancelot's inner life, an insight medieval authors never seem willing to reveal to their readers.

Keywords: Tolkien, *Fall of Arthur*, Lancelot, Malory's *Morte Darthur*

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Introduction

J.R.R. Tolkien's *Fall of Arthur* is his only venture into Arthurian literature, an unfinished poem of almost one thousand lines, written in alliterative verse. It was edited by Tolkien's youngest son, Christopher Tolkien, and published in 2013. The poem is an account of King Arthur's last campaign, his war against the Saxons, during which Mordred – appointed as regent – commits treason and allies with Arthur's enemies in order to seize power. It is not known when Tolkien started working on *The Fall of Arthur*, much less so why he left it unfinished. The only evidence that he worked on it in the 1930s is a letter from Tolkien's senior colleague, Raymond Wilson Chambers, written in December 1934, in which Chambers – Professor of English at University College, London – expresses a very favourable opinion of the poem and strongly suggests Tolkien finish it. Reflecting on the possible reasons why his father abandoned *The Fall of Arthur* (as well as a few other poems), Christopher Tolkien says, "one might look to the circumstances of his life after his election to the Professorship of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford in 1925: the demands of his position and his scholarship and the needs and concerns and expenses of his family" (Ch. Tolkien 2013: 11). The editor further claims that throughout his life, more often than not, his father was short of time and that "the breath of inspiration, endlessly impeded, could wither away". The inspiration reemerged, of course, but rarely led Tolkien to continue what he was previously working on; it rather took him to new, hitherto untrodden paths. Tolkien's attention seems to have been diverted from *The Fall of Arthur*, writes his son, due to the publication of *The Hobbit* (1937) and his work on *The Lord of the Rings*, because "*The Fall of Arthur* was a work of art to be built slowly: it could not withstand the rising of new imaginative horizons" (Ch. Tolkien 2013: 12).

In his edition of *The Fall of Arthur* Christopher Tolkien provides notes on the poem's text (four complete Cantos and the beginning of Canto 5), as well as three chapters: the first, "The Poem in Arthurian Tradition", points to Tolkien's two principal sources from the Arthurian tradition – *The Alliterative Morte Arthure* and Malory's *Le Morte Darthur* – the second, "The Unwritten Poem and Its Relation to *The Silmarillion*", explores the influence of Arthurian toponyms, notably Avalon, on his *Silmarillion*, while in the third, "The Evolution of the Poem", the editor looks into his father's manuscript and drafting of *The Fall of Arthur* and explains how the poem came into being.

The Poem

Canto 1 opens with King Arthur's preparations to go eastwards, to the war against the Saxons, to put an end once and for all to their plunder of Britain's southern coast. The poem suggests that it is Arthur's last campaign but that his heart is brave, dignified and eager for war despite his old age:

> As when the earth dwindles in autumn days
> and soon to its setting the sun is waning
> under mournful mist, then a man will lust
> for work and wandering, while yet warm floweth
> blood sun-kindled, so burned his soul
> after long glory for a last assay
> of pride and prowess, to the proof setting
> will unyielding in war with fate. (I, 14-17)

Mordred – appointed as regent – gives a speech before Arthur's departure, supporting his campaign and stating that Arthur's kingdom is safe during his regency. His speech is welcomed by all and nobody suspects imminent treason. The author specifies that Arthur journeys "from the mouths of the Rhine o'er many kingdoms" (I, 43), razing to the ground "[h]alls and temples of the heathen kings" (I, 41), but also that he misses Lancelot, his kin and fellow-knights – Lionel, Ector and Blamore. Apart from Gawain, whom Tolkien calls "defence and fortress of a falling world" (I, 55), Arthur's most distinguished men in the campign are Bediver, Baldwin, Brian of Ireland, Marrac and Meneduc, Errac, Iwain, Cedivor and Cador. Cold and misty evening comes and the fires in King Arthur's encampment burn low. The dawn of the next day is ominously dark and before long Cradoc, on his swift steed, brings Arthur the news that Mordred has committed treason and allied with the king's enemies in order to seize power. Pale and astounded at first, Arthur soon regains his calm and becomes painfully aware that the Wheel of Fortune has taken a course contrary to his hopes. Sad at heart, he remembers the twenty battles he has victoriously fought and knows that his realm is doomed. When Gawain learns what has befallen them, Arthur admits that he misses Lancelot and asks his nephew's opinion on turning to Lancelot for help. Gawain doubts that Lancelot and his men are concerned about Mordred's treason and says that if they are, it is Lancelot who should swallow his pride and come to see if Arthur needs him.

Canto 2 takes place in Britain. There, in his castle, at the break of dawn, Mordred wakes up gloomy and distraught by the passion he feels for Guinever,[1] a passion that neither his war successes nor his usurpation of the throne can quench.

> ... his heart returned
> to its long thraldom lust-tormented,
> to Guinever the golden with gleaming limbs,
> as fair and fell as fay-woman
> in the world walking for the woe of men
> no tear shedding. Towers might he conquer,
> and thrones o'erthrow yet the thought quench not. (II, 25-31)

At the same time, beautiful and noble, but unprotected Guinever carelessly sleeps in Camelot. A squire alerts Mordred to the news a Frisian captain, the only survivor from a shipwreck, has to tell him. The news turns out to be that Cradoc has fled Britain and told Arthur about Mordred's treason, which makes war inevitable, as Arthur's army of nine thousand knights is soon to return to Britain. Mordred is advised immediately to march eastwards and confront the king, so he gathers a huge army made of Arthur's enemies and those barons who have committed treason against Arthur, in taking Mordred's side. Before going to war Mordred makes for Camelot to look for Guinever whom he finds in her chambers, frightened but composed. He tells her that he is the king now and offers her to be his queen because he loves her and would never leave her unprotected, as Arthur has done. Guinever fearlessly thanks Mordred for his offer and asks him how he can call himself king when kingly power has been entrusted to him only in Arthur's absence. The question enrages Mordred who grabs her by the arms saying that she will be his, either as his queen or his captive. Guinever then begs him to allow her some time to think over his proposal and Mordred, furiously leaving her chambers, says she must make up her mind by the evening. When the evening comes, Guinever flees Camelot with a few loyal companions and makes for Wales, to her home and her father, King Leodegrance. On her way she thinks of Lancelot and wonders whether he will learn of her misfortune.

Canto 3 stands out as deeply emotional and most poetic in tone. Therein we meet Lancelot for the first time, in his castle, in the French

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[1] Guinever is Tolkien's spelling of the queen's name.

region of Benwick. Pensive and despondent, leaning over the wall of the fortress, he is watching the sea storm, whirlwinds, pouring rain and dark waves, troubled by remorse for having committed treason against his liege lord. The verses that follow unfold Tolkien's version of Lancelot's destiny, the version which reads as a soliloquy although it is retold in the third person singular. Lancelot was King Arthur's very best knight, peerless in courage and courtesy, the knight whom only Gawain could match, but only in prowess. Tolkien makes it clear that Gawain is not an entirely accomplished knight since he has never been truly devoted to a lady and has never had a real friend among men – his only care has always been good service to his king and uncle, Arthur. Besides, Gawain was suspicious of the queen's fidelity to Arthur and had the habit of spying on her. Lancelot falls in love with the queen and his service to his lady gradually becomes more ardent than that to his king and fellowship: the queen on her part requites his love, which unleashes gossip at court. This relationship provokes Mordred's hatred and envy, spurring at once his secret hopes, and it becomes clear before long that the whole of Arthur's world will be destroyed. Without many details, Tolkien mentions Agravain's death, the conflict and split among Round Table knights, Guinever being sentenced to death and Lancelot's rescue of her from the pyre in which he accidentally kills Gareth and Gaheris. Lancelot regrets his deeds as soon as he becomes aware of his unequivocal guilt for the downfall of the Round Table. The exile the lovers experience afterwards shows Lancelot sullen and ill-tempered, which Guinever dislikes, just as she does their solitary banishment and the loss of courtly splendour. Their final parting is heart-breaking – Arthur agrees to welcome Guinever back as his queen and decides to banish Lancelot from his fellowship and his realm forever. The poem suggests though that Arthur secretly regrets Lancelot's departure. The news of Mordred's treason and Arthur's return to Britain reaches Lancelot in France and upsets him. At one moment he hopes Arthur will ask for his help but in the next is uncertain whether or not he would like that to happen. His thoughts, restless and fraught with care, wander from Arthur to Guinever. In less than twenty lines Tolkien provides an insight into Lancelot's inner world, a nuanced analysis of his hopes and anxieties, showing a deeply emotional, introspective man devastated by sinful love and troubled by an overwhelming sense of guilt:

> Then half he hoped, and half wished not,
> to receive summons, swift commandment,
> to king the allegiance loyal recalling
> of Lancelot to his lord Arthur.
> Of Guinever again grieving thought he:
> there was woe in Britain, war was kindled;
> were her faith renewed firm and steadfast,
> then she stood in danger. Dear he loved her.
> Though in wrath she left him, no ruth showing,
> no pity feeling, proud and scornful,
> dear he loved her. When danger threatened,
> if she sent him summons, swift and gladly
> against tide and tempest trumpet sounding,
> he would sail overseas, sword unsheathing
> in land forlorn at the last battle
> by his lady bidden, though his lord shunned him. (III, 158-173)

But no word does he receive either from Arthur or from Guinever – "[o]nly the wind journeyd / over wide waters" (III, 175-6), writes Tolkien. In the lines that follow Tolkien briefly mentions Gawain and Guinever: due to Lancelot's absence from Arthur's host, Gawain is at the forefront of the impending conflict – which is a good chance for his glory to increase – while Guinever is on her perilous way to Wales on which she has to hide and endure dismal thoughts. Then he returns to Lancelot's last day: still expecting a call for help Lancelot briefly considers gathering an army and going to Britain, but soon gives up such thoughts. Despite their respective hopes and wishes, Arthur, Guinever and Lancelot remain silent and each chooses to tread a solitary path to the final end. Lancelot's comes first – when after a "sombre sleep" he wakes up the next morning, the tempest has abated and the sun is shining. No longer does he feel the heavy burden in his heart – he remembers instead a sweet, long-forgotten song and starts singing it to himself. Soon he becomes oblivious of the time and earthly tribulations:

> The hour he knew not, that never after
> it would return in time, tempest bringing,
> to war calling with the wind's trumpet.
> The tides of chance had turned backward,
> their flood was passed flowing swiftly.

> Death was before him, and his day setting
> beyond the tides of time to return never
> among waking men, while the world lasted. (III, 221-228)

Canto 4 opens with a description of the barely passable roads to Wales on which Mordred's hateful men are looking for Guinever while Mordred is waiting for the news on the shores of Kent and watching for the arrival of Arthur's fleet. A squire brings word that, protected by night and rough nature, Guinever has fled to her father and is out of their reach. He even dares suggest Mordred forget her and focus on the war, which enrages Mordred who orders him out of his sight. Nervous, frightened, tormented by desire for the queen, Mordred is convinced that Guinever has let Lancelot know of her misfortune and asked for his help. Terrified by the prospect of Lancelot and his kin joining Arthur's army, Mordred spends time restlessly until one morning he is woken up by a cry that a sail is to be seen on the horizon. Soon it becomes clear that Arthur is on the way back to his realm, but Mordred is relieved on seeing that Lancelot's flag is not with Arthur's and that Gawain is leading Arthur's army. The war in Britain breaks out as Arthur's knights march through shallow waters towards the coast and are attacked by the enemy. In the battle, described in the fashion of Old English heroic poems, Arthur's army wins over the passage to the land and Gawain gets all the glory.

The beginning of Canto 5 shows Arthur on his ship, watching his kingdom, well aware it has reached the end as his closest allies have turned against him. Appalling pictures of ruins and devastated land are followed by Arthur's thoughts on the downfall of his fellowship. Arthur and Gawain discuss whether it would be wise to cancel the final battle and retreat westward, and this is where the narration is interrupted.

Tradition and Transformation

As events described in the poem indicate, Tolkien's version of the Arthurian legend has undergone considerable transformations – of place, order, causes and outcome of incidents – and Christopher Tolkien helpfully summarizes them:

> Here one may look back to see how to this point my father had
> treated, and transformed, the narrative tradition that came to
> be known in later times in England from Malory's last tale, *The
> Death of Arthur*.
>
> He preserved the 'chronicle' tradition of Arthur's eastern campaign
> overseas, but totally changed its nature and purpose. Arthur
> defends 'Rome', he does not assault it.
>
> He retained the treason and usurpation of Mordred and his desire
> for Guinevere, but in a greatly developed portrait.
>
> He introduced (in a retrospect) the 'romance' legend of Lancelot
> and Guinevere (entirely unknown to the 'chronicle' tradition),
> but greatly simplified the complex motives, deriving from the
> French *Mort Artu*, and found in the English stanzaic *Morte Arthur*
> and in Malory's last tale, by excising Gawain's part. He preserved
> the sentence of burning passed on Guinevere and her rescue by
> Lancelot; but his banishment now arose as punishment for his
> relationship with the queen, and not from Gawain's hatred of
> him for his slaying of Gareth. Lancelot is banished to Benwick,
> but Guinevere is restored to Arthur's favour.
>
> The attack on Benwick by Arthur and Gawain was entirely
> excised, and the news of Mordred's treason reached Arthur not
> at Benwick but in the distant east.
>
> <div align="right">(Ch. Tolkien 2013: 110-111)</div>

I would like to argue that another two transformations stand out as
particularly significant: the transformation of Lancelot's character and that
of the overall atmosphere.

As for Lancelot's character, lines 158-173 of Canto 3 clearly reveal
his most intimate thoughts and are of great significance in the poem
so persuasively Old English in tone and atmosphere. The portrait of
Lancelot emerging from them seems to betray the features of a modern-
day character. It is possible to imagine him walking restlessly to and
fro, guiltily aware of the dead end his life and hopes have reached. His
service to his liege lord is irrevocably over, yet he wishes to hear from
Arthur and be given another chance to help him. But the next moment
he cannot say for sure whether or not he truly wants to receive the king's
summons. His thoughts then move on to Guinever and with her they

remain, cautiously suggesting that *she* and not the knighthood is the meaning of his life. Lancelot not only loves her, he admits it to himself twice in a short while, in simple yet deeply moving words: "Dear he loved her" (III, 165, 168). With utmost woe he thinks of her, worried about her well-being in a country in which war has broken out once again. Painfully aware of the nature of the conflict in Britain and of Guinever's firm character, he knows that her life is threatened. Then, in lines 166-8, the frustrating ambivalence of the spurned lover's feelings is revealed – more than anything else in the world Lancelot loves "proud and scornful" Guinever who has ruthlessly left him to resume her regal position with Arthur. And yet, if only she sent him a word asking for help, he would set sail for Britain the very next moment, regardless of the stormy sea, regardless even of the fact that he is banished therefrom beyond recall.

Tolkien can be said to have revealed much more about Lancelot in these lines than one of his principal sources – Malory – would have been willing to say in his "whole book". Malory is famous for being cautious about treating Lancelot's illicit affair with Guinevere, but he does not disclose much about Lancelot's own inner life either. We learn about Arthur's best knight in Malory from what he does and says, never from what he thinks. We somehow "feel" his love for the queen as an undercurrent which permeates Malory's Arthuriad, but are deprived of the slightest insight into his burden and worries, his fears and tribulations, to such an extent that it eventually produces the impression that apart from being peerless in courage, courtesy and prowess Lancelot is also cold and unapproachable when it comes to his attitude towards women. Even if his treatment of the Fair Maid of Astolat is put aside as just the most extreme example of Lancelot's harshess, it is still hard to think of him, even in relation to Guinevere, as a plain-spoken, direct man. Of course, much has been written in critical appraisal of *Le Morte Darthur* about Malory's principal interest lying in knighthood and kingship rather than in love, and this should be acknowledged with due respect, but on the other hand, the truth also remains, if only from the point of view of a modern-day reader, that Malory's Lancelot would have been much better off if less aloof and enigmatic. Although immersed in Old English civilization and its atmosphere, in building his portrait of Lancelot Tolkien appears to be a modern, twentieth-century writer in that he makes up for what Malory decidedly remained silent about and what *he* felt the urge to discover. As so many post-Malorian authors, Tolkien does

what Elizabeth Archibald calls "filling gaps of what they've been reading"[2] and thus transforms his source.

Regarding the overall atmosphere of *The Fall of Arthur*, the first impression one gets while reading it is that the alliterative verse makes it captivating, moving and tragic in tone. Although it is written in Modern English, the alliterative verse Tolkien uses not only suggests "a pervasive sense of the grave and fateful nature of all that is told" (as the book paper cover suggests), but also makes the poem similar to and reminiscent of *Beowulf* and Old English elegies, of a world 'bereft of joy', a world of dashed hopes, of gloomy, vast and foggy moors and hostile, troubled seas. Descriptions of the regions Arthur and his army go through on their way are particularly Old English in atmosphere; the following lines, for example, can be compared to the description of Grendel's dwelling place in *Beowulf*, the ultimate source of which seems to be St Paul's vision of hell from the Blickling Homiliy 17, also known as A Michaelmas Sermon:[3]

> Dark and dreary were the deep valleys,
> where limbs gigantic of lowering trees
> in endless aisles were arched o'er rivers
> flowing down afar from fells of ice.
> Among ruinous rocks ravens croaking
> eagles answered in the air wheeling;
> wolves were howling on the wood's border.
> Cold blew the wind, keen and wintry,

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[2] Elizabeth Archibald, 'For to pass the time this book shall be pleasant to read in': Reading Arthur through the Ages, a plenary lecture at the 24th Triennial Congress of the International Arthurian Society (Bucharest, 2014).

[3] A Michaelmas Sermon, Blickling Homily 17, in *Anglo-Saxon Prose*, ed. and trans. Michael Swanton, p. 135. "As St Paul was gazing towards the northern part of this world, where all waters pass below, he also saw there above the water a certain grey stone. And to the north of the stone there had grown very frosty groves; and there were dark mists; and beneath the stone there was the dwelling place of water-monsters and evil spirits. And he saw that on that cliff many black souls bound by their hands were hanging in the icy groves; and the devils in the shape of water-monsters were clutching at them, just like ravenous wolves. And the water under the cliff below was black; and between the cliff and the water was about twelve miles. And when the twigs broke, the souls which hung on the twigs dropped below and the water-monsters seized them. These were the souls of those who had sinned wickedly here in the world, and would not turn from it before their life's end. But let us now earnestly beseech St Michael to lead our souls into bliss, where they may rejoice in eternity without end. Amen."

in rising wrath from the rolling forest
among roaring leaves. Rain came darkly,
and the sun was swallowed in sudden tempest. (I, 72-82)

That the *Beowulf*-poet describes Grendel's moor as a hellish place is a long-known thing, but it is tempting to speculate why Tolkien did pretty much the same in his description of the far-off lands in which Arthur wages war. We know that "Arthur eastward in arms purposed / his war to wage on the wild marches, / over seas sailing to Saxon lands" (I, 1-3), with the principal aim "the heathen to humble". A few lines down in the same Canto, Tolkien calls the foreign lands "wild regions". Such images seem to imply that the abominable, vast, non-Christian and thus uncivilized spaces look infernal, especially when compared to "Britain the blessed" (I, 27) whence Arthur, the Christian king, and his Christian knights come in all their glory.

While in treating Lancelot Tolkien is 'modernizing' the Arthurian tradition so that Arthur's best knight looks like a twentieth-century man, in depicting the general atmosphere of the poem he does the opposite – his powerful Old English setting makes *The Fall of Arthur* more "archaic" than most medieval Arthurian works. This dichotomy is the principal impression Tolkien's Arthurian poem produces.

As has already been pointed out, Tolkien left his *Fall of Arthur* unfinished and Christopher Tolkien is absolutely right when he holds that this is "one of the most grievous of his many abandonments" (Ch. Tolkien 2013: 122). While editing the poem, he discovered in his father's drafting and notes many thoughts and ideas on the course of action and the behaviour of certain characters, including two outlines of the poem's ending. An interesting detail concerning Lancelot, for example, is Tolkien's suggestion that the verses which seem to describe Lancelot's hour of death (III, 221-228) should be understood as the moment in which he ventures to the sea and sails to the west, but never returns (Ch. Tolkien 2013: 157). As for the poem's ending, the two existing outlines have much in common. The first outline suggests that Arthur wants to retreat to the west, to protect his knights, but Gawain says they must confront Mordred sooner or later and insists on acting without delay as they have him near. Gawain marches forward with his men. The battle with Mordred begins, but Gawain soon falters. Yet, Gawain's sword breaks Mordred's helmet and he falls down, but manages to shoot Gawain through the breast and Gawain falls, calling upon Arthur. Arthur comes as Gawain dies (Ch. Tolkien 2013: 126-8). The

second outline has it that Arthur's ship sails towards the coast of Britain. Its ensign is a white lady with a child, while Gawain's ship flies a banner of a golden griffin, and he lands first. He fights with Mordred who catches a bow and shoots Gawain. Mordred is saved by Ivor and Arthur arrives ashore, to kiss Gawain farewell; Arthur laments Gawain (Ch. Tolkien 2013: 128-9).

If it remains unknown why and when Tolkien abandoned his work on *The Fall of Arthur*, the question of why he ventured into Arthurian literature is easy to answer – he was a lover and creator of mythology. In his biography of Tolkien, Humphrey Carpenter writes that as a child Tolkien was excited by the legends of King Arthur (Karpenter 2012: 36). But the question of why he chose to write only on the tragic, gloomy last days of King Arthur's realm and not of its glory seems to be more intricate. When his Arthurian poem opens, King Arthur's fellowship is already broken beyond healing and his kingdom is coming to an end. Tolkien's Arthurian world is stripped of splendour, but not in the way Arthurian "chronicle" writers – Geoffrey of Monmouth, Wace and Layamon – depict it before the notions of Camelot, the Holy Grail and Lancelot's love for Guinevere came into being. Tolkien not only uses Old English alliterative verse – his vision of the world seems to be "Old English" and, accordingly, his Arthurian poem can be read as a lengthy variation of the *Ubi sunt* motif, so frequent in Old English elegies, *Beowulf* and heroic poems. Thus, before the final battle with Mordred, Tolkien's Arthur is very much like one of Byrhtnoth's elderly warriors from *The Battle of Maldon*, famous for his words: "Courage shall be the fiercer, heart the bolder, spirit the greater, as our strength diminishes" (O'Brien O'Keefe 1998: 122).

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CREATION OF MODERN NATIONAL IDENTITY IN SHAKESPEARE'S *HAMLET* AND NJEGOŠ'S *MOUNTAIN WREATH*

Abstract

This study aims to compare and contrast the creation of English and Serbian national identities in Shakespeare's and Njegoš's classic literary works. Both pieces, *Hamlet* and *The Mountain Wreath,* were composed during the rise of the respective modern states, and both evoke the essence of the common perception of national cultures. While in some scholarly works a parallel between the vacillation of Bishop Danilo, one of the major characters in *The Mountain Wreath,* and of Hamlet has been drawn, and the formulation of national strife in Njegoš's work established, the latter quality has never been assigned to Shakespeare's tragedy, and a comparative study between the two masterpieces has not been conducted. In order to establish the characteristics of English and Serbian cultural identities, several models for analysing culture, determining cultural types and discerning their values are used, most notably those of Edward T. Hall, Geert Hofstede and Richard D. Lewis. Further, certain traits of the major protagonists and principle notions presented in the plays as bearers of the national spirit are identified. Finally, assessment of the works' significance and cultural stature is provided. Examination of the values, thought patterns and beliefs behind the behaviours of the main characters reveal that the plot and dialogues in *Hamlet* epitomise notions of individualism and dichotomy of mind and body, while in *The Mountain*

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Wreath they embody the ideas of collectivism and the union of mind and body. By exploring esthetic, ethnic and social idiosyncrasies, this paper seeks to make a contribution to both literary criticism and cultural theory.

Key words: Shakespeare, Hamlet, Njegoš, The Mountain Wreath, Theory of Culture.

1. Introduction

Culture is a very broad term that describes a specific nation or society. There have been many definitions of culture, especially starting from the 15th century and the beginning of European exploration and colonisation, when Europeans encountered cultures considerably different from their own. It wasn't until the early 20th century, however, that the uniqueness of all cultures was first emphasised. Franz Boas, a German-American anthropologist, argued that the culture of any society must be understood as the result of the society's unique history, and not as a stage in the evolution of societies (Boas 1989: 38), as underlined by the ethnocentric sociologists of the previous period. Geert Hofstede, a well-known Dutch sociologist, provided a definition of culture as "the collective programming which distinguishes the members of one category of people from another" (Hofstede 2011). So, as a system of meaning, culture consists of shared beliefs, values and ideas, which give rise to a unique way of thinking about the world. Richard Lewis thus explains the origin of shared values and perception of one's own versus other cultures: "We think our minds are free, but like captured American pilots in Vietnam and North Korea, we have been thoroughly brainwashed. Collective programming in our culture, begun in the cradle and reinforced in kindergarten, school and workplace, convinces us that we are normal, others eccentric" (Lewis 2010: 42).

Britain in the early 17th century and Serbia in mid-19th century did not have mass media to work on the collective brain-washing, but were instead influenced, among other things, by great literary works. *Hamlet* and *The Mountain Wreath* are not simply works of art read and viewed by a small number of educated people. They represent a sublimation of national identity and ethnic strife, values and perceptions. Replete with profound meaning, they stand as the permanent reference of the collective consciousness. This paper first expounds the cultural theory that gives basis to the possibility of interpreting the essential properties of national identity, and conducts

a diachronic cultural reading of the two masterpieces. It places them in a specific socio-historic context, and then concentrates on two essential dichotomies in distinguishing between the two representatives of Western and Eastern cultural heritages: individualism/collectivism and long/short time orientation. By exploring aesthetic, ethnic and social peculiarities, this work seeks to make a contribution to both literary criticism and cultural theory.

2. Theory of culture

The meanings of symbols exist in the minds of individual people. They are formed by myths, personal and collective education through school, social practices and mass media. When those symbolic ideas are shared with others, they form the basis of culture. The common concepts are nurtured in a larger community that uses the same language, practices the same religion and shares the ancestors who have lived in the same geographical location for a long time. According to M. Lustig and J. Koester, shared beliefs, values, norms and social practices that are stable over time and that lead to roughly similar behaviours across similar situations are known as cultural patterns (2012: 85). They provide a way of thinking about the world. Values are one of the crucial underlying entities that determine our way of thinking and our conduct. Neighboring nations, if they had developed independently, can have opposing views on the worth, usefulness, or importance of certain concepts and practices. Most US Americans, for example, value youth rather than old age, while Mexicans, just like people in the Far East, respect elders and regard seniority as both positive and extremely significant.

One of the best-known models of culture was developed in 1976 by E. T. Hall, who made an analogy with an iceberg. If the culture of a society was an iceberg, he reasoned, there are some visible aspects above the water, most notably people's behaviour, but there is a larger portion hidden beneath the surface, and it includes beliefs, just below the surface, and values, farthest from the surface. If we want to understand someone's behaviour, we have to find out what his/her beliefs and values are, since they determine the person's attitude and conduct (Hall 1976: 57). In a similar, "onion" model of culture developed by G. Hofstede, the outer, visible layer belongs to symbols, which mostly move according to

the momentary fashion. The next layer, called "heroes" is represented by people and characters who play a role-model in that society. Shakespeare, and his most famous character, Hamlet, belong to this layer in England, just like Njegoš does in Serbia and Montenegro. The first layer around the core, labeled "rituals," describes common practices such as greetings and hygiene. Finally, the innermost layer, the only one that cannot be trained and learned through practice, belongs to values, which is permanent, and plays the most dominant, albeit subconscious, role in a society (Waisfisz 2015).

In horizontal models of culture, characteristics like social structure, philosophic outlook and basic values are compared according to contrasting extremes. The cultural traits on the left side are usually characteristic of the Western outlook, and the ones on the right of the Eastern outlook. On the Western extreme we have individualistic, and on the Eastern extreme a collectivistic social structure. Personal status in the society is achieved and social and physical mobility great on one end, and social status is ascribed, and social and physical mobility little on the other. In terms of philosophic outlook, the left side believes in mastery or control over nature, it is objective, quantitative and characterised by a mind/body dichotomy, and the right believes in harmony with subjugation to nature, it is subjective, qualitative and characterised by the union of mind and body. Psychological orientation in Western civilization is fragmented, has need for achievement and it is marked by internal guilt, while the Eastern is comprehensive or holistic, has need for affiliation and it is marked by external shame. Thought patterns are analytic on one end and relational on the other. Basic values are based on action, individualism and independence on the left-hand side, and being, belongingness and interdependence on the right-hand side. Perception in the West is oriented toward future, and based on subject-object relationship, and in the East it is oriented toward past and present, and based on the relationship between two or more subjects. Interaction is based on competition, it is monological and systematic on one end, and based on cooperation, dialogical and spontaneous on the other end (Hofstede 2015: 9-12).

For Western European and American cultures the emphasis on the individual self is so strong and pervasive that it is almost impossible for them to comprehend a different point of view. Thus, many European Americans believe that the self is located solely within the individual, and the individual is definitely separate from others. From a very young

age, children are encouraged to make their own decisions. Alternatively, cultures may define who people are only through their associations with others because an individual's self-definition may not be separate from that of the larger group. Consequently, there is a heightened sense of interdependence, and what happens to the group (family, work group or social group) happens to the person. The sense of being connected to others is very important in the Far East and Latin America, and those cultures have a strong affiliation with their families (Lustig 2012: 91). Consequently, a common maxim among European Americans is that "the squeaky wheel gets the grease" (suggesting that one should make noise in order to be rewarded); the corresponding maxim among the Japanese, who are somewhat collectivistic, is "the nail that sticks up gets pounded" (so one should always try to blend in).

The dimension of hierarchy in a culture is determined by the term "power distance," which describes the degree of acceptance of the unequal distribution of power by the less powerful members of a society. Cultures with a small power distance believe in minimising social or class inequalities, questioning or challenging authority figures, reducing hierarchical organisational structures, and using power only for legitimate purposes. Conversely, cultures that prefer large power distances believe that each person has a rightful and protected place in the social order, that the actions of authorities should not be challenged or questioned, that hierarchy and inequality are appropriate and beneficial, and that those with social status have a right to use their power for whatever purposes and in whatever ways they deem desirable. The consequences of the degree of power distance that a culture prefers are evident in family customs, the relationships between students and teachers, organisational practices, and in other areas of social life. Even the language systems in high power-distance cultures emphasise distinctions based on a social hierarchy. Since every language has evolved along with the society using it, it reflects those distinctions in its vocabulary and syntax (Lustig 2012: 93-94).

Finally, we will conclude this theoretical part with the placement of English and Serbian cultures on R. D. Lewis's "Model of Cultural Types." According to this model, a typical cultural representatives can be classified into 1) "linear-active." who is a task-oriented, highly organised planner, 2) "multi-active," who is a people-oriented, loquacious interrelator, and 3) "reactive," who is introverted and respects oriented listeners. On this triangular chart, England is placed right next to the most linear-active

types. Serbia, with a few other Slavic and Eastern European countries, is placed between linear-active and multi-active types, but much closer to the latter (Lewis 2010: 37).

Our cultural identity is based on membership in a particular cultural group. It is developed as we grow up and learn the values, beliefs, and attitudes of our culture from our parents and other caregivers. We are also influenced by the structure of our language, educational systems, mass media, social institutions, and peer groups within our culture. Our cultural identity is our sense of belonging to a particular culture. As we learn about it, we accept its traditions, heritage, religion, aesthetics, social structures and perceptual patterns. Our linkages to our cultural and social identities become particularly evident when we visit a foreign country or live abroad.

3. Hamlet

The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, was written by Shakespeare at the very beginning of the seventeenth century, at the end of the Renaissance, a period of major cultural upheaval in Europe. It is Shakespeare's longest, most performed and most influential play. Over fifty versions of the tragedy adapted for the big screen testify to its continued popularity and influence. The archetypal power of the play is also reflected in the unremitting references and illusions to the plot, language and characters in other works of art, the mass media and popular culture. The character of Hamlet has become a symbol of a human type, and the play a trademark of English and European drama and culture in general.

The reader might wonder why a Shakespearean drama that takes place in England was not chosen for this purpose, like, say, Henry V, which would reflect the socio-historical context well. Even though the famous dramatist chose Denmark for the setting, there are no culture-specific characters or events in *Hamlet,* so it could conceivably take place in any European monarchy of the time. We know that Shakespeare chose different countries for the setting of his plays for the sake of variety, and everyone would agree names like Bernardo, Francisco and Reynaldo, all characters in the tragedy, do not sound Danish at all. Also, England plays an important role as the place of hope and reliance for several characters in the play.

The Renaissance came to Britain later than to the continent, but it bears all the characteristics developed in Italy and the rest of Europe during the previous two centuries. The period is distinguished by Humanism, a metaphysical and practical reorientation from God to man, and a heightened belief in human abilities, worth and powers. This turn from theocentricism to anthropocentricism was followed by increased secularism, renewal of classical forms and ideas, proclivity towards education and hunger for accumulation of knowledge. *Hamlet* was written at the very end of the golden, Elizabethan age of English history during which the country not only became an unprecedented world power, but was also taking charge in the proliferation of political and cultural ideas. London was becoming the harbinger of modern dramatic production. During this epoch, England was just coming out of the religious strife that would be renewed a few decades later, but would never go back to what it was before the Reformation of Henry VIII. The permanent breach with Rome intensified the push toward modern externalisation of human experience, and paved the way to scientific empiricism and Enlightenment.

One of the most revealing passages in Hamlet is probably the most famous one. It starts like this:

> To be, or not to be, that is the question:
> Whether 'tis Nobler in the mind to suffer
> The Slings and Arrows of outrageous Fortune,
> Or to take Arms against a Sea of troubles,
> And by opposing end them: to die, to sleep
> No more; and by a sleep, to say we end
> The Heart-ache, and the thousand Natural shocks
> That Flesh is heir to? [...] (Three, I, 56-63)

"To be or not to be" is an existential question. By posing it, Hamlet is apparently vacillating between being and action and non-being and death. After all is done, it seems, though, that there was no doubt in his mind what course he was to take; this soliloquy was only said in a moment of weakness and irresolution. The uncertainty comes from the confusion between the spiritual and bodily path he is to take, just like the ghost of his father is stuck in Purgatory, a limbo between this and the other world. He, therefore, mentions both the suffering of mind and flesh. The contradictions of the age are great, and Hamlet, just like Shakespeare, feels them. This is the cry of a noble soul inclined toward contemplation

and artistic creation forced to choose the world, body and action over the Kingdom of Heaven to come.

England, one of the Western-most countries in Europe, and a herald of many mutual European tendencies, was in the forefront of the evolution from medieval collectivism to modern individualism. Interpreting different profiles in the identity dimension of the analysis of different cultures might prove especially useful in the examination of both literary works, so we will look at the characteristics of an extreme individual and an extreme collectivist. Individuals believe that: 1) honest people speak their mind, 2) low-context communication (explicit concepts) is preferred, 3) the task takes precedence over relationships, 4) laws and rights are the same for all, 5) trespassing leads to guilt and loss of self-respect, 6) everyone is supposed to have a personal opinion on any topic, 7) the relationship between employer and employee or between parent and child is a contract based on mutual advantage (Hofstede 2002: 171). All these dimensions relate to the character of the Prince of Denmark in one way or another. He speaks his mind openly, and does not leave anything implicit. He is not capable of concealing his plot to murder the king. The fact that task takes precedence over relationship is evident in his interconnection with Ophelia and his mother. Even though he reveals his strong feelings towards Ophelia, he does not let their relationship get in the way of his ultimate goal. He is not even that moved after the news of her madness and suicide. He also considers his mother a conspirator and condemns her to the same fate as the king. Hamlet does have a personal relationship to people, especially to Horatio, but he is task-oriented and does not let his emotions get in the way of his undertaking. The fact that it is so difficult for him to take action is more a result of his irresoluteness than his determination, clear from the very first act, as Coleridge skillfully pointed out (1987: 34). So, judging by his way of thinking and his actions, Hamlet can be labelled as a typical representative of a society oriented toward individualism. The fact that he is irresolute, and that his actions and thought patterns appear contradictory, and seem to border on lunacy only make his character more credible and heighten the dramatic effect of the plot.

A characteristic of the virtue dimensions in intercultural communication theory could be applied to our examination as well. According to this analysis of different types of culture, individuals who belong to the extreme long-term orientation believe that one should never give up, even if results are disappointing, People may devote their lives

to lofty, remote ideals, traditions can be adapted to a modern context, and achieving one's purpose may be worth losing face (Hofstede 2012: 118). The dreamy and contemplative character of Hamlet is not suitable for a cold-blooded murder, but the various physical and psychological impediments do not make him give up his resolution. His purpose of avenging his father proves more significant than losing face or even his life. Action is the manifestation of youth, and the West was already unstoppable in its march to subjugating nature for exploitation in Shakespeare's epoch. When they invaded the Roman Empire, the uneducated Gothic tribes such as Angles, Saxons and Danes gradually adopted the existing culture of Western Europe, inevitably contributing to the development and changes of the Church in Western Europe in their own way. The newly Christianized tribes, as Marangudakis asserts, cherished individuality, warfare and initiative. They preferred individual action to submission to the "passive" contemplation practiced in the East. They favoured "doing" God's will over "experiencing" it (248).

In the 17th century, with the democratic political tradition well on its way, England is the cradle of "small power distance" as defined by cultural sociologists, and this includes contempt for usurpation and abuse of power. This is a society where political revolutions start, and where objectively perceived injustice can lead even to regicide. Anthony Low observes:

> Shakespeare's Hamlet and Milton's Satan are *two* pivotal figures born out of the imaginative stirrings in early-modern culture that led to the rise of Enlightenment, Romantic, modernist, and postmodernist individualism – all arguably beads in the chain of a single, sinuous, long-wave development toward liberal autonomy. Great literary inventions, Hamlet and Satan are also grand portents of subsequent cultural change. Moreover, buried deep in the tragedy of Hamlet […], are intimations of what may be called the transformative event that led to still another essential paradigm of modernity, a necessary adjunct to autonomous individualism, for which the brutally appropriate name is ***killing*** the father. With the rise of postmodernism […], it is even more evident than it was earlier in this century that the Reformation, Enlightenment, Romantic, modernist, and postmodernist projects […] require an attack on patriarchal tradition (1999: 443).

In *Hamlet* we do not have a literal patricide, but on the subconscious, symbolic level, the murder of the king and the mother's husband carries more meaning than just that of mere revenge; it portents a revolutionary act of rebellion and deconstruction. After such a history-changing act, the road to a new construction of society based on reason and reliance on human abilities seems more open than ever.

4. The Mountain Wreath

The Mountain Wreath was published in 1847, a year significant for the struggle for the vernacular in Serbia. The first translation of the New Testament by Vuk Karadžić from Old Church Slavonic to the language as spoken in Serbia at the time, the influential essay "The Struggle for Serbian language and Orthography" by Djuro Daničić, and "Poems" by Branko Radičević were all published in the same year. Serbia was just coming out of centuries-long subjugation to the Ottoman Empire, and it was in the process of creating its literary language and renewing its culture after the long and toilsome occupation. The enlightenment and humanist ideas passionately disseminated by Dositej Obradović, the first minister of education of Serbia, had just started to find fertile soil. Serbia was in its belated Renaissance.

As a Prince-Bishop, Petar Petrović Njegoš (1813-1851) had a dual role in Montenegro as both its political and religious leader. Montenegro was perceived as the hotbed of heroism and the epitome of resistance against the harsh Ottoman rule. As a supreme poet and philosopher, Njegoš certainly contributed to the image of Montenegrins as wise and sharp-witted people. Certain verses from *The Mountain Wreath* have become national proverbs, and most Montenegrins can recite long passages from the work. Having written *Luča Mikrokozma* (The Ray of the Microcosm), a cosmic-religious poem about the origins and destiny of man on Earth and about the fall of Satan and the fall of man, it is safe to save that Njegoš combines the statures of both Shakespeare and Milton in Serbian literature.

As opposed to early modern England, where the rift between the empiricism of the age and the significance of the national tradition weighed heavily on the individual, a Montenegrin from the 19th century did not suffer from the body/mind dichotomy. The Church taught the morals buried deep down in the collective unconscious. The Orthodox Christian belief in

the holiness of matter is revealed in the existence of Christ's body and blood in the Eucharist, the material representation of Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints in icons, and the veneration of relics. The body has a special function in the hesychast prayer, practiced by Orthodox monks. Charles Lock explains the Western perplexity with juxtaposition of images from the Eastern faith with those drawn from biology and sociology in Russian philosophy as an example of the "globalization of Protestant paradigms and anxieties": "Orthodoxy never underwent a Reformation, nor any sort of conflict between faith and reason," he argues. A sacramental theology does not find anything reductive in nature, and it celebrates reason as part of creation, as that which links the divine with the human; in Orthodoxy, the conflict between faith and reason only exists as an import (Lock 2001: 101). Whereas in the West philosophers felt obliged to abandon traditional spiritual pursuits in order to accept the laws of reason, exemplified in the Cartesian maxim "I think, therefore I am," Serbia of the epoch, in part thanks to the Ottoman preservation of traditional, rural life and morals, still unquestionably adhered to the organic code of ethics.

As part of the Eastern tradition that had always nurtured a sense of belonging to a community with its tradition and a set value system, Serbia, and even more so the tribally organised Montenegro, was a seedbed of collectivism. According to the identity dimension of the analysis of different cultures, an extreme collectivist believes that: 1) members of one's ingroup (organisation, extended family) are very close, whereas other, outgroup people are very distant, 2) harmony should always be maintained and direct confrontation avoided, 3) relationships are more important than the task at hand, 4) laws, rights, and opinions differ by group, 5) trespass leads to shame and loss of face for the entire ingroup, 6) the relationship between employer and employee is perceived in moral terms, like a family link, 7) spoken communication uses imprecise style. Discreet non-verbal clues, such as tone and pauses are crucial. The speaker adapts to the listener (Hofstede 2002: 173). The national leaders gathered in *The Mountain Wreath* to discuss the possible action against the islamised population of Montengro commune in mutual respect and brotherhood, while the Islamic population, although of the same ethnic origin, is regarded as foreign and equated with the hated Turks. The diatribe about Venetians by Duke Draško also shows the foreign nature of the Roman Catholic, Western world. This demonstrates the awareness of the central role of Byzantine culture and faith in the individual and collective identity.

The fact that trespassing leads to shame and loss of face is evident in the accusation of Vuk Branković, who, due to his alleged treason before the decisive battle of Kosovo, became the perennial symbol of a moral outlaw. The collective nature of the shared psychology is reflected even in the lack of a main protagonist in the work.

Looking at the virtue dimension, individuals who belong to the extreme short-term orientation believe that one's face should never be lost, that there is a social pressure to "keep up with the Joneses," traditions should be respected, social demands are met regardless of cost, and personal stability is much valued (Hofstede 2002: 174). The national leaders in *The Mountain Wreath* are convinced that not only stability, but also the survival of their community is solely possible if the Mohammedans are either exterminated or expelled from their land.

> Luna i krst, dva strašna simvola -
> njihovo je na grobnice carstvo.
> Sljedovat im rijekom krvavom
> u lađici grdna stradanija,
> to je biti jedno ili drugo. (631-635)

Even if they are not religious, Montenegrins deem the preservation of their spiritual heritage and Patriarchal tradition their sacred duty and privilege. While Hamlet is acting entirely on his own, the Montenegrins are acting together.

In the 19th century Balkans, elders were respected and revered. Abbot Stefan is not only an elder by age, but also a spiritual elder who, through his role as a vessel of God's will, represents a special kind of figure in the Orthodox Christian tradition. His advice is paramount to order, and everyone takes his blessing as a divine sanction. He does not appear until the end of the poem, and his principal task is to disperse all dilemmas and accord the ultimate approbation: the purge is not only God-pleasing but also imperative. If Bishop Danilo has been compared to Hamlet because of his proclivity to always find a reason to postpone the action (Guskova 2015), then Abbot Stefan should be compared to the king's ghost in *Hamlet*, because he is the one who, besides revealing the truth to his son, serves as the pivotal counsel in making up the mind of the protagonist. As opposed to the ghost, who seems to be driven only by desire to punish the murderer, Abbot Stefan reveals the divine duty of Christian Montenegrins. Whereas the reckoning at the end of *Hamlet* brings further chaos and foreign

occupation, in *The Mountain Wreath* it leads to the absolute conviction in the sacred character of the religious purge.

5. Conclusion

It would probably be far-fetched to argue that the two literary works, *Hamlet* and *The Mountain Wreath* were crucial in their impact on the consciousness of the two nations, or that they were most significant in the creation of the respective national mentalities. The issue raises the question of the influence of ideas on people's convictions and actions. Those who deal with art and philosophy perhaps tend to overemphasise their historical significance. Whether ideology can arise from an individual's ideas, or if theory is just a reflection of the state of human kind and the public opinion of a society is not that important, however. The fact is that both Shakespeare and Njegoš were able to touch the cord of national aspiration and communal predilection. They delineated social tendencies and historical orientation to produce symbols of the respective cultural essences. Whereas Hamlet represents the cry of an individual at a historical crossroads, the Montenegrin is confident in his feeling of belonging to the set tradition and Patriarchal community. In the highlander Balkan community, the challenges of the modern world are still to come and to be felt by everyone. Shakespeare spells out the dilemmas and predicts the direction his culture is moving towards, and Njegoš solidifies the myth of Kosovo and underlines the significance of a covenant paid in blood. Despite the obvious differences, the two masterpieces stand at the bottom of the iceberg and the core of the onion of English and Serbian national consciousnesses.

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WHERE AMERICA LIES: TRADITION AND TRANSFORMATION IN MARK TWAIN'S *ROUGHING IT*

Abstract

Twain is a chronicler of what he describes as an essentially wild West. Written a decade after the events, his textual transformation of a transforming territory is not devoid of nostalgia and *Roughing It* enters American literary tradition while at the same time, contributing by its innovations to the transformation of that society.

This paper starts by considering the humorous confrontation between tradition and modernity before analyzing the extent to which what was then called "salting" (lying) was a key ingredient in the transformation of the territory, as well as in the construction of the country's identity and tradition. It eventually probes Twain's essentially nostalgic outlook on the transformation of America.

Keywords: *America, identity, nostalgia, salting, tradition, modernity, transformation, Twain*

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Roughing It was published in 1872, in the wake of the huge success of *The Innocents Abroad* (1869). It relates the travels and adventures Mark Twain undertook through the American West between 1861 and 1866. When the journey started, Twain was twenty-six; he was accompanying Orion, his brother, who "had just been appointed Secretary of the Nevada Territory," (1) and who in turn had appointed Twain as his private secretary. Twain stayed there only briefly before embarking on a mining expedition which led him to several years of roaming the West.

The diegetic time is that of the gold and silver rushes in California and Nevada just before the advent of the railroad[1] and the radical transformation it was to bring to the West, which many still considered as a territory without history or tradition. *Roughing It* uses "tradition" both to express a "customary pattern of thought, action, or behavior" and a "story [...] commonly accepted as historical though not verifiable."[2] Such co-existence and the impossibility of being able to differentiate between one meaning and another revealingly blur the distinction between commonly admitted knowledge and a textual construct.

Twain is a witness and a chronicler of what he describes as an essentially wild West, which endows *Roughing It* with undeniable, yet unreliable historical interest. He thus becomes an author of stories with a problematic degree of paternity over his material. Written a decade after the events, this textual transformation of a transforming territory is not devoid of nostalgia and *Roughing It* enters American literary tradition while at the same time, contributing by its innovations to the transformation of that society.

This paper will first consider the humorous confrontation between tradition and modernity as exemplified in stagecoach traveling; it will then analyze the extent to which what was then called "salting" (lying) was a key ingredient in the transformation of the territory, as well as in the construction of the country's identity and tradition. It will then probe Twain's essentially nostalgic outlook on the transformation of America.

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[1] The last spike of the transcontinental railroad was driven in 1869.

[2] "Tradition": *Merriam-Webster 11th Collegiate Dictionary*.

1. Tradition and modernity: a humorous confrontation

The stagecoach journey from St. Louis, Missouri, to Carson City, took twenty days. The older Twain alludes to the imminent appearance of the train, but the confrontation between modernity and tradition is not expressed in any comparison of the two means of transport. It is related through a symbolic battle inside the coach itself, as Twain's brother "took along [...] six pounds of Unabridged Dictionary" (3) which turned out to attack the passengers at each significant bump on the uneven trail: "Every time we avalanched from one end of the stage to the other, the Unabridged Dictionary would come too; and every time it came it damaged somebody. One trip it 'barked' the Secretary's elbow; the next trip it hurt me in the stomach, and the third it tilted Bemis's nose up till he could look down his nostrils." (11) This "assault" (11) does not symbolize Twain's renowned battles with spelling in general so much as it humorously illustrates the two brothers' blindness to the rapid transformation of the country: "we did not know—poor innocents—that such things could be bought in San Francisco on one day and received in Carson City the next." (3) Though their attachment to linguistic tradition does not prevent them from accomplishing their journey, it provides an apt reminder of the inadequacy of former beliefs in the context of a fast developing America. Not surprisingly, that inadequacy encompasses the English language that has taken root in the Territories, unbeknownst to the travelers alienated by geography as much as by linguistic incompetence:

> "Pass the bread, you son of a skunk!" No, I forget—skunk was not the word; it seems to me it was still stronger than that; I know it was, in fact, but it is gone from my memory, apparently. However, it is no matter—probably it was too strong for print, anyway. It is the landmark in my memory which tells me where I first encountered the vigorous new vernacular of the occidental plains and mountains. (15)

Despite the strong impression it made upon Twain, the "western freshness and novelty" (15) may not be rendered fully in his narrative. This denotes the enduring power of the linguistic rules imposed by the aggressive dictionary, whose imperialist domination is an obstacle to the evolution of the English language into a genuine American idiom. Twain's forgetting the precise word proves all the more surprising since he has become the acknowledged master of the vernacular. His dismissal of the term seems

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to make him an unexpected supporter of the traditionalist stance of the dictionary. It is, however, to be explained both by the combined futility of the linguistic in the context of an overbearing landscape and by the absence of a truly poetic quality in the production of the speakers of that precise region: "it presently grew monotonous, and lost its charm." (15)

Roughing it is a travel book that endeavors to capture the essence of a transitional era. Humorous though they may be, the anecdotes provide a glimpse of the state of America as the westward expansion was already virtually completed. It presents the implied readers with a world that most of them had only heard of, through narratives that often partook of legend and folklore. Twain's innocent discovery reflects that of his readers and his frankness makes up a narrative device that contributes to his pretention to reliability. The inexperienced travelers cross wonderful landscapes peopled by creatures of legendary status. When Twain sees his first coyote, it is one of the traditional figures of the western wild; the sight is brief and the narrator's description is based on future experience. The first piece of information is linguistic; the discovery of the local species requires altering standard English usage too: "the regular *cayote* (pronounced ky-*o*-te)." (17) Twain's unflattering description starts by deflating the animal's reputation of ferocity: "The cayote is a long, slim, sick and sorry-looking skeleton, with a gray wolf-skin stretched over it, a tolerably bushy tail that forever sags down with a despairing expression of forsakenness and misery, [...] a living, breathing allegory of Want." (17) Yet he hints at an uncanny skill at avoiding danger from rifles and, more revealingly, from a settler's dog, "a dog that has a good opinion of himself, and has been brought up to think he knows something about speed." (17) Such pomposity gets ridiculed by the cunning and the exceptional physical qualities of the coyote who, with "a fraudful smile over his shoulder," plays with his pursuer before leaving him "solitary and alone in the midst of a vast solitude!" (17) In fable-like manner, the advancing civilization, symbolized by the dog and his aggressive attitude, is not kept in check but is reminded of the vanity of its pretention to superiority over the indigenous species. The coyote's only damning feature is that he does not fit the aesthetic ideal of the settlers, who get reminded of their essential fragility in the face of nature. As a tamed version of the wild coyote — himself a wretched figure of the mighty (?) wolf — the personified dog realizes his limited capacity to change the order of things in the wild and "takes up a humble position." (18) Ironically, the coyote's superiority over the dog and the owners it

stands for also lies in his playful reaction to danger, in a veiled allusion to the power of humor which he demonstrates is definitely not the special attribute of humans.

Relating the stagecoach trip prompts Twain to quote from the diary he kept during his travels across the Holy Land a few years later, shedding light on the universal character of the American experience. It recounts the discovery of biblical landscapes by a young man from New York — an experienced traveler totally unfamiliar with the Scriptures, who is the equivalent of the innocent stagecoach passengers on their way to Nevada. When being told that the desert he was crossing was the one that Moses led his tribe through, his response is outstandingly naïve: "'Moses *who?* […] 'Forty years? Only three hundred miles? Humph! Ben Holliday would have fetched them through in thirty-six hours!'" (22)[3] Free from the religious heritage of Christian culture, the young boy is representative of a new generation of Americans, now driven to a paradoxical state of ignorance: their lack of basic religious knowledge does not preclude their total adaptation to a transformed universe where businessmen have actually replaced spiritual figures as leaders of men. Ironically, the new American, whose pious ancestors were driven by the impulse to transform the wilderness into a Christian civilization, has now become a pathetic Adam free from his Judeo-Christian tradition. The rapid pace in the transformation of America may be the harbinger of universal upheavals, given the swift Americanization of the planet through the combined effects of economic and touristic imperialism.

2. "Salting" one's claim: mining and writing

Striking it rich rests at the heart of Twain's and his contemporaries' motivation in their restless roaming. The narrator takes an active part in the gold and silver rushes which, in their dramatic ups and downs, were shaping California and Nevada into mythical territories. *Roughing It* chronicles the miners' unceasing attempts to fulfill the dream. Hard physical work was not always the ideal way to become a millionaire, for hitting upon a truly precious vein was exceptional. To the unlucky yet clever ones, resourcefulness was the key: "One plan of acquiring sudden

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[3] Ben Holliday was the owner of the western stagecoach business.

wealth was to 'salt' a wild cat claim and sell out while the excitement was up." (161) "Salting" was a common swindling technique which sometimes proved quite profitable:

> The schemer located a worthless ledge, sunk a shaft on it, bought a wagon load of rich "Comstock" ore, dumped a portion of it into the shaft and piled the rest by its side, above ground. Then he showed the property to a simpleton and sold it to him at a high figure. Of course the wagon load of rich ore was all that the victim ever got out of his purchase. (161-2)

Twain narrates one such anecdote, which reads like a traditional folk tale involving a "simpleton" going through initiatory misadventures. Revealingly, the unfortunate hero is a real life American figure whose profession provides added western meaning to the universal pattern:

> The stock rose to sixty-five dollars a foot, and at this figure the world-renowned tragedian, McKean Buchanan, bought a commanding interest and prepared to quit the stage once more. [...] On one of the lumps of "native" silver was discovered the minted legend, "TED STATES OF," and then it was plainly apparent that the mine had been "salted" with melted half-dollars! The lumps thus obtained had been blackened till they resembled native silver, and were then mixed with the shattered rock in the bottom of the shaft. It is literally true. Of course the price of the stock at once fell to nothing, and the tragedian was ruined. But for this calamity we might have lost McKean Buchanan from the stage. (162)[4]

McKean Buchanan's naïve belief in the rumor contrasts strongly with his thorough knowledge of Shakespearean tragedies, which are rife with shenanigans and warnings against the blindness to which excessive passion leads. Twain's insistence on the literality of the truth delivered by his story covers both its historical authenticity and its reliance on letters — *i.e.*, its textual nature. The actor's misfortune reads like a punishment inflicted by

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[4] McKean Buchanan was an actor whose style Twain loved to deride: "The great McKean Buchanan having been driven from all the world's great cities many years ago, still keeps up a pitiless persecution of the provinces, ranting with undiminished fury before audiences composed of one sad manager, one malignant reporter, and a sheriff to collect the license, and still pushes his crusade, strewing his disastrous wake with the corpses of country theaters." (quoted by Fisher in "Buchanan, McKean," p. 86)

Nemesis; his tragic flaw, however, resides as much in his foolish submission to Mammon as in his flagging commitment to drama. The anecdote hints at an analogy between historical reality as it may be known or experienced by his readers and the diegetic world of folk tales as well as of tragedy. The literality claimed by the narrator is thus a narrative device with a metatextual value. The "'native'" quality of the silver is also testified to literally, by the not so cryptic letters "'TED STATES OF,'" which in themselves make up a "legend," thereby inextricably linking the transforming America that Twain is chronicling with the question of its writing. In that context, "salting" refers to the story made up to perpetrate the swindle as well as to the critical stance required so as not to become its victim. Apart from the mining context, *Webster's* offers two definitions of "salt" related to story-telling and its reception: "an element that gives liveliness, piquancy, or pungency" and "with a grain of salt, […] with an attitude of skepticism." The attentive reader is thus led to enjoy Twain's anecdote while bearing in mind that the authenticity of such stories must always be doubted, both because they may well be American tall tales and because, as a popular writer, Twain will inevitably spice up his own "native" narratives.

As Sam Clemens's persona, Twain often displays his deep interest in financial success. It is not surprising he should not condemn the salting swindle, whose pecuniary goal requires great ingenuity and a gift for story-telling. Also shown as a narrative basis for creating riches, the *Book of Mormon* prompts Twain's indictment, for he considers it guilty of damning offenses:

> The book is […] such a pretentious affair, and yet so "slow," so sleepy; such an insipid mess of inspiration. It is chloroform in print. Joseph Smith […], according to tradition, merely translated it from certain ancient and mysteriously-engraved plates of copper, which he declares he found under a stone, in an out-of-the-way locality […]. The book seems to be merely a prosy detail of imaginary history, with the Old Testament for a model; followed by a tedious plagiarism of the New Testament. (58-9)

Joseph Smith's most crucial failing is his stylistic inability to elicit the interest of his reader, combined with a crippling lack of respect of the Bible as narrative. Smith is simply a painstaking plagiarizer lacking the dishonest miners' creative skill. To crown it all, he is a poor linguist who failed to convey the genius of the popular biblical text: "The author labored to give

his words and phrases the quaint, old-fashioned sound and structure of our King James's translation of the Scriptures; and the result is a mongrel—half modern glibness, and half ancient simplicity and gravity." (59) Unlike Twain, who masterfully translated his contemporaries' language by remaining close to local idioms and pronunciations, Smith did not make the necessary choice between modernity and a traditionalist's approach to the sacred text.[5] As for Smith's followers, they consciously subverted the biblical message further by betraying even its faulty translation to suit their needs or inclinations: "Polygamy is a recent feature in the Mormon religion, and was added by Brigham Young after Joseph Smith's death. Before that, it was regarded as an 'abomination.'" (62) At the time of Twain's travels, the Mormons were instrumental in the transformation of the West. Twain was fascinated by their success and his diatribe does not end in a wholesale rejection of their faith:

> The Mormon Bible is rather stupid and tiresome to read, but there is nothing vicious in its teachings. Its code of morals is unobjectionable—it is 'smouched'* from the New Testament and no credit given.
>
> *Milton (65)

His conclusion is not a mere repetition of his previous arguments, for the asterisk, supposed to guarantee that the narrator does not resort to Smith's plagiaristic technique, is most probably a swindle in itself. According to Boewe (1991: 10), "concordances of Milton's prose or poetry contain no form of 'smouch.'" The critic's hypothesis ("Was Twain slyly conning Livy[6] into believing that the word had classical sanction?") does not take into account the intra-metatextual value of a footnote that, by constituting a perfectly believable lie within his critical narrative, amounts to "salting" the latter. Doing so, it sheds ironic light on Smith's failure while fooling the

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[5] For an account of the process that led to the King James version of the Bible, of the translating guidelines and its contemporary assessment, see *The Revised New Testament and History of Revision, giving a literal reprint of the Authorized English Edition of the Revised New Testament, with a brief history of the origin and transmission of the New Testament Scriptures, and of its many versions and revisions that have been made, also a complete history of this last great combined movement of the best scholarship of the world; with reasons for the effort; advantages gained; sketches of the eminent men engaged upon it, etc., etc. prepared under the direction of Professor Isaac H. Hall, LL.D.* (Isaac Hollister Hall, ed., Philadelphia: Hubbard Brothers, 1881, pp. 43-63).

[6] Livy — Olivia Clemens — was Samuel Clemens's wife; she proofread and edited his manuscripts.

reader as to the reliability of *Roughing It*, which shares the same misleading potential as the *Book of Mormon*.

3. A Nostalgic outlook on the transformation of America

In 1891, the Superintendent of Census made a capital announcement: "Up to and including 1880 the country had a frontier of settlement, but at the present the unsettled area has been so broken into isolated bodies of settlement that there can hardly be said to be a frontier line." (quoted by Rezé 1998: 60) Thirty odd years earlier, Twain had been a witness to an already vanishing era. A letter written in 1868 when he was back in Nevada — four years before the publication of *Roughing It* — articulates his nostalgic outlook: "The little wildcat mines are abandoned and forgotten, and the happy millionaires in fancy (I used to be one of them) have wandered penniless to other climes, or have returned to honest labor for degrading wages." ("Letter") He portrays himself as one of the countless dreamers who shaped the West and whose sad fate casts a melancholy shadow over the destiny of believers in a typically American dream. His allusion to the salting ploy as well as to other, bloodier, schemes does not include any concern for the victims:

> What has become of that wonderful mine, whose name I cannot recollect, but which was so deftly "salted" with imperfectly melted half dollars for the especial attraction and capture of McKean Buchanan, tragedian — and with such brilliant success? Where is the Madison, whose day and night shift of cut throats used to stand in the dark drifts and tunnels with bated breath and ears pressed to the damp walls, listening to the dull thump of pick and crowbar in the subterranean corridors of the Ophir, ready to receive the miners with murderous assault of knife and pistol whenever they should cleave through the narrow bulwark of quartz that separated them? […] And finally, Oh were [sic] is the wonderful Echo[7]? [Echo, according to ancient usage, simply answers, Where?] ("Letter")

[7] See Branch, pp. 258-9. Echo was a mining corporation of which Samuel Clemens was a shareholder. "The mine was located a quarter mile north of Devil's Gate, near the road to Gold Hill, Nevada." (259)

The final touch of humor defuses the tragic implications of the lessons taught by contemporary American history. The mock-poetic reference to the nymph Echo also places the young country within a timeless ironic mythical context and composes a subtle ironic comment on the solipsistic nature of the author's writing enterprise. For although Twain aims at telling the chronicles of the West, his text always ends up betraying his self-referential concerns. This which makes him the mirror-like opposite of the cursed Echo who, however hard to tried to express her own thoughts, could only repeat somebody else's last spoken words.

Roughing It glorifies life in the Wild West, which at the time of the publication of his book had already vanished. Its heroes transformed that part of the continent forever, though most of the towns they built have "so absolutely died and disappeared." (222) The ghost places that remain are like ancient ruins reminding the tourist of past glories that now sustain the collective unconscious. The lyrical description of the mine regions in California makes it possible to determine the type of society that flourished then and still informs the author's idealized view of his country:

> it was an assemblage of two hundred thousand *young* men—not simpering, dainty, kid-gloved weaklings, but stalwart, muscular, dauntless young braves, brimful of push and energy, and royally endowed with every attribute that goes to make up a peerless and magnificent manhood—the very pick and choice of the world's glorious ones. No women, no children, no gray and stooping veterans,—none but erect, bright-eyed, quick-moving, strong-handed young giants [...]. (222)

Home to the romantic superman, California is depicted as a modern Sparta, whose inhabitants, armed with guns, picks and shovels "reveled in gold, whisky, fights, and fandangoes, and were unspeakably happy." (222) Chief among the remarkable qualities of those "stalwart *men*" (223), their irrepressible solidarity in times of dire poverty, their worship of women and children and their strongly democratic creed: "those people hated aristocrats." (223) The "grotesque" (223) aspect of that society lies only superficially in its apparent absence of rules or sophistication; it rests mostly in the life-giving force of the momentary chaos that disrupts the traditional order of things. The inversion of values characteristic of the grotesque and that makes a rough, uneducated man a hero does not affect his essential qualities. What Bakhtin calls "the peculiar logic of the world 'inside out'"

(Bakhtin 1698: 11) applies to the miners' debauchery and lawlessness, for deep down he abides by the cornerstones of Christianity — hospitality and respect for the weak (in that context, women and children). As for his instinctive rejection of high class pretentiousness, it embodies the spirit of the American Republic. At the level of the whole country, the fleeting years of the silver and gold rushes make up a peculiar carnivalesque universe. Isolated from the rest of the country, the alternate society enjoys a festive lifestyle that fits the democratic pattern ("all were considered equal during carnival" [Bakhtin 1698: 11]) and the fascination for ("'the thirst for a new youth' pervaded the carnival spirit" [Bakhtin 1698: 57]). The main difference, however, is that unlike the all-inclusive pre-Renaissance carnival, the miners' California is fundamentally based on exclusion. The absence of women children and old people obviously precludes the organic facet of the rejuvenation that makes up the *raison d'être* of the carnival, thus breaking the cyclical nature of the latter. Hence the inevitability of an apocalyptic ending to the golden age:

> And where are they now? Scattered to the ends of the earth— or prematurely aged and decrepit—or shot or stabbed in street affrays—or dead of disappointed hopes and broken hearts—all gone, or nearly all—victims devoted upon the altar of the golden calf—the noblest holocaust that ever wafted its sacrificial incense heavenward. (222)

The allusion to the golden calf encompasses Twain's ambivalence as he felt he once was part of the supermen who failed in the pursuit of their purely materialistic dream, and whose image he did his best to perpetuate — and to capitalize on:

> Twain viewed the West as a place of personal renewal, and he shrewdly incorporated popular constructions of western men into his public persona in order to re-create himself and the American male writer. Tapping into the myths and realities of a region that increasingly occupied the popular imagination, he portrayed himself as a violent man whose language and success springs from western masculinist values. (Coulombe 2011: 53)

4. Conclusion

Ambivalence lies at the core of *Roughing It*, which celebrates the birth of a new country while it expresses nostalgia at its transformation. The latter is an ongoing process that the younger Twain contributed to fostering, but that the older writer has come to resent. As a harbinger of the new and a veteran of an already bygone era, Twain enthusiastically embraces virility as the key to Americanness, anchored in the frontier spirit.

Because it echoes the concerns of previous canonical works such as Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales and because it foreshadows upcoming classics like Stephen Crane's "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" and Carl Sandburg's "Chicago," Twain's virile America demonstrates the resilience and the life-giving force of a traditional concept that consecrates the United States as a work in progress. The constant transformation of this future-oriented America is duly recorded and promoted by its essentially nostalgic literature.

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REVISI(TI)NG HISTORY: JEANETTE WINTERSON'S *THE DAYLIGHT GATE* AND THE TRANSFORMATION OF HISTORICAL NOVELS

Abstract
Since the 1990s, women's historical novels have received increased attention, largely due to their compelling rewriting of (particularly women's) history. Numerous authors—many of them women—have effected a transformation of the traditional historical novel by using this genre's creative space to re-imagine women's history. Anchored in relevant theoretical discourse and critical writing, this paper analyzes Jeanette Winterson's recent novel *The Daylight Gate* (2012) against this background. Similar to Winterson's previous novels, *The Daylight Gate* is committed to probing ways of representing the past. Combining narrative suspense, the style of the Gothic story, and different motifs, Winterson produces multifaceted writing that echoes postmodern concepts of historical narrativization, while also reflecting on gender relations and the formation of gendered identity. The discussion focuses on this novel as a medium of re-imagining and revising dominant historical narratives to voice women's experiences and oppositional perspectives, compelling us to consider the results of experimentation and transformation within this genre.

Key words: historical novel, women's experience, identity, history, narrative, power

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1. Introduction

Although the genre of the historical novel has been around for a while, it gained new momentum in scholarship in the 1990s, which is still far from adequate considering the longevity, popularity, and variety of this literary production. It is evident that in the last decades of the twentieth century and into the new millennium the historical novel has become one of the most dominant genres of fiction, and an academically reputable one. The main reasons for such a standing lie in the increased literary output of this genre, the high creative accomplishments of its authors to respond to our attraction to the past, and the reworking of the past to create counter-narratives of history. Another prominent characteristic of historical fiction is the dominance of women's historical novels, focused on revisiting and (typically) revising history to include previously neglected or silenced voices from the past. This tendency has helped instill new notions about the centrality of the role of women in this genre, as Diane Wallace points out in the Preface to her book *The Woman's Historical Novel: British Women Writers, 1900–2000*. Wallace expresses the "belief that the historical novel has been one of the most important forms of women's reading and writing during the twentieth century" (Wallace 2004: ix). New and varied approaches to the subject of how contemporary women fiction writers use and reconfigure history in their work have been offered in scholarship, with the conclusion that "[n]umerous authors—many of them women—have effected a transformation of the traditional historical novel by using this genre's creative space to re-imagine women's history" (Wallace 2004: ix). This tendency comes as no surprise since, according to most feminist critical assessment, traditional historical narratives have consistently elided women from history, or presented them as mere attachments to men. Consequently, as history is retrieved and rewritten from the perspective of those who suffered (and predominantly lost) historical struggles for power, a reshaping of historical novels—particularly those by women authors, including Jeanette Winterson—has been effected, because such writers "have reinvested history's role in literature and literature's place in history with a new importance" (Heilmann and Llewellyn 2007: 1). The historical novel becomes a way of re-imagining and recasting the official history to incorporate the experiences of women, as well as oppositional views, imparting this genre with a fresh quality.

This analysis examines Jeanette Winterson's 2012 novel *The Daylight Gate* as an illustration of how history and fiction work in both powerful and problematic ways. Winterson's commitment to explore the nature of history and the relation of fact to fiction has been a strong feature of her writing since her earliest novels. In her *oeuvre*, Winterson recurrently deconstructs the binaries of fact and fiction, history and fiction, and history and story, but "not to play one narrative mode off against the other in an endless postmodern deferral of meaning, but rather to assert the importance of one over the other, inserting a differing hierarchy of value, placing story and imagination, art in fact, over history" (Makinen 2005: 4). In the process of reclaiming history and raising historical consciousness, authors such as Winterson refuse to work within the confines of the conventional boundaries of reality and magic, truth and lies, and reason and rationality. They suggest the fluidity of gender binaries, and introduce the magical and fabulous. Thus *The Daylight Gate* exemplifies innovations in the historical novel: a level of the women writer's hybridization of this genre, "cross-fertilising with romance, fantasy, the Gothic, the adventure story and the detective novel" (Wallace 2004: 3). Critical assessment on the genre of historical writing has clearly recognized the historical novel's affinity for fantasy and romance. The use of such elements in this particular novel subverts and modifies the conventions of the earlier tradition of the "realist" historical novel, simultaneously incorporating aspects previously left out and repressed, such as superstition, the irrational, and desire. In *The Daylight Gate*, Winterson explores ways of representing the past and weaves a compelling gothic tale of magic, witchery, superstition, necromancy, alchemy, and gory murder, combining, to use Linda Hutcheon's words, different "registers of discourse" (Hutcheon 1996: 4). This novel initiates the reader into the past from oblique perspectives through a wide range of issues and characters, many of whom are marginal figures, whose unrecorded historical contribution is presented thanks to their *petits récits* (Jean-François Lyotard 1984). *The use of this and other narrative strategies encourage* "an incredulity toward metanarratives" (Lyotard 1984: 175)—specifically those grand narratives of British history dominated by heroic imperialism—while at the same time challenging the constraints of fictional realism.

2. Straddling boundaries: history, story, and historical novels

The subversion of previous, traditional fictional norms in recent historical novelistic production is intertwined with tensions between history and story that are, in turn, related to the connection between historiographic and fictional practice. Concurrently, the transformation of historical fiction is largely derived from conceptual changes within historiography since the 1980s, following the linguistic turn in twentieth-century philosophy and historical theory. The ensuing substantial and complex debate has elucidated the role of linguistic norms in shaping the narrative representation of historical events, dispelling previously held beliefs of the narrative as a neutral and clear method of representing historical reality, and writing authentically about the past, emphasizing the role of imagination in creating a specific approach to understanding it. As a critic summarizes, "narrative has cognitive implications all its own, which imposes a specific shape on historical reality before the latter can become an object of historical inquiry and representation. Thus, properties such as causality and teleology which were previously thought to inhere in historical reality are now conceptualized as linguistic phenomena" (Wesseling 1991: 128). This perspective on historical representation connects issues about the truth (and fictiveness) of history and about the fictiveness (and truth) of literary texts, implying a dependence of historiography on fictional narrative techniques. The relationship between historical writing and imaginative literature has therefore been acknowledged, and in the last few decades historiography has increasingly recognized the "story" element of history and the contentious character of historical accuracy. But the main critical undercurrent arises in terms of exactly what types of accuracy or authenticity the historical novel can offer, if it should provide any at all. But "[i]f history is itself discursive, textual, fragmentary and uncertain, and, like fiction, driven in unrecognized ways by our own individual and cultural preoccupations and desires […], then to set up the debate on the presumption that history is true and fiction must obey its rules would be naïve in relation to both" (Hodgkin 2007: 16). In order to explore how scholarship on the interrelation between history and story have evolved— particularly concerning historical fiction in general, and its contemporary aspects illustrated in the novel *The Daylight Gate* specifically—it is constructive to provide a brief outline of essential categories and texts that contribute to this discussion.

One of the leading advocates for the reconsideration of historical narratives, Hayden White, contended the relevance of "metahistory", denoting the "historical work as a verbal structure in the form of a narrative prose discourse" (White 1973: ix). Its importance to literary criticism and practice is indisputable, as he refutes the claim to truth in history, "foregrounding the artificial and inescapably ideological nature of historical narrative. […] In this climate, contemporary historical fiction can ambitiously aspire to granting imaginative apprehension of the past just as effectively as historiography" (Makinen 2005: 7). According to White's other crucial text in the debate on history as narrative—his study *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (1978)—there is a correspondence between histories and novels, meaning that history "is no less a form of fiction than the novel is a form of historical representation" (White 1978: 122). The ideas on the interdependence of history and fiction and their foundation in narrative put forward by Hayden White in the field of historiography correspond to those by Linda Hutcheon in literary theory and criticism. Although not fully and clearly identifiable as postmodern historical fiction, *The Daylight Gate* demonstrates some of the features of a category of novel Hutcheon describes in *A Poetics of Postmodernism: History, Fiction, Theory* (1988) as "historiographic metafiction," a phrase that refers to "those well-known and popular novels which are both intensely self-reflexive and yet paradoxically also lay claim to historical events and personages" (Hutcheon 1996: 5). Given that Winterson's historical novel can be interpreted as a desire to expose "history as a shaping force (in the narrative and in human destiny)" (Hutcheon 1996: 113), it echoes questions about the nature of history, representation, and narrative championed by White and Hutcheon. Both scholars refuse the earlier understanding of the truthfulness of history and decline to draw a clear line between historical fact and fiction, affirming their reliance on narratives. As Hutcheon proclaims, "both history and fiction are discourses, human constructs, signifying systems, and both derive their major claim to truth from that identity" (Hutcheon 1996: 93). This dismissal of the very notion of historical truth and insistence upon discursiveness in history and literature is matched by a related development in historical writing and novelistic production. A recurring trait in recent historical novels, including Winterson's *The Daylight Gate*, is the challenge to "the old past" and traditional or mainstream historical narrative rooted in causal association. Contemporary historical novels therefore revisit and revise conventional

historical fictional writing in an attempt to incorporate previously silenced or erased historical events and subjects. These novels depart from earlier historical fictions in their resistance to traditionally held certainties about what happened and why, no longer subscribing to the role of "an essentially escapist form of literature with a predominant interest in the romantic" (Heilmann and Llewellyn 2007: 1), but evolving "into a genre at the cutting edge of postmodern conceptualizations of the past and of contemporary worlds" (Heilmann and Llewellyn 2007: 1). These changes to the historical novel require us to consider the relationship between traditional historical novels and the results of experimentation and shifts within the genre.

One of the most influential scholars of historical fiction, Avrom Fleishman, established in his 1971 study *The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf* the key features of the historical novel, deriving from retrospection (its leading formal characteristic), and related to a double dimension of time in which such fiction functions: the present, i.e. the time of writing, and the past, i.e. the time of the setting. Fleishman identifies this dual frame of reference that characterizes the historical novel as "both an entry into the past [...] and a coherent interpretation of that past from a particular standpoint in the present" (Fleishman 1971: 24). Similarly, in Georg Lukács's *The Historical Novel* (1937)—which was the leading early theoretical examination of the historical novel as a genre—the historical novel is praised for the accuracy of its representation of the past's reality as the "prehistory of the present" (Lukács 1983: 53). Lukács also recognizes that the benchmark historical novel by Sir Walter Scott introduced some attempts to blur the borders between reality and fiction by including various prefaces and postscripts. It appears, therefore, that historical fiction as a genre has exhibited a tendency to make use of conventions and elements characteristic of other genres, resulting in a form of hybridization. However, contemporary novelists (particularly women writers) frequently depart from the conventions of realistic novel writing to produce alternate historical narratives, such as this novel by Jeannette Winterson. Winterson ranks among those novelists whose innovative literary output qualifies as "the New Historical Fiction", a designation proposed by Martha Tuck Rozett. According to her 2003 study *Constructing a World: Shakespeare's England and the New Historical Fiction*, such writers "tend to blur the boundaries between 'research' and imaginative extrapolation to produce fantastic and disorienting transformations of the past" (Rozett 2003: 2-3). The novel supports the revisioning of a particular "history" (most notably that of

Shakespeare's England), providing "instances of divided and destabilized societies, characterized by political and religious tensions, high ambitions, and rapid social and cultural change" (Rozett 2003: 10). Since conventional historical narratives have traditionally omitted women due to their male-focused and heteronormative orientation, recent historical novels subvert this, building different, more inclusive and even oppositional histories. According to Ann Heilmann and Mark Llewellyn, "it is by interrogating the male-centred past's treatment of women at the same time as seeking to undermine the 'fixed' or 'truthful' nature of the historical narrative itself that women can create their 'own' (counter-)histories" (Heilmann and Llewellyn 2007: 2-3). In this vein, the discussion will now turn to the analysis of Jeannette Winterson's *The Daylight Gate*, taking into account the imbrication of gender and narrative in this historical novel.

3. *The Daylight Gate* as (new) historical fiction

This short, intense novel is centered on the Pendle witch trial of 1612, the most notorious and largest of its kind in England. At the opening, we are transported to the misty moors of northern England, the county of Lancashire, where the witch-hunt centers on a group of destitute women (and a couple of men) who have found shelter in a run-down building, near Pendle Hill, on land owned by the noble widow Alice Nutter. Following accusations of witchcraft, they are held for months in Lancaster Castle's dungeon, in conditions so appalling that some are barely able to stand trial. In the end, Alice is also implicated in the proceedings, and is similarly accused and sentenced. Winterson (2012: vii-viii) notes in her introduction that this novel draws on extensive material from the trial itself (it was the first witch trial to be documented), recorded by lawyer Thomas Potts, author of "The Wonderfull Discoverie of Witches in the Countie of Lancashire". It can therefore be argued that this novel meets most of the criteria Diane Wallace deems necessary for a historical novel to be "historical"; apart from the particular historical period for the setting and the historical moment at which it was written, the text is a historical novel "in its relation to the personal life history of the writer herself; and in its relation to literary history, most obvious in the *intertextual use of earlier texts*" (Wallace 2004: 5, emphasis added). Potts, as King James' government agent, is intent on capturing the Lancashire-born Catholic

Christopher Southworth, who was involved in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605 and thrown in a dungeon, where he was viciously tortured. However, Southworth manages to escape, and Potts imprisons Christopher's sister Jane, hoping that he will return to England to rescue her. Potts, portrayed as "a proud little cockerel of a man; all feathers and no fight" (Winterson 2012: 19), serves as an illustration of the paranoid reign of the Anglican King James I (1603–1625). As Southworth says in the novel, "'They will not stop till all of the Gunpowder Plotters are dead. King James has set his sights on Lancashire, […] He believes that this is the county of England where he has the most to fear—from Catholic traitors or from witching hags.'" (Winterson 2012: 61–62) Because of his conviction that he had been targeted by witches, James I attended witch trials personally, and even wrote a book called *Daemonologie* (1597), supporting witch hunting. One of the very first acts following his accession to the throne was to pass The Witchcraft Act of 1604. The character of Potts voices the then typical and unequivocal position of the authorities to those accused of witchcraft that rendered Catholicism equivalent to sorcery and crime: "'Witchery popery popery witchery—all the same thing.'" (Winterson 2012: 101)

> The very opening of this novel sets the atmosphere and depicts Pendle Hill as a remote, wild, and haunted site:

> The hill itself is low and massy, flat-topped, brooding, disappeared in mists, treacherous with bogs, run through with fast-flowing streams plunging into waterfalls crashing down into unknown pools. Underfoot is the black rock that is the spine of this place.

> Sheep graze. Hares stand like question marks.

> There are no landmarks for the traveller. Too early or too late the mist closes in. Only a fool or one who has dark business should cross Pendle at night. (Winterson 2012: 1-2)

Pendle Hill's ominous landscape is synonymous with the mysterious and untamed, but a peddler by the name of John Law takes a shortcut through its thick forest late one afternoon, trying to make haste as the daylight fades: "Soon it would be dusk; the liminal hour—the Daylight Gate. He did not want to step through the light into whatever lay beyond the light" (Winterson 2012: 3). Suddenly his path is blocked by Alizon Device and her grandmother Old Demdike who ridicule and curse him. Terrified, Law rushes to an inn, where he collapses, dying: "His lips were foamy.

Men loosened his clothes. He held up three fingers and said one word: *Demdike*" (Winterson 2012: 5). What is obvious from these quotations is that Winterson builds up narrative suspense with the elements of the Gothic story and the occult while introducing outcast women and rewriting them into history. In order to recuperate the history of such women and write into the fissures of official versions of history, the author embarks on an imaginative recovery of the past by mingling it with a factual source, such as Potts' account of the Pendle trial. However, Winterson further points out in the introduction to the novel that she has chosen her own narrative approach to the historical elements: "The characters are real people, though I have taken liberties with their motives and their means. My Alice Nutter is not the Alice Nutter of history […]. The story of Alice Nutter and Elizabeth Southern is an invention of my own and has no basis in fact" (Winterson 2012: viii-ix). This method of combining historical and invented story components is what defines historical novels as a genre, as Ann Rigney explains, because "[a]s *historical* novels, […] they also link up with the ongoing collective attempts to represent the past and invite comparison with what is already known about the historical world from other sources. [...] they also call upon prior historical knowledge, echoing and/or disputing other discourses about the past" (Rigney 2001: 19).

While the techniques of fictional narrative in *The Daylight Gate* exhibit the reliance on historiography, they also offer a perspective on the representation of the past which challenges the officially recorded history. At the same time, the novel reflects on gender relations and the formation of gendered identity and therefore fits the category defined by Diane Wallace because of the "use of a historical setting in order to explore issues of gender, and a desire to rewrite history from a point of view that centralises women's concerns" (Wallace 2004: 5). Signaling the straddling of the borders between history and story, Winterson's text also indicates that the realm of historical representation is marked by uncertainty, ambiguity, and the multiplicity of "truths" in any representation of past events. Following Linda Hutcheon's words, narrative conventions are "installed and subverted"; the narration is disrupted and denied closure, and the speaking subject lacks "confidence in his/her ability to know the past with any certainty" (Hutcheon 1996: 121–22, 117). These features mark the shift from traditional or "classic" historical fictions toward new, transformed approaches to the historical novel. Additionally, this literary text suggests the method toward the representation of the past defined by

Hayden White and other theorists of history that foregrounds the role of narrative in constructing our perception of the past. These representations of history mirror "their relation to the structures of power, not least those of gender" (Wallace 2004: 204), exemplified in *The Daylight Gate*. Winterson aligns religious intolerance with sexual abuse and institutionalized brutality at times of harsh competition for limited resources as in early 17th century England when people were anxious and helpless against those who could easily abuse and dehumanize others. Among the characters accused in the Pendle witch trial, the intriguing personality of Alice Nutter is the most interesting illustration of these tendencies. An intelligent and high-born Catholic woman, Alice is also one of the region's richest landowners who made her fortune thanks to the invention of a striking magenta cloth dye, which was favored by Queen Elizabeth. But Alice's affluence, independent nature, intelligence and strangely youthful appearance despite her age cause suspicion and envy, revealed in the following words: "Here was wealth. Her wealth. And she had not been born to it nor had she inherited it. Her fortune had come through the invention of a dye; a magenta that held fast in water and that had a curious dark depth to it […]" (Winterson 2012: 6). Recognizing her rise in economic and social standing as a blessing and a bane, Alice comments on her fate: "My wealth increased. And then the dark came" (Winterson 2012: 69). Hence, during the trial when the justice asks a child witness about Alice, her statement discloses the intertwining of economic, social and ideological repression: "'She has a falcon who is a spirit. She has a pony who can jump over the moon. *She has food and drink and money and jewels*. She is the most powerful of them all.'" (Winterson 2012: 215, emphasis added). However, Alice's reputation of mystery and unconventional behavior does not seem unfounded: in her past she was a lover to both Christopher Southworth and Elizabeth Southern and an associate of John Dee, an astrologer, alchemist and expert in the "dark sciences". All of them are protagonists who dare the dominant social norms, structures, and ideologies through their own opposition to personal and social identity constructions. Amid all these turbulences and the anxiety of such circumstances, Alice maintains her integrity and dignity, undermining the prevailing social and gender relations, evident in the impression she makes on Potts: "He had been curious to meet Alice Nutter but she made him nervous. Something about the way she looked at him made him feel less important than he knew himself to be." (Winterson 2012: 97). The subjugation of women in history and the potential to

explore gender as historically contingent rather than essential have worked their ways into the historical novel written by women as it "has been one of the sites where women writers have had most freedom to examine *masculinity* as a social and cultural construction. The act of reading and writing *across* gender has been central to the woman's historical novel right through the twentieth century" (Wallace 2004: 8). Thus this novel corresponds to features of Rozett's definition of "the New Historical Novel" as it contributes towards the revising of the traditional record of the past, specifically a historical period plagued with political and religious strife, upheavals and desperation.

The new inclination of women's historical novels to examine the male-focused understanding of women and imbue it with a feminist perspective is illustrated through Alice, coupled with a strong economic angle on inequality and hypocrisy. Thus when Alice is questioned about her sympathy to Elizabeth Device who "prostitutes her own children", Alice retorts: "'And what of the men who buy? Tom Peeper rapes nine-year-old Jennet Device on a Saturday night and stands in church on Sunday morning.'" (Winterson 2012: 55) The subjugation of women and prostituting of children were common features of early 17th-century English society and Winterson recuperates these lesser-known aspects in her clearly "critical or ironic re-reading of the past" (Hutcheon 1996: 23). Alice's fierce rationality and critical attitude on this issue do not get clouded by her affection for Southworth, as evident in a scene when he advises her not to risk herself "'for that broken family of vagrants and thieves they call the Demdike.' Alice drew away from him. 'Are you like all other men after all? The poor should have no justice, just as they have no food, no decent shelter, no regular livelihood? Is that how your savior Jesus treated the poor?'" (Winterson 2012: 62-63). Her sharp insight in and exposure of the context which rendered these women social outcasts indicates that she can see through the grand narrative of the violent English male world. Alice to one of the jailors: 'You have neither manners nor charm nor looks nor brains nor skill, and yet you are alive, while many women who did nothing but spin and weave and do their best have been hanged or burned.'" (Winterson 2012: 147). She further elucidates her economic-feminist position on the dominant understanding of witchcraft: "'If they think they are witches does that make them so?'" she asks. "'Such women are poor. They are ignorant. They have no power in your world, so they must get what power they can in theirs.'" (Winterson 2012: 55) These words serve as Winterson's

historical and social commentary on the phenomenon of witchcraft and witchcraft persecution, but they also make it plain that exploited women strive to assert themselves through some access to or delusion of power. The resentment to tyrannical male figures and male-dominated power structures in this novel is most evident in the character of Potts, who is the quintessential example of Winterson's self-centered hypocritical men, driven by repressed desire. Potts exercises his willful authority and deplores the period when there is "not a single broomstick to be seen on Pendle Hill" (Winterson 2012: 96-97), but he also represents an epitome of those who shape official discourse and record of what happened in the past in a process of selection, presentation, and distortion on account of particular standpoints and ideologies. Thus any claim to truthfulness of history is dispersed as Potts utters these words while discussing his role in this historical event with no other than William Shakespeare: "'There has been nothing as sensational until now. The Lancashire witch trials will be the first trials to be written as record. A great advantage in the pursuit of Diabolism.' 'Will you be doing the writing?' enquired Shakespeare. 'In my legal capacity, yes. I have written plays also, you know.'" (Winterson 2012: 111). The illusion of the possibility of an objectified history, in which facts could be arranged of their own accord, in a way, without any external "emplotment" (Hayden White 1973) is thus dispelled, further demonstrated in the following scene describing the documenting of the witch trial: "Potts was pleased with himself; he was writing a book. 'Shakespeare,' he thought as he scribbled away. 'Foolish fancy. This is life as it is lived.' 'Do you have to write a book?' asked Roger Nowell, who was sick of it all. 'Posterity. Truth. Record. Record. Truth—'" (Winterson 2012: 210). Unambiguously, Winterson's *The Daylight Gate* exposes the abuse of power, failure of justice and exploitation of the most marginalized and vulnerable in the community – "a pack of desperate miserable spoiled lives" (Winterson 2012: 110) – targeted by the mainstream due to competition for survival or more secure social standing. The strain of these conditions is conducive to turning people against each other, an operative imperative also of witch hunts. *The Daylight Gate* affirms Winterson's interest in challenging the patriarchal view of history and women's roles within it. Some other characteristics that support these fictional strategies of her narrative are the structure and narrative voice of the novel. Written in condensed and impressionistic chapters based on precise, bold and pared-down sentences that have a pithy and solemn effect, the narrative

emulates old-fashioned storytelling. The mingling of courtroom reporting, witness testimony, blunt statements, clipped narration and sermonic quality are both horrifying and strangely seductive, exemplified in the matter-of-fact depiction of rape: "Tom Peeper raped Sarah Device. He was quick. He was in practice" (Winterson 2012: 12). Through this innovative variation on "old" historical novel-writing, through discourses about the past that reverberate with ambiguity and multiple "truths" in representing past events, Winterson's novel demonstrates new qualities of the historical novel that effect a modification of this genre's earlier conventions.

4. Conclusion

Since the last decade of the twentieth century, the genre of historical fiction has become increasingly popular and prominent. Among the numerous contemporary practitioners of historical novel-writing women authors have considerable representation, broad reception and critical acclaim. The appeal of the genre for both writers and the public has afforded authors (particularly women writers) an opportunity to depart from conventional historical narratives and historical novelistic practices privileging men's experiences and heteronormativity in order to create alternate interpretations of history. Although Jeannette Winterson is not typically labeled a historical novelist, her literary output has continuously exhibited tendencies of re-examining the ways in which the past is represented in fiction. This awareness of history does not, however, equal an absolute acceptance of one interpretation of events, as Winterson's work demonstrates. This paper analyzes her 2012 novel *The Daylight Gate* as an example of how traditional historical narratives can be destabilized and reimagined in order to include the voices of the marginalized and subordinated who were left out from the official accounts of the past. This literary text embarks on an imaginative reworking of the widely known 1612 Pendle witch trial and focuses on the recuperation of the narratives of the most vulnerable people who have been written out of or misrepresented in previous historical narratives. The historical novel has proven an important genre that has allowed women authors such as Winterson to transcribe traditionally neglected historical voices and to reinvent the unrecorded or partially presented lives of the oppressed, especially women, the peasant and working classes. Such literary endeavors testify to both Winterson's

and the readers' need to renegotiate the past, challenge the definiteness of historical actions and interrogate the authority of history. These critical views are largely inspired by the examination of intersections between history and fiction in the wake of the theoretical challenges stemming from the linguistic turn. A number of scholars in historiography (including Hayden White) have implicitly or explicitly questioned the nature of history and the relationship between what we refer to as history and fiction, history and story, thus deconstructing the division between them. These approaches have hailed the destabilization of a single truth in favor of multiple "truths" as recognition of the subjectivity and the uncertainty in recounting past events. In a related vein, Linda Hutcheon and other authors have discussed historical narrativization in literary theory and criticism, probing the methods of retrieving the past, linking up historical events and converting them into narratives, while acknowledging the straddling of the borders between the discourses of history, story, and historical novels. These views of history and their use of narrative radically depart from representations in the "classical historical novel" or "old historical novels", such as those by Walter Scott in the early nineteenth century idealized by the Marxist critic Georg Lukács in his study *The Historical Novel.* In Winterson's work, the subverting of historical reality through narrative suspense, Gothic story elements, fantasy (in addition strategies related to historiographic metafiction) allows for the introduction of new voices and an oppositional critique into the master narrative of English history. Thus *The Daylight Gate* revises the earlier European tradition of the historical novel with the purpose to challenge versions of history established by hegemonies and to focus on the lives of the economically and socially marginalized, those who were elided from the pages of history. Accordingly, the use of experimentation and hybridization has resulted in new approaches to the historical novel that suggest a desire for writing receptive to the remarkable and complex ways in which our world and our perception of it have changed. By analyzing Winterson's *The Daylight Gate*, a perspective has been offered into the ways she has reinvigorated the genre and contributed to its development as a vehicle for recovering and rewriting the past indicative of the historical novel's transition from tradition to transformation.

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TRADITION TRANSFORMATION AND POSTCOLONIAL FEMINISM IN INDIA

Abstract
Between 'tradition and transformation' there is a liminal space of transition with its different aspects of dependencies and interdependencies of power relations, and features that encompass the process of negotiation and opposition of cultures. In the context of Indian postcolonial condition, transition was an arduous one. Tradition was inflected by colonialism and the transformation that took place thereby bore a complex picture of cultural superiority of the colonizer and inferiority of the colonized, especially that of the colonized woman. Considering the vast trajectory of literature in India including the tradition of women's literature from different socio-cultural groups, this paper argues that it would be wrong to universalize homogeneity. It examines and identifies certain issues relating to the possibilities of women's literature in India, which otherwise would have remained unresolved at a macro level and addresses that rooted in Indian tradition, feminism in India has shown the route to an inclusive cultural transformation without generating exclusivity or a tendency towards separatism.

Keywords: Patriarchy, Tradition, Transition, Transformation, Indian literary studies, feminism.

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1. Introduction

Discrimination against women is a potent force of unevenness in the twenty-first century across the world. To establish the dignity of human relationships across boundaries, feminist intervention and woman's rights activism have interrogated visible forms of ostracism and disenfranchisement influencing society but invisible forms continue in various ways in specific societies. Moreover, the growing menace of divisiveness in the world is seeing the faces of colonial-imperialism and influencing gender politics symptomatized by global dissatisfaction with intercultural ties. What measures plural feminism/feminism beyond boundaries can take to overcome the jarring challenges and generate an atmosphere of dialogue?

If unsettling to construe, I suggest that tensions and conflicts of gendered politics operative in a particular society demands flattening of differences and cannot be rejected both locally and globally. On the other hand, gendered politics is especially germane when the current emphasis is on 'woman's right is human right'. Although the above objectives operate on a seemingly different plane, I think the paths towards advancement demands perception of the impossibilities of 'monolithic operations' or external monolithic constructs about the differences that problematise a woman's identity. Moreover the internal differences cannot be overlooked. To make sense of the 'real' difficulty of moving towards a progressive knowledge, this paper will focus on debates pertaining to the distinctive nature of the women's question including woman's identity in Indian feminism.

Several feminist scholars and activists have argued that Indian feminism is unique because it is more practical than theoretical.[1] Besides, Indian feminism, I suggest, significantly demonstrates a different experience in the sameness of feeling for the woman's struggle for freedom (*mukti*). The point I am trying to make is that Indian feminism does not ineludibly indicate or generate exclusivity, and a tendency towards separatism. As examples the analysis will examine the feminist interventions and textual representations of some woman authors of Bengal/India, namely, Toru

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[1] See, Madhu Kishwar, 'Why I Do Not Call Myself a Feminist', *Manushi*, 1991. No. 63–4, pp 38–40; Madhu Kishwar. 'A Horror of "Isms": Why I do not Call Myself a Feminist', in Maitrayee Chaudhuri (ed.), *Feminism in India*, New Delhi: Kali for Women and Women Unlimited. Also, for more discussions on Feminism and India, see Maitrayee Chaudhuri, (ed.), 2004, *Feminism in India*, New Delhi: Kali for Women and Women Unlimited.

Dutt (1856-1877), the Chatterjee-sisters, Santa Devi (1893-1984) and Sita Devi (1895-1974), and Ashapurna Devi (1909-1995).

2. 'Feminism' – A Debated Term in India (a literary-historical analysis)

First let me clarify why 'feminism' is a debated term in India, not to mention the other Asian or African countries once colonised. Feminism as a theoretical approach did not exist in India or for that matter in Asia or in any ex-colonies. The reason behind this, as discussed by several feminists in India (eg. Aparna Basu 1976, Madhu Kishwar 1991, Radha Kumar 1993, Leela Kasturi and Veena Mazumdar 1994, Meenakshi Mukherjee 1995 amongst others)[2], is that feminism was not needed to be practiced exclusively. The fact that feminism as a separate theoretical apparatus was not essential in Indian society, does not signify that it is a "'pure' ahistorical ideal".[3] Rather, emptying India's history of all conflicts erases the cultural impositions on women, which were induced and accentuated by colonialism, and patriarchal needs simultaneously.

Moreover, as the colonial subordination impinged on the gender-sexuality dynamics and on the daily life of women in the nineteenth and twentieth century Bengali society (within Indian), the tradition of patriarchy did not vanish with the onset of colonialism in India. Patriarchy as "a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women", to use the words of Sylvia Walby,[4] reasserted itself as well as went through changes during the colonial period and even after India gained its independence in 1947. In the Indian context, however, several scholars have argued that the nationalist patriarchs (who also fought for the independence of the country) and the facilitators of women's cause could not be directly opposed to each other. In this regard, I suggest, not only was the male identity to be asserted afresh, but also the female identity became significant and in need of transformation.

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[2] For more on Indian feminism as advocated by these authors, see, Dipannita Datta. *Ashapurna Devi and Feminist Consciousness in Bengal*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.

[3] Maitreyee Chaudhuri, 2004: xvii.

[4] Sylvia Walby. *Theorising Patriarchy*. Oxford, London: Basil Black Well. 1990, 20.

In fact, owing to varied class, caste, religion, ethnicity and language practices and the problematic interlocking of the historical conflicts between the coloniser and the colonised, the diversity in Indian culture and society contributed largely to the inclusive approach of feminism in India. In a multilayered socio-cultural milieu, it is only natural that there were varied feminisms emerging from different parts of the country, but during the era of colonial rule all were directed towards one goal and that was independence of the country. Therefore, in spite of the internal differences men and women were not divided at least during the struggle for independence.While the 'women's question' was not seperated from the concerns of the larger struggle (the anti-colonial struggle or the struggle for independence) because majority of both men and women believed that there was no need for an exclusive domain for feminism, interventions on women's problems continued both at individual level and at collective level both by men and women.

Feminists, like Radha Kumar, Joanna Liddle and Rama Joshi, insist that women in India were also supported by 'our men', who were leaders of the Indian National Congress, in their demands for suffrage, (unlike the 'suffragettes who had to struggle for the vote').[5] In this respect, Indian feminist's movement sharply differs from the suffregette movement to which much of western feminism owes its roots. Kumari Jayawardena known for her pioneering work on feminist movement in Asia in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries defines feminism as '[...] embracing movements for equality within the current system and significant struggles that have attempted to change the system'.[6] Indian feminists like Vina Mazumdar links the anti-imperial/ anti-colonial struggle of the national movement with awareness of women's issues as 'the independence of the country and of women has become so intertwined as to be identical'.[7] In a similar vein,

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[5] Radha Kumar. *The History of Doing*: *An Illustrated account of Movements for Women's Rights and Feminism in India, 1800–1990*, New Delhi: Zubaan, 1993, 194-95; Joanna Liddle, and Rama Joshi. 'Gender and Imperialism in British India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 1985, Vol. 20, No. 43, WS 72–WS 78.

[6] Kumari Jayawardena. *Feminism and Nationalism in the Third World*, London: Zed Books, 1986, 2. Also see, Chaudhuri, 2004: xvi.

[7] Vina Mazumdar. 'Whose Past, Whose History, Whose Tradition?: Indigenising Women's Study in India', *Asian Journal of Women's Studies (AJWS)*, 2001, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp. 133–53 [135]. Also see in Maitreyee Chaudhuri, 2004: xxxi and in Dipannita Datta. *Ashapurna Devi and Feminist Consciousness in Bengal*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015, 23.

it can be said that colonialism and the suppression of women's issues were intertwined. Women's progress especially after 1914 was stalled.

As Dagmar Engels argues, 'women's issues were avoided at this time thanks to Gandhi's deployment of women in the Independence struggle'.[8] It must also be noted that in the nineteenth century the initiative of the social reformers, like, Iswarchandra Vidyasagar and Rammohun Roy prompted the legal initiatives to outlaw certain abuses (like sati and child marriage) and remove certain restrictions on women. Yet, in spite of their efforts to improve the conditions of women in India, Laws introduced by British administrators did not progress much; and there were reasons for that. The way the Personal Laws were constructed and with which the state arbitrated over women's legal rights contributed to an excessive scripturisation of Hinduism, which were never a religion of the Book.[9] Till the point the British could demonstrate the liberalising influence of Western culture, Britain defended her right to rule with arguments about Western cultural superiority. Any claims regarding the advanced position of British women played an important part in the construction of this ideology.[10] It is interesting to note here that cultural imperialism would soon take to political imperialism. The moral principle of female emancipation which had before 1914 been used to legitimate their rule was now eschewed for the sake of political stability. As observed by Liddle and Joshi, by 'maintaining women's subordination [the colonisers] could show that India was not yet fit for Independence'.[11] The rapacious colonial civilising mission of the 'modern' or progressive over the traditional or the 'savages' with their non-modern cultures and traditions, was on.

The history of feminism in India, however, was not merely the story of how colonialism exercised power. It was also about the history of attempts by the colonised, both men and women, to acquire power. In the heydays of colonial rule, the advocates of colonisation equated women with colonies.

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[8] Liddle and Joshi 1985, 74; Dipannita Datta. 2015, 15.

[9] Jasodhara Bagchi. (ed.), *Indian Women: Myth and Reality*, Hyderabad: Sangam Books. 1995: 3-8; Dipannita Datta. 2015, 15.

[10] See, Dagmar Engels 1983 and Liddle and Joshi 1985.

[11] Liddle and Joshi 74. The colonial government may have wished to free Indian women from male dominance, but they did not intend to do so by allowing them equal voting rights. It would indeed have been difficult for the British to agree to such a policy in India in 1919, since women in Britain were not granted the vote until 1928. See, Joanna Liddle and Rama Joshi 1985: 74.

This separatist idea of the coloniser defines the gender-sexuality dynamics to a certain extent prevalent in British-India and also explains how the colonised challenged the system from within. The idea also facilitated the concept of the 'other'. The controversies surrounding the western feminist interpolation into the 'native women's question' and assessment of Indians as unfit for self-rule, were deeply criticised with furious rejoinders to Katherine Mayo's allegations on *Mother India* (1927) by 'our men', like, Mahatma Gandhi and Rabindranath Tagore, the two proponents of anti-colonialism in India.[12] They asserted their anti-colonial stance and calmly dismissed the book as another tired apology for the 'colonial civilizing mission'.[13]

Simultaneously, it be noted at this juncture that while different types of patriarchy — brahminical patriarchy, tribal patriarchy, dalit patriarchy etc., took their own stances to preserve the indigeneity of India, feminists too, although differed in terms of their religious and regional variations, asserted their rights including their right to work for the love of country. So, it is difficult to avoid being cautious of the colonising approach or dominant feminist's proprietorial attitude of universalising homogeneity and monolithic constructs about the differences that problematise identity. There cannot be any generalised assumption of Indian or by extension Asian women as 'passive victims' or 'passive recipients of the welfare-enhancing help'.[14] This is not to suggest that colonial establishments did not show any way to progress or towards enhancing living conditions of women, but that was directed towards proving their own superiority.

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[12] Freedom' from the 'shackles of domesticity', and 'fearlessness', were the mottos of Gandhian mass mobilisation. Rabindranath took to women's education at different levels which would have practical benefit in day to day life. In brief, they showed the possibility that there can be an extension of the given' domain and that there was a mingling of male and female spaces.

[13] For further study, see Leela Gandhi "Postcolonialism and Feminism". *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction.* New Delhi. Oxford University Press, 1998.

[14] Amartya Sen 'Women and Men'. *The Argumentative Indian*, London: Penguin Books 2005, 222. Also see, Amos and Parmar in Chandra Talpade, Mohanty, 'Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism', *Feminism Without Borders*: *Decolonising Theory Practicing Solidarity*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003, p. 77, N 14. Amos and Parmar and Mohanty have described the cultural stereotypes present in Euro-American feminists thought and have critiqued the Euro-American for universalizing homogeneity of the image of a passive Asian woman subject to oppressive practices within the Asian family with an emphasis on wanting to 'help' Asian women liberate themselves from their roles...

In this complex scenario adapting the victorian duo – the 'private' and the 'public' – as a methodological approach would be risking simplification. A new challenge surfaced for the women of Bengal: how the spaces of Indian tradition and modernity should be negotiated? Partha Chatterjee, a postcolonial historian of repute observed, "after all, 'ours is the modernity of the once-colonised'. The same historical process that has taught us the value of modernity has also made us the victims of modernity. Our attitude to modernity, therefore, cannot but be deeply ambiguous. It is superfluous to call this an imagined past, ... [And] 'Those days' for us are not a part of an historical past; we construct it only to mark the difference posed by the present".[15] In this regard, the crisis of imitativeness within anti-colonial nationalism assumed existential proportions for its problem was not simply to produce, as Chatterjee puts it, 'a different discourse, yet one that is dominated by another'.[16] That is, although colonization made it imperative to introduce an absolute distinction between the 'Self' and the 'Other', the emergent nationalism made it equally imperative to stake out claims to sole representational authority over the self.[17] In this very act of defining the 'other', which defined the 'self' in each case with the essence of the other, home found a new meaning. The women of India were ensured freedom, but, that was highly synonymous with the freedom of maintaining the traditional 'spiritual' (feminine) ethos within the defined 'inner' space – the 'ghar'/the home.

This anti-colonial social space, thus introduced as one aspect of the nationalist project by our men, was to protect the 'the inner spiritual self, our true identity' and our women – its representation from the 'encroachments by the coloniser... in the inner sanctum'.[18] The 'outer' space of the 'material' interests, the 'bahir'/the world, remained 'typically the domain of the male' 'where *practical considerations* reign[ed] supreme' and 'where the battle would be waged for national independence'.[19] We get two pictures from this reading. One, for instance, a clear-cut 'separation of

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[15] Partha Chatterjee, 'Our Modernity'. *Sephis and Codesria*, Rotterdam & Dakar, 1997.

[16] Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World: A Derivative Discourse*, London: Zed Books, 1986, 42.

[17] See, Dipannita Datta. 2015 'Intoduction'.

[18] See Partha Chatterjee. 'The Nationalist Resolution of the Women's Question', in Kumkum Sangari and Sudesh Vaid (eds), *Recasting Women: Essays in Colonial History,* New Delhi: Kali for Women, 1989: 238–9. Also see, Dipannita Datta. 2015, 21.

[19] Partha Chatterjee 1989, 238-239.

the social space into *ghar* and *bahir*'[20] both exclusive of the other, and the second, a gendered division – where the category 'women' were labelled as repositories of the 'home' and 'men' were subsumed to face the treacherous terrain - the 'world'.

In brief, the responsibility of retaining the traditional culture of the nation, which was defined as nurturing the spiritual quality of national culture, was on women and home was seen as 'nation' in its embryonic form. The reintroduction of the traditional culture that was posited by the nationalists to maintain the 'cultural identity' and signify the 'difference' from the rulers led to several restrictions on women's participation in the public sphere or the area outside the demarcated area of protection.[21] This mode of reintroducing traditional culture, in which recasting of women took in various forms, created unease amongst generations of feminists and continues till date. Maitreyee Chaudhuri, a contemporary feminist, remarked, '[D]during the colonial period the negotiation led to a trend of essentialising 'Indian culture' and a construction of an image of recasted Indian womanhood as an epitome of that culture…[22]

With time, of course, there was a shift in the functional aspects of the social architecture, but to what extent did it change? How could women imagine of their freedom in such a social architecture thus constructed by the 'nationalist patriarchy'? Toru Dutt, the Chatterjee-sisters: Santa Devi and Sita Devi, and Ashapurna Devi continued to write in an arduous phase of transition and in an atmosphere of complexities and contentions and offered a rich account of how, through the combined process of reconciliation with and resistance to patriarchal ideology women were able to initiate changes and challenge the system from 'within'. But, how one could read the 'personal' and the 'political'? The following section, drawing upon Indias rich political and intellectual history of women's writings will address a set of inter-related themes: (1) to what extent has colonialism and its binary nationalism in India hindered and improved critical thinking of the authors Toru, the Chatterjee-sisters and Ashapurna Devi. (2) It will focus on how women forged out an identity by aligning themselves with the prevailing structure of the renewed patriarchy, (3) How far each of these authors negotiated the political concerns of the time?

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[20] Ibid., 238.

[21] Jasodhara Bagchi. 1995, 4.

[22] Maitreyee Chaudhuri. 2004, xix.

3. Feminist Interventions and Textual Representations

3.1 Toru Dutt

Among the women writers under discussion, Toru Dutt chronologically comes first. It is not simply for this reason that I start this part of the analysis with her. Dutt in her prose writings (eg., *Bianca*) and especially in the poems resolved the awful contradiction between the world which she wanted to write about and the language English she wrote in. Toru Dutt, was born in Bengal, and she was the first significant Indian woman poet and writer in English who did not surrender an anti-colonial intellectual position. She, rather, gave her anti-colonialism a significantly broader base by traversing the complex terrain of oppression and rebellion within and *beyond* the calculated spatial strategies. Particularly pertinent was her conviction that the colonial situation was used creatively.

Toru (as she was commonly called) was an outsider in both Indian and British society: by her gender by her race and colonial status in British culture, and in Indian culture by her Christianity and English education. This experience of separation/ displacement became more intense as she struggled to make the world her home. The horizon of difference, which I would call the two-way traffic, did not seem to meet. Toru was educated in France and Cambridge. She returned to Bengal to write most of her poems. Yet, her anxiety, even if she was writing from her place of 'origin', seemed impossible to evade. Toru did not suffer a literal geographical displacement but the imposed gap (which resulted because she was a Christian and was writing in English in an 'invaded colony' or in the language of the colonisers and especially when the anti colonial movement had already started in India) denied her the shelter—the rationally ordained life of continuity that the home ostensibly offers. The English too did not offer her a secured place because she was not writing from the 'original' place of that literature.

Toru did not submit to the challenges of the time, and resisted cultural norms of an emergent nationalism which promoted Bengali as a full-fledged literary language from the last quarter of the 19th century. For her, the very idea of national language (whether English or Bengali) itself was exclusionary. This raised questions about her knowledge of her mother tongue and her love for Bengal and India. Toru wished for "boyish freedom", which she described in her poem 'Savitri' (a poem re-written

from the *puranas*) and did not submit to the 'new' invisibility of the girl's work, which located a girl/woman primarily in the domestic sphere. She, rather, recognised and deplored the fact that the meeting of cultures had come largely on the back of colonial exploitation and imperial conquest and wanted to move beyond the static and oppositional view of civilisations, stressing the limitless potential for everyone—the coloniser and colonised alike—to realise a new, more consummate, identity.

In her pain and deprivation surfacing as colonial *ennui,* she wrote to her English friend Mary Martin: 'The free air of Europe and the free life there are things not to be had here […]. We cannot stir out from our garden without being stared at or having a sunstroke'.[23] In another letter Toru writes, 'it is considered "*infra dig*", unladylike, immodest, to walk in the street on foot'[24]. These and many other evidences from her letters confirm that it was not only the religious conviction aspect but also the question of family respectability and/or status that *exiled* Toru from the prevailing society.

Until recently, in the late 1990s, Toru Dutt was relegated to the critical outskirts because scholars were unsure how to engage productively with her work. A new generation of postcolonial feminists and transnational scholars, like Meenakshi Mukherjee, Chandani Lokuge and Kalpana Sharma, have brought about her critical rediscovery, thus helping the readers to develop critical understanding of Toru Dutt's work. These scholars have proposed several important potential contexts for her work – those of Toru as colonial conspirator, as an Indian nationalist, and as occupant of the free-floating in-between space but fails to consider her impressive agency as a writer—an agency that enabled her to strategically emphasise and minimise certain dimensions of her subjectivity for specific political, religious, or social purpose. While focusing primarily on the recent critical positioning of Toru, I analyse Toru's ability to privilege those aspects of her complex subjectivity and argue that if recent reclamation works are to be productive, the task of analysing her poetry needs to be approached both as an aesthetic and as a political.

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[23] K.R. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Indian Writing in English*, New Delhi: Sterling, 1983, p. 60. Dipannita Datta. 'Nationalism, Anti-Colonialism and Universalism in lmperial lndia: 'The Poetry of Toru Dutt'. Understanding Britain Reader 1. London: 2012, pp. 32-42 [35].

[24] Chandani Lokuge, *Toru Dutt: Collected Prose and Poetry*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006, p. 317. Also see, Dipannita Datta 2012.

The *Sonnet— Baugmaree*,[25] which is 'an original enquiry into the nature of personal and colonial identity',[26] is one poem in which such intricate formations emerge. Toru's 'hybrid' subjectivity (for example, and as the poem reflects) not only separated her from the nexus of the many determining ideologies like nationalism, imperialism, gender binarism and racism, but also it opened ways to the rich complexity of the interactions between and among those once seemingly unified constructs. The blending in herself of the complex subjectivity was a deliberate strategy to resist the violence of social injustice, which I think in turn enabled her to stitch together the different identities and disparate fragments of the "sharp contrasts of all colours" — the key line of the Sonnet — 'Baugmaree'. This conscious effort to overcome the boundary, both ideological and geographical, proves that young Toru had remarkable ability to discern the power of poetic language to resist the hegemonic culture of the coloniser quite instinctively.

Again, Toru was reminded of the brutal and random violence exerted against Indians by the British, and she returned to the subject in letters to Mary Martin, proving its tenacious hold over her. *Sonnet—Baugmaree* demonstrates that Toru was aware of India's colonial status, her own subjected position and Britain's imperial domination, and that the trumpet's sound could reach anywhere, even inside the private recesses of an Indian's garden. The poem also exemplifies Toru's aesthetic determination to destabilise the West's attempts to figure Britain's claims of legitimate colonial occupation.

The Sonnet—'The Lotus' is another forceful articulation of Toru Dutt's fertile imagination, her precocious craftsmanship and of the young poet's ability to discern the power of poetic language to achieve her particular political end. Simultaneously, 'The Lotus' can also be referred to as a poem that subverts many of the binaries like male/female, public/private, West/East etc. that the patriarchal ideology left essentially intact.

Furthermore, the lotus has been a persistent motif in ancient Indian poetry and mythology as an emblem of peace and tranquility. The serenity and purity that the lotus is associated with suggests hope and harmony for the nation; and Toru gracefully established the lotus as the unrivalled queen of flowers signifying 'seductively feminine Empire striking at the

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[25] First published in *Ancient Ballads and Legends of Hindustan*, London: Kegan Paul, 1882 (introduction by Edmund Gosse).

[26] Rosinka Chaudhuri, *Gentlemen Poets in Colonial Bengal*, Calcutta: Seagull, 2002, p. 4.

Centre'.[27] This spontaneous, innovative and bold attempt of Toru certainly demonstrates 'The Lotus' as a developed rendition of complex dimension, both cultural and political, heralding "the beginning of cultural fusion without surrendering indigenous identity'.[28]

[At this point we must remember that 1857 was the year of Sepoy Mutiny and which was the first mass uprise against the colonial rule]. Considering the all-round unrest that the nation was witnessing, Toru skillfully employed and blended international icons of mythic power to emphasise the superiority of the national icon through the cultural fusion effected through 'harmonious assimilation' of the 'Occidental' or Western red rose and white lily and the innate chemistry that empowers the lotus — the national flower of India. By engaging with the Western literary symbols and traditions — like the red rose, (a symbol of love, beauty and respect) and the white lily (a representation of purity and majesty), Toru projects lotus as the 'undisputed queen' by showing that the flower might be 'other' and strange, it is not separate from the lily and rose — instead, it is an amalgamation of their two colours.

Simultaneously, by emphasising on Flora's political power and stressing the hybrid nature of Lotus, Toru envisions gender equality and autonomy for the 'East' without separateness from the 'West'. In this respect 'The Lotus' can be assessed as a profoundly political poem. Toru Dutt has interspersed both the poems with patriotic flavour, or for that matter patriotic responsibility, as she transits between cultures, translating one into the other. So we can say that it was in the merging of the 'sharp contrast of all colours' that Toru found her strategic self and defined the other.

3.2 Santa Devi and Sita Devi

The Chatterjee sisters known as Santa Devi and Sita Devi hailed from the Brahmo faction of Hindu liberal upper middle class family in Bengal. A point to be noted here is that during the pre-independence days, even if the roles played by women (and men) from varied strata of the Bengali society were different, a major concern of all were directed towards one goal; and that was the independence of the country.

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[27] Chandani Lokuge 2012 xliv.

[28] Sanjukta Dasgupta. *Indian Literature*. Sahitya Akademi Journal. 1998, No. 187 [Sep-Oct], 208. Also see, Chandani Lokuge 2012 xliv.

In the early twentieth century colonial Bengal strands of western influence were witnessed in male writers, and the cultivation of western thoughts was but rare amongst the women writers of Bengal. It is in this interesting literary intersection of traditional Bengali writing and western-influenced literary writings in Bengali that the works of Santa Devi and Sita Devi were both found and lost. Their works were lost not because their writing was lacking in quality, but because a more complicated process was at work. Meenakshi Mukherjee, a postcolonial critique of creative literatures, argues, 'Literary texts get canonized in different and invidious ways…'[29] Not all categories of writing at a given time get equal attention and enter into literary circulation. Santa Devi's and Sita Devi's writings became prominent over a short period of time and their books soon became unavailable to readers and gradually died out. One reason of the decline was that the sisters were "Brahmos"—a faction of Bengali society averse to superstitious beliefs. They were quickly stamped as "militant" writers by the traditionalists (I use this word in an uncomplicated way) and their books went out of circulation, in spite of their richness of thought and interesting way of writing. Now, very few of their books are available even in the National Library.

Two trends of women's writings were distinctly visible in this period of literary history. The first trend included those individuals who highlighted the problems of women and yet kept themselves restricted within the then existing social norms. These writers stood against the attack of western education and culture on Hindu ways of life by supporting and singing the praise of the ideals and legitimacy of traditional Hindu religion. Anurupa Devi (1882-1958) and Nirupama Devi (1883-1951), the two prominent Bengali women writers are particularly mentionable among the writers of this group. The other trend of writing was constant adaptation of western thoughts without overruling the traditional norms. Santa Devi and Sita Devi belonged to this progressive stream of writers. Their literary creations reflected the coordination of their inlaid thoughts with western feminism, opening a new area of thinking and a new outlook to the women of Bengal.[30] The main focus of their writings was the constant analysis of the intricate mentality and change in emotional faculty of the females of

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[29] Meenakshi Mukherjee. *Perishable Empire*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2003, 13

[30] I have compared Santa Devi's and Sita Devi's work with G Eliot's, but here it is not within the scope of discussion. For further study see, Dipannita Datta. *A Caged Freedom*, Kolkata: Writers Workshop, 2001.

the society inundated by the diverse current of western education. They placed woman as a conscious and enlightened companion of man in the complicated and strifeful field of life's struggles.

Until 1936, when public opinion was roused and women's issues were taken up, the whole subject of women's education was 'riddled with contradictions'. Education, which was taken up as a nationalist project, not only promised freedom and equality but it was projected as a program that would shape the child for responsible citizenship. As far as Santa Devi's and Sita Devi's writings are concerned, same sentiments echoed regarding education and women's role in society and there were little that distinguished their work from the male writings of that time. Yet, their writings had a distinctive flavour of their own. They looked at life and society with a woman's own feeling and outlook. It ushered in a whole new range of possibility that was not thought of in early twentieth century Bengal. In the case of Santa-Sita, as also noticed in the case of Toru Dutt, we see there were several contradictions that the sisters had to contend with and that the question of religious conviction was not the only aspect that displaced the sisters from the prevailing society, albeit reasons were different. Right from their early phase of writing, the sisters expressed their doubt on developing characteristics according to gender analysis and thereby shaped a new approach to society and ethics. They believed that the very notion of polarization was derogatory to any social development and daringly introduced coeducation schools and colleges (where girls and boys could mix freely) in their first novel *Udyanlata* (*Garden Creepers*, both 1919).

Points to be noted here are: (i) Both sisters voiced their protests against the system (both patriarchal and imperial) but not against the males. (ii) Both of them insisted on education in their agenda towards social development and maintained that the basic elements, like fear and guilt, that have the potential to kill self-determination—were to be erased first from the psyche of both men and women. (iii) Both, although brought up in a liberal Brahmo atmosphere, were not against the Hindu religion. Both the sisters celebrated all the Hindu festivals, which their father Ramananda Chattopadhyay (the renowned political journalist in British-India) also appreciated and promoted.

In her own life, Santa Devi unlike her sister Sita Devi did not participate in the anti-colonial movements, but stood firmly against the British policy of 'divide and rule'. The policy that not only divided the Indian nation

into a geographical cage but also divided the Indian people amongst themselves in terms of religion. The imposition of the Hindu marriage bill by the British administration is a case in point. Santa Devi declined to sign a legal document saying, "I am not a Hindu", during her marriage with the Indian historian Kalidas Nag (whose identity as a Hindu was only derived from his identity as an Indian, or, whose identity as a Hindu was only second to his identity as an Indian).[31] Simultaneously, both the sisters consciously pursued to portray a model non-Hindu tradition in their novels, which were also systematically integrated with the tradition. In this sense they contributed significantly to widening the aesthetic and cultural atmosphere of the time. Their undogmatic defence of ideas concerning allegiance to human ties that resists separatism and promotes an exchange of views and culture (both of which are vital aspects of education) are reflected in *Udyanlata*.

This novel was a joint venture of Santa Devi and Sita Devi and they wrote it in the name of Sanjukta Devi (Sanjukta meaning being together). For both the sisters, it was unacceptable to have a communication, be it in love or in creative aspirations, restricted by artificial boundaries— geopolitical or ideological. Mukti, the female protagonist of the novel exemplifies this search, and also manifests the search of a "new woman" (as posited by Partha Chatterjee 1989). The novel additionally reflects the thinking of the world poet and philosopher Rabindranath Tagore who intrepidly proclaimed 'no education becomes a vital part of ourselves' until seen as a common, human heritage.[32] Thus Mukti, the name which bears its symbolic significance in the text because it means freedom in Bengali, was invented to read Marie Corelli (pseudonym of Mary Mackay 1855-1924) and George Eliot (pseudonym of Mary Ann Evans 1819-1880), proposing exchange of ideas and artistic achievements were important for changes to take place in a society.

This idea of creative freedom, suggesting women' uplift, was considered absurd within the normative framework of colonial Bengal. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bengal was marked by internal repression and colonialism in India, and women were under double subjugation. On the other hand, the concept of woman as the "weaker sex" which was very much prevalent in England, especially the Victorian

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[31] See Dipannita Datta, 2001.

[32] Rabindranath Tagore. *The Oxford Tagore Translations*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2001, 188.

England as portrayed in the novels of Corelli and Eliot influenced the literary scenario in Bengal/India. In *Udyanlata*, the authors initiated the concept of "weaker sex" in a new way and introduced the vibrant images of girls and boys going to school.

The novel was indeed an intentional leap from the traditional norms. It was also challenging the new standards introduced by the British administration so as to make the girl (the so called "weaker sex") conscious of a new sphere of life that was chosen to be a male child's priority and rarely a necessity for a female child. Thereby, they implanted a new stream of thinking and brickwork for the girls who were looking for ways to liberate themselves from the strict conventional and dominant norms operative in society. The novel represents full of lively moments with a new generation of educated and career-oriented girls and boys having an equal share of experience and normal exchange of thought and activity that was not contemplated by any other novelist of their time. But, this 'new' freedom, according to Partha Chatterjee, has been accorded to women by the 'new nationalist patriarchy' that 'had to be normalised' enabling women to speak for themselves'.[33]

Mukti is undoubtedly an admirable woman endowed with all feminine qualities; she is also a fiercely independent spirit, confident of her own choices and ability to think them through for herself, a woman no less capable of sound reasoning and decision making, often more so, than her male counterparts such as Dhiren. Neither should the sisters' appreciation of women-as-mothers be understood as part-and-parcel of the then dominant nationalist project in which 'the loving relationship between mother and son' came to supplant the fractured ideology of Hindu conjugality based on a defensive valorisation of child marriage.[34] In contrast to the new anti-colonial nationalist scenario in which the woman is deified as Mother Goddess and seen to represent the Motherland, only to be subordinated in real life, Mukti is very much a flesh-and-blood woman, with her own distinctive voice and agency rooted in her loving capabilities but greatly enriched by her key role as a dispenser of wisdom, a torchbearer for the younger generation and initiator of action.

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[33] Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993, 133.

[34] For a theoretical approach to child marriage, see, Tanika Sarkar. *Hindu Wife, Hindu Nation: Community, Religion, and Cultural Nationalism*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2001.

Yet, it is the women characters (like, Mokhshada, Khuku, Hemnalini, Kamini, and Aparna) in this novel and not only Mukti who are the movers and shakers. They are true figures of revolution, able to stand up to oppressive conventions and bear public consequences. If this domain belongs to Mukti, Mokshada on the other hand constitutes the literary representations of women who have internalized patriarchal beliefs and serve to reproduce them, thus disproving any necessarily direct, or natural, link that might suggest to exist between women and radicalism, or women and loving kindness. These traits in the novel cut across gender boundaries, even as they are foregrounded through a number of leading female characters.

Furthermore, with regards to 'the novelists with their "realist" ambitions, the problem of sculpting a new woman took an added dimension. Fiction had to negotiate the uneasy fit between the "myriad microscopic assumptions" that went into creating the "reality-effect" of the nineteenth-century European novel and the everyday worlds in Calcutta that was mediated by a thousand other forms and ideologies that the novelists and their readers lived in. It was not enough for these writers that the woman should only be an efficient homemaker and a supportive companion. They needed a new woman molded into such proportions that the hero could plausibly fall in love with her'.[35] In other words, 'in the writings of Santa Devi and Sita Devi we get [insights into] how women wrestled with these projects, infusing into them totally illegitimate extensions and indecorous deviations'.[36]

Having spoken briefly about Santa Devi and Sita Devi, their writing skill, balanced practical outlook and their distinct ways of conceptualizing feminism beyond boundaries, we will now turn to Ashapurna Devi and her insights into creative feminism.

3.3 Ashapurna Devi

Unlike Toru Dutt or Santa Devi and Sita Devi, Ashapurna Devi was homebound and a devout Hindu woman. The authenticity of Ashapurna's fictional representation is beyond question for she is one woman-writer of

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[35] Dipannita Datta, 'Womanhood, a Myth and Reality', *South Asian Review*. 2004, Vol. 25, No. 1, pp. 327–44 [330].

[36] Ibid.

twentieth century Bengal who was not readily influenced by the English language or literature. She was unacquainted with formal or even informal English education. Yet, Ashapurna's narratives articulated a new way of portraying women in creative literature: a way that linked the question of freedom and justice to the identity of the woman as an individual. This is the hallmark of Ashapurna's narratives. Yet, her seminal attempt to analyse women's situation with intellectual sophistication is one of the least read works in current feminist critical enterprise. The reading in this section aspires to show Ashapurna's unique quality of offering a feminist critique of the male ordering by interrogating the situation in the public front.

Ashapurna clearly maintained in her wide ranging works, from poetry to prose writings and also in her public lectures/essays,[37] that despite various contradictions and pressures of various ideologies in relation to their material circumstances, a way to an independent representation and expression of identities may be initiated through the solidarity of the discriminated. I will read a small portion from Ashapurna's comment on the cultural marginalisation of women and on ways to overcome oppression operative in society as indicated in her 1995 lecture/essay "India woman: Myth and Reality".

Women need *a special kind of self-sufficiency*; [this] can come only with the consolidation of female power. In our society, women often stand in the way of other women's development. This is an inescapable truth... [Any] agitation around the term, *woman's emancipation*, will not emancipate women. What is needed is power... the power of sacrifice and detachment, *the power to liberate oneself* from the narrow confines of self-interest, the strength *to tear apart that veil of false consciousness* and *to stand out in the splendour of one's dignity*.... It is important to remember that *the struggle is against injustice and inequality*, *not against the male sex*. If we have to proceed towards a better society it will not do for the two sexes to behave as if we were perpetually on a battleground.... Equal rights can be ensured only when men and women have attained the *same level of consciousness*...[38]

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[37] See, Dipannita Datta. *Ashapurna Devi and Feminist Consciousness in Bengal*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015.

[38] This essay 'Indian Women Myth and Reality' is a 1989 lecture of Ashapurna at Jadavpur University. It was published in Jasodhara Bagchi. (ed.), *Indian Women: Myth and Reality*, Hyderabad: Sangam Books.1995. See Ashapurna Devi. 1995:22-23. I have used this essay for its unique cultural commentary in the light of post-feminist thought, suggesting

Such a trenchant understanding of the man-woman relationship is indeed a modern critique on certain gendered assumptions prevalent in society. For Ashapurna there was nothing wrong in retaining the dignity of traditional ethos and preserving the spirituality of national culture; yet, with remarkable authority she attended to the complexities regarding gender-sexuality dynamics operational in society and probed into the conventional understanding about women's struggle against injustice and inequality. Ashapurna's suggestion towards imparting a sense of solidarity as quoted above and which is also evident in many of her texts, invested Indian feminism with a renewed/transformed dimension of a balanced practical feminism, where human values ruled supreme, with perfect awareness of the oppression that women experienced because they were rendered powerless.[39] The *self-sufficiency* that Ashapurna calls for is, thus, not only about reclaiming an agency for the self denying the other (i.e separating woman from men as social groups or Indian from non-Indian), but also a sufficiency of the self that will begin a resistance to different forms of domination in terms of both needs and rights, with emphasis on women's rights.

Adopting an optimistic view of what Ashapurna says, the analysis may seem to become complicit with the 'silencing' projects of patriarchy and imperialism. Ashapurna is not willing to forget the past. In her last novel (*The Story of an Antahpur of Old Kolkata* 1995) she returns to the days of the *antahpur* (when women lived in a space of their own, though that was a secluded domain). The novel not only marks the difference posed by the present but also it records her deep concern about the silent side of history. She writes:

> Life moves on without a pause. Times are also changing. Along with that, even the views of life undergo a change ... but the *past* can never be erased from memory. Therefore, I continued writing about life….[40]

Ashapurna's feminism gave directions to analyse the politics of the ongoing everyday subordination of women — the subordination that is related to other social formations as well. See, Dipannita Datta. *Ashapurna Devi and Feminist Consciousness in Bengal*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2015, 23.

[39] For further studies on Ashapurna, see, Dipannita Datta 2015.

[40] Ashapurna Devi 1988 in conversation with Partha Chatterjee. See, in Dipannita Datta 2015.

For Ashapurna to construct the future, 'those days' of colonial rule could not be a historical past. Rather, she was unable to underestimate 'the psychologically tenacious hold of the colonial past on the post-colonial present'.[41] With such an understanding of the linear progression of time where 'differences' and 'borrowings' become a complicated process, Ashapurna opens up the debate on the place of gender in a renewed way in which we will see that the relationships between man-woman, inside-outside, West-nonwest cannot be directly oppositional to each other.

By way of responding to the silenced contours of the position of women in colonial India, Ashapurna observed in her preface to the novel *Pratham Pratisruti*, (which bagged the prestigious national Jnanpith award in 1977, translated as *The First Promise*)

> H[h]istory has invariably overlooked the dynamics of the domestic world. That domain has always been neglected. This book is about an unknown woman who was among those who carved out the etchings of a promise from within those ignored interior spaces of Bengal.[42]

Ashapurna's emphasis here is on the subdued/muted position of women where the acknowledgement of their experiences was concealed from the histories of colonial society. To grasp the question of 'becoming' as articulated by Ashapurna, we must consider the 'problematic' interlocking of historical conflicts, which she believed triggered the process of marginalising women and subverting their voices. (We have already discussed the 'problematic' interlocking and will not go into details here). What needs to be considered here is, Ashapurna continued to write in that atmosphere of complexities and contentions and offered a rich account of how, through the combined process of reconciliation with and resistance to patriarchal ideology, women were able to initiate changes and challenge the system from 'within'. She said, India's history was not a history of 'begging' or 'pleading' (*Subarnalata*). India has its own culture and women have

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[41] Leela Gandhi. *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1998, 6.

[42] *Pratham Pratisruti* in Bengali was published in Kolkata: Mitra and Ghosh1964. The Translation in English—*The First Promise* — was done by Indira Chowdhury and published in New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2004. The translations used here are from Chowdhury. For a discussion on Ashapurna's feminist insights, see, Dipannita Datta 2015.

proved their intellectual acumen and their might in anti-colonial struggles. Indian women's revenge, at least during her time, was not on the male sex, but, against the system of injustice that ruled over class, caste and gender. The protagonist Satyabati's (*First Promise*) appeal for justice from the British police is a good example. 'Satya was in full flow' and said—

> Just tell me why you've opened your courts of justice? … There are heaps of sins that have collected over centuries. If you can rid us of those, only then would I say that you deserve to be law-makers. Why have you taken on the guise of ruler in another's land? Why can't you just huddle into your ships and leave?'[43]

It is quite clear from the above assertion of Satya, or Satyabati – the eternal truth seeker, that she rages on about inadequate social measures. Ashapurna through Satyabati lifts the veil of the prevalent double standards in Bengali society, in pre-independent India and constructs women's demands around women's domestic, beyond the domestic and issues regarding domestic and against social oppression. But she was reminded of her misplaced hope on the colonial masters. Master Bhabotosh Biswas, Satyabati's and her husband Nabakumar's English teacher, made Satyabati aware of the need for developing self responsibility in building up a nation and her 'naïve faith in colonial justice and reform'. Bhabotosh Biswas, commenting on Satyabati's demand for justice from the colonial masters and her hope that the British laws would remove the social ills, remarked, 'that's a task for us'.[44] From his slanting remark we can draw that Ashapurna makes her readers conscious about the fact that through the legislation of pro-woman laws the colonial state might have proved its administrative pragmatism, but as far as implementations and social transformations were concerned the work had to commence from 'within'. Yet, it is through the same master that the congratulatory response of the officer to Satyabati's courage is conveyed. Thus, without rejecting the hope on the colonial masters Ashapurna emphasised that it was the responsibility of the nationalists to retain the identity of the home-India and strengthen women's position from the dominant idea of the Indian woman as an 'oppressed subject'.

A space was created for women by a woman. Satyabati showed the possibility of a flicker of light at the end of the tunnel. This was possible for Satyabati partially because her father Ramkali would patiently listen

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[43] *The First Promise* 484.

[44] Ibid. 485.

to his daughter's observations and 'reflect on the ways in which atrocities were masqueraded as social custom and traditional practice'.[45] Her father acknowledged Satya's unflinching approach to truth, but truth seeking formed the core of her character.

Satyabati like a true Indian woman maintained the emotional needs of a family life. She attended to the daily grinds of household matters meticulously and at last took to her 'own self into consideration' and became self sufficient at the same time.[46] For thirty years of her married life Satya provided true care to the family members. She did not mind calling a 'Sahib' (non-Indian/Western) doctor to treat her ailing husband Nabakumar, despite the obvious ridicule she endured. She was also extremely alert about the need for education and thus she would not allow her daughter Subarnalata to remain uneducated. At the same time she refused to expose her children, including her sons to the extravagant life style of the 'wealthy' Calcuttans.[47] She proved that by attending the daily grinds of household matters one could earn a keep and have a space of her own through sheer motivation. Satyabati, after moving to Calcutta took advantage of living in a nuclear family and taught adult women. Thereby, she showed the possibility that there can be an extension of the 'given' domain. But to retain that possibility, education should be promoted which has the potential to extend the boundary.

In *Pratham Pratisruti* (The First Promise) what Ashapurna Devi reminds us is that the "unknown" girl Satyabati who was given away in marriage at the age of eight to maintain the social norms were kept under strict surveillance of Brahmanical regulations. Yet, with a 'nose-ring dangling, heavy anklets round her feet' Satyabati continued the struggle for years at every step, battling against family control, mental violence of the kulin polygamy and social prejudices, to build the 'road on which the Bakuls and Paruls (the third generation women, i.e., Satyabati's granddaughters) are striding ahead'.[48] She was not aware that she was making history yet the path was laid. It is worth noticing that these women, as Ashapurna claims–our 'mothers, grandmothers and great-grandmothers' – were lonely but

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[45] Ibid. xix.

[46] Ibid. 531.

[47] For eg., Ibid. 335.

[48] See, Dipannita Datta 2015, 25.

not alone.[49] It was a collective effort of building the roads and the ledge to move forward towards the mission. But such struggles do not find a place in the pages of history.

Satyabati's last letter to her daughter Subarnalata is another fine example of the dynamism that Indian women were endowed with and the patience with which such women answered themselves 'staking their claim where they [were] not allowed to tread'.[50] I quote small portions from her letter. Satyabati writes,

> [H]aving analysed human behaviour time and again, I know now that it is easy enough to judge others harshly. Those who appear to do wrong, or what in others eyes might constitute a crime, do not always act with a deliberate intent to harm. Most acts out of ignorance are simply because they are misled. However, when such ignorance clashes with the saving of a young and innocent life, it is not easy to maintain calm... What is needed is patience. No task can be completed unless one is willing to move with care and with endless patience... I started a school for girls soon after my arrival here [in Varanasi]... When I first started, I had to beg people to send their girls. Now a lot of people bring their daughters voluntarily. The need to educate women has begun to be felt by many.[51]

Thus, from Ashapurna's perspective it was not right to lay blame on all men or on all those we think are unjust to women. What was needed was a change in the process of upbringing and socialisation. For her there was no question of revenge as far as a man-woman relationship was concerned. *The primary effort should be to overcome the weakness of ignorance, which is the real enemy to the progress of society*. When God created the opposite sexes, 'in His eyes they were not different; and certainly, one was not created just to serve the other'. Women like Satyabati and Subarnalata had clear perception of their marginalisation. Yet, they never dreamt of a world where men were treated as their enemy. 'In time, men will learn

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[49] Ibid.

[50] The novel *Subarnalata* is the sequel of *Pratham Pratisruti*. The novel was published in Kolkata: Mitra and Ghosh, 1967. The translation bears the same name *Subarnalata*. All page numbers here are from Gopa Mazumdar, (Tr.), *Subarnalata*, Chennai: Macmillan, 1997. See, Mazumdar, 1997, 159. For discussions, see, Dipannita Datta 2015, 26.

[51] *Subarnalata* 1997: 158, 159, 160. Also see Dipannita Datta 2015.

this important lesson. But that is not all'. Women too have to learn their lessons.[52] If changes were to be brought about, women too needed to make an effort to overcome not only the patriarchal culture that has created a gulf between the sexes but also the complexities of the material/spiritual dichotomy.

As I conclude I would like to point out that all the authors discussed were unable to underestimate the past. And, as they took recourse to the past they assessed the past from the point of view of the current situation and envisioned a non-sectarian future for all. For each of these women writers, literary feminism or creative feminism was a voyage of discovery of the self, of the national self and of all humans accross the planet Earth. In the wide spectrum of responses generated by the British rule in India, their evolving position eventually stood out in its conviction that the colonial situation be used creatively to the long-term benefit of the Indian women and men (and they were not thinking merely of the elites) above and over the historical fact of colonial rule and its injustices. Today, globalism is understood as a similar expression of colonialism. Feminism as an advanced discourse on the uplift of women, as Toril Moi observed, is on the verge of erasure. These authors of an ex-colony and now a third world country could think of a relationship between the personal and the philosophical, and they linked themselves to the political reality of the time. Their feminist approach towards future developments makes us think about equality in a broadened sense and can help the home and the world meet the challenges posed by the forces of globalisation. I suggest that colonial legacy enabled the women of the third world or women of the global south sustain the first world feminist.

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[52] For a discussion see, Dipannita Datta 2015, 128-130.

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THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE IMMIGRANT'S IDENTITY AND THE TRADITIONAL AND CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL CONCEPTS IN THE TRANSLATION OF GISH JEN'S SHORT STORIES

Abstract
Since Gish Jen was born to the Chinese immigrant parents in New York City, it is no wonder that her work provides a good insight into the immigrant's experience. With reference to Derrida's concepts of the *arrivant* and hospitality, the paper focuses on some issues that Gish Jen raises in her work: the transformation of the immigrant's identity in America, the interaction between the two cultures and cultural and identity clashes. The paper also focuses on the strategies used to translate into the Serbian language such a work that contains some Chinese culture-specific concepts and phrases.

Key words: tradition, culture, transformation, immigrant identity

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1. Introduction

The paper focuses on the issues that Gish Jen writes about in her collection of short stories *Who's Irish?*: the transformation of the Chinese immigrant's identity when he comes into contact with the American culture, the differences between the Chinese and American culture and how they influence and affect each other, the reaction of the Americans to Chinese immigrants, the cultural and identity clashes which occur when it comes to immigrant adapting to the life in America. These issues are viewed here in the light of Derrida's concepts of the *arrivant* or the 'newcomer'[1] and hospitality. This paper also deals with the fact that some traditional and contemporary Chinese cultural concepts in Jen's stories may represent a challenge in literary translation and some strategies for dealing with this challenge are suggested.

Since Gish Jen writes about the American and Chinese culture that come into contact and interact, her stories illustrate what Edward Said wrote: "But the history of all cultures is the history of cultural borrowings. Cultures are not impermeable […] Culture is never just a matter of ownership, of borrowing and lending with absolute debtors and creditors, but rather of appropriations, common experiences, and interdependencies of all kinds among different cultures. This is a universal norm" (Said 1994: 217). Derrida also connects culture and hospitality, saying that: "Hospitality is culture itself and not simply one ethic among others" (Westmoreland 2008: 3). Jeanne Sokolowski also used Derrida's concepts of hospitality and *arrivant* to address in Gish Jen's novel *The Love Wife* the issues the Chinese immigrants face in the United States, emphasizing that: "Derrida's work on hospitality has been relatively underutilized within the field of Asian American Studies" (Sokolowski 2012).

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[1] Reverso: Online dictionary: French-English translation of words and expressions, definition, synonyms; *Accessed April 16, 2016,* http://dictionary.reverso.net/french-english/arrivant.

2. The immigrant as the *arrivant* and the transformation of the immigrant's identity

When Derrida explains the concept of *arrivant*, he says:

> One does not expect the event of whatever, of whoever comes, arrives, and crosses the threshold – the immigrant, the emigrant, the guest, or stranger. But if the new *arrivant* who arrives is new, one must expect – without waiting for him or her, without expecting it – that he does not simply cross a given threshold. Such an *arrivant* affects the very experience of the threshold, whose possibility he thus brings to light before one even knows whether there has been an invitation, a call, a nomination, or a promise [...] What we could here call the *arrivant*, the most *arrivant* among all *arrivants* [...] is whatever, whoever, in arriving, does not cross a threshold separating two identifiable places, the proper and the foreign, the proper of the one and the proper of the other [....] (Derrida 1993: 33-34)

It can be said that in Gish Jen's stories the *arrivants* are the Chinese immigrants who, as Derrida says, do not cross an already existing threshold, but they create a new one when they come to a new country by bringing with themselves the elements of their Chinese culture to America and trying to reconcile the elements of the Chinese and American cultures. Therefore, these immigrants do not separate two places, the one from which they are coming and the one to which they are coming. In the story "Who's Irish?", Gish Jen shows that the first-generation immigrants can adapt to a new country and transform their identity to a certain degree, but, at the same time, these immigrants very much rely on the old customs and traditions. In this story, an ageing Chinese mother who emigrated to America a long time ago and who is now sixty-eight (Jen 2000: 5) comes to live with her daughter, Nattie, the daughter's Irish-American husband, John, and their young daughter, Sophie. When she comes to America, the old lady doesn't speak English and doesn't have any money (Jen 2000: 4). But she learns some English and tries to adapt to the American way of life and as a result of that she manages to have her American dream and have her own restaurant business and no mortgage (Jen 2000: 4). At the same time she cannot wholly relinquish the old Chinese customs. The Chinese and American cultural concepts clash in her and she says: "In America,

parents not supposed to spank the child" (Jen 2000: 9), whereas in China it is supposed to be done in order to teach a child not to misbehave (Jen 2000: 9). Then she says: "In China, daughter take care of mother. Here it is the other way around" (Jen 2000: 5). Then, as the old lady believes, "Chinese people don't think a daughter is so great" (Jen 2000: 7). But, her daughter's Irish-American mother-in-law has only sons and regrets not having a daughter (Jen 2000: 7), so it is apparently all right to have a daughter in America. The old lady also considers her granddaughter's Chinese side of her character to be "nice" and her Irish-American side to be "wild" (Jen 2000: 6).

As Derrida says, the *arrivant* doesn't simply cross the given threshold, but "an *arrivant* affects the very experience of the threshold" (Derrida 1993: 33), that is to say, in the story "House, House, Home" Pammie creates her own new threshold to cross when she marries Sven, her American husband. Sven and Pammie even physically, not only symbolically, cross a new threshold in their lives. In the story, when Sven asks her to come away with him for a weekend, which marks the beginning of their relationship: "He stepped off the brick path as he spoke, onto a small patch of gravel to let people pass. An archipelago of scrappy grass grew up through the stones. Pammie stepped off the path, too […]" (Jen 2000: 145). They step over a newly created threshold into the unchartered territory for both of them. Pammie is the *arrivant* who, upon entering the marriage, creates and crosses a new threshold, trying to bring some elements of her Chinese culture to her American husband. She thinks she brings something new to her husband because he even becomes interested in Chinese art (Jen 2000: 164). But she realizes that crossing the threshold doesn't have the same meaning for her husband. He doesn't study Chinese art to be closer to her culture and heritage, it is simply something new to explore and to her it is the "proof that Sven had seen her as other, as not-self, as object to his subject, someone he expected to scrutinize, not to be scrutinized by" (Jen 2000: 165).

Derrida goes on to say:

No, I am talking about the absolute *arrivant*, who is not even a guest. He surprises the host – who is not yet a host or an inviting power – enough to call into question, to the point of annihilating or rendering indeterminate, all the distinctive signs of a prior identity, beginning with the very border that delineated a legitimate home and assured lineage, names and language,

nations, families and genealogies. The absolute *arrivant* does not yet have a name or an identity. It is not an invader or an occupier, nor is it a colonizer, even if it can also become one (Derrida 1993: 34).

In her stories "Who's Irish?" and "Chin", Gish Jen writes that the immigrant always in a way surprises the host, as Derrida says, to the point that many things can be jeopardized: the identity of the host, the borders that determine the host's home and the host's concept of a family (Derrida 1993: 34). The immigrant does not come as an invader or an occupier, but sometimes he unintentionally becomes one (Derrida 1993: 34) as it is the case in the story "Who's Irish?". The Chinese mother is the *arrivant* who is not a guest in a true sense of the word because her daughter does not ask her mother to live with her out of a filial duty to her mother, but she asks her mother to live with her in order to have a free baby-sitter who will look after Sophie (Jen 2000: 5). On the other hand, the old lady thinks that according to Confucius's teachings, the young should look after their ageing parents. (Jen 2000: 3) Tatjana Andrejević says that Confucius's teachings:

> still shape the mentality of the Chinese people (although these ideas were officially banned by the Communists) […] The basic canons of Confucian thought are obedience to and respect for superiors and parents, duty to family, loyalty to friends, honesty, humility, sincerity and courtesy […] Xiào (filial piety, "of a son") is considered among the greatest virtues and has to be shown towards both the living and the dead (Andrejević 2011: 282).

Derrida says that upon his arrival, the *arrivant* doesn't have an identity (Derrida 1993: 34). In this story, the daughter knows who her mother is, of course, but, she doesn't know what her mother really will be like when she comes to live with her. Therefore, as far as the daughter is concerned, her mother gains a new identity the moment she crosses the threshold of her home. It leads to the confrontation between the two women, to the confrontation between the old Chinese and the modern American view on life. For example, the Chinese grandmother goes to the park with her granddaughter. To the grandmother's utter astonishment, the three-year-old girl stands up in her stroller in the park and takes off all her clothes and throws them into the fountain. (Jen 2000: 8) We learn from the

grandmother's story that Amy, who once babysat Sophie, encouraged her to do that, saying that the little girl "should love her body" (Jen 2000: 8).

The mother's arrival surprises Nattie, the host, in a sense that the mother makes Nattie defend her way of life, the way she brings up her own daughter Sophie and makes her defend her husband John who doesn't have a job and according to the old lady, the members of John's family are incapable of finding one (Jen 2000: 4). Nattie justifies her husband going to the gym frequently by saying that "he will be depressed (Jen 2000: 5)" and "no one wants to hire someone who is depressed" (Jen 2000: 5). When her husband finally finds a job, although he will not keep it for too long, she buys her husband "some special candy bars from the health-food store. They say THINK! on them, and are supposed to help John think" (Jen 2000: 6). When Nattie's little daughter Sophie misbehaves, she cannot deal with her because she has some big presentation at work the following day (Jen 2000: 9) and she forbids her mother to raise Sophie the way the old lady thinks she should. Nattie doesn't allow her mother to criticize her husband and tells her mother she shouldn't say "Irish this, Irish that." (Jen 2000: 3). But the old lady cannot help commenting on her son-in-law's flaws: "I especially cannot understand my daughter's husband John, who has no job but cannot take care of Sophie either. Because, he is a man, he say …" (Jen 2000: 5). And finally she says to herself disapprovingly: "John lost his job again, already" (Jen 2000: 15). The old lady knows how to defend herself and her views and how to surprise her hosts with an outrageous remark. She doesn't like to hear the comments about her granddaughter's brown skin made by her son-in-law's family (Jen 2000: 6). She also comments that their "talk is like this sometimes, going around and around like a Christmas-tree train" (Jen 2000: 6). Therefore, she decides to put a stop to it by saying: "Maybe John is not her father" (Jen 2000: 7). Thus, she almost causes a "train wreck" (Jen 2000: 7). Finally, it leads to the following outcome: "No one ever mentioned the word brown to her again" (Jen 2000: 7).

In the story "Chin", a Chinese immigrant family and an American family live next door. The story is narrated by an American boy. Having the Chinese immigrant family next door makes him think about the things that he has never considered before and, as Derrida says, the *arrivant* becomes surprised (Derrida 1993: 34) by the Chinese family. The narrator starts to wonder "why everybody suddenly had to have a special food" (Jen 2000: 107). Before he met the Chinese, nobody in his neighbourhood

had had special food, "unless you wanted to count fries." (Jen 2000: 107). The boy says that the Chinese "were definitely proliferating" (Jen 2000: 107) in his neighbourhood, thus implying that the ethnic structure of their neighbourhood is undergoing a change and the neighbourhood sees this new family as someone who calls into a question the borders of their own home and their identity. This is probably why a cherry bomb was thrown into the Chinese family's kitchen (Jen 2000: 108). And also the narrator of the story wants to know why everybody starts asking what his family is. Nobody asked him that before (Jen 2000: 107). The question of what his family is could refer to race, because the young boy starts answering that question by saying: "Vanilla" (Jen 2000: 107).

Derrida also says: "Nor is the *arrivant* a legislator or the discoverer of a promised land. As disarmed as a newly born child, it no more commands than is commanded by the memory of some originary event where the archaic is bound with the final extremity [...]" (Derrida 1993: 34). In the story "In the American Society", Ralph Chang is a successful owner of the restaurant. But at one point in his life, he starts seeing himself as a "mandarin" and treating his employees as if they were his subjects and then his business starts going downhill. He starts imitating his grandfather's relationship with his village in China (Feddersen 2001: 199). He begins to lose employees who only want a job from him, they do not want to be his servants/ slaves (Jen 2000: 116). He asks cooks and busboys to fix the radiators, he even asks his headwaitress to scratch his back (Jen 2000: 116). Ralph Chang obviously retains at the back of his mind some primary code of his old country, or, as Derrida says, the memory of some ancient event rules his life (Derrida 1993: 34). The way Ralph Chang behaves also goes hand in hand with what Edward Said says:

> Appeals to the past are among the commonest of strategies in interpretations of the present. What animates such appeals is not only disagreement about what happened in the past and what the past was, but uncertainty about whether the past really is past, over and concluded, or whether it continues, albeit in different forms, perhaps (Edward Said 1994: 3).

For Ralph Chang the past is very much alive. And this can be said for some other characters in Jen's stories. For example, the old lady in "Who's Irish?" very often refers to the past. She has the flashbacks of her days in China and her first days in America. Looking back on her life in China, she

says, "We talk about whether life is bitter or not bitter" (Jen 2000: 8), or she remembers when she had her restaurants in America: ".... and in our restaurant, busboys and cooks all afraid of me too. Even the gang members come for protection money, they try to talk to my husband" (Jen 2000: 3). In "House, House, Home", Pammie also goes back in her mind to the events that influenced her as a child. Pammie thought her childhood "had been miserable" (Jen 2000: 134) because she was "margarinized" (Jen 2000: 134), as her babysitter put it wrongly instead of saying that Pammie was marginalized for being Asian.

3. The immigrant and the question of hospitality

When it comes to Derrida's conception of hospitality, he seems to go back and forth between conditional and unconditional hospitality, showing us what unconditional or absolute hospitality is and at the same time making a point how difficult, even impossible, it is to attain it, which is illustrated in some of Gish Jen's stories. Derrida defines absolute hospitality:

> […] absolute hospitality requires that I open up my home and that I give not only to the foreigner, but to the absolute, unknown, anonymous other, and that I give place to them, that I let them come, that I let them arrive, and take place in the place I offer them, without asking of them either reciprocity (entering into a pact) or even their names (Westmoreland 2008: 6)." Derrida also claims that hospitality is "unconditional but without sovereignty (Westmoreland 2008: 3).

Derrida concludes that (conditional) hospitality cannot be "without sovereignty of oneself over one's home, but since there is also no hospitality without finitude, sovereignty can only be exercised by filtering […] and doing violence (Westmoreland 2008: 5-6)". Westmoreland concludes: "Absolute hospitality can only exist as unlimited, as not being within the parameters of laws and concepts. The conditions for such hospitality are both the conditions for its possibility and its impossibility" (Westmoreland 2008: 4).

In the story "Who's Irish?" the daughter offers her mother conditional hospitality, implying that the mother has to abide by her daughter's rules if she wants to live in her daughter's house. The daughter defends the

sovereignty of her home. On the other hand, this conditional hospitality turns her mother into an occupier or invader. The daughter feels that her mother invades her home by refusing to respect the daughter's rules: not to spank Sophie, not to criticize John, the son-in-law. The old lady asserts her own authority and does not give in to her daughter, telling her: "Don't tell me what to do" (Jen 2000: 9) and "I am not your servant. Don't you dare talk to me like that" (Jen 2000: 9). The daughter feels threatened by such an attitude and feels that her mother invades her space, oversteps her boundaries and undermines her authority in her own house. The situation reaches the critical point when her husband John expresses his dissatisfaction with the fact that the grandmother has spanked his daughter, saying: "And I'm not the only one with scary family patterns" (Jen 2000: 10). As Derrida says, the hospitality which is not absolute comes with some conditions that have to be fulfilled and it also presumes the sovereignty of the host's home and in order to retain that sovereignty, the host resorts to some kind of violence (Westmoreland 2008: 5-6). In the story, the daughter exercises some sort of violence over her mother by forcing her mother to move out because the daughter "doesn't want to end up divorced" (Jen 2000: 14). Westmoreland asks, "Should one demand that his guest be able to communicate in a foreign language?" (Westmoreland 2008: 5), which is according to Derrida "the first violence to which foreigners are subjected" (Westmoreland 2008: 5). The old woman does make an effort to learn the English language, in that way fulfiling one of the conditions of the hospitality she was given in America and in her daughter's home. When the old lady came to America, she couldn't speak English, she had to learn it in order to have a productive life and her own business. In her daughter's home, the old lady learns some new words, such as "supportive" (Jen 2000: 5), saying "we do not have this word in Chinese." (Jen 2000: 5) and "creative" (Jen 2000: 8), commenting that this is "another word we do not talk about in China" (Jen 2000: 8).

In the story "House, House, Home", for Pammie, the American hospitality has come with many conditions ever since she was a little girl. Pammie is an Asian American and when she was young, her babysitter told her that "if she wanted to survive the 1990s, she should not to use the word *oriental*, except for rugs" (Jen 2000: 134). She has always felt like an outsider. (Jen 2000: 188) Sven, her husband, and Pammie even argue over who is more genuinely an outsider, "he who had the vision and the will to refuse an acceptance that was his birthright, or she who had been born

on the margin and slowly earned a conditional pass" (Jen 2000: 188). In Pammie's opinion Sven is "an elective outsider" (Jen 2000: 189) and she wonders if he could ever know "what it was like to be the other kind of outsider" (Jen 2000: 189).

In "House, House, Home", Sven is a host who has some conditions for his wife to fulfil. For example, he is disappointed because "she didn't know more about herbs" (Jen 2000: 165), and "he had encouraged her to buy and wear Chinese dresses" (Jen 2000: 165). She suspects that Sven sees her class as inferior (Jen 2000: 156), thus acknowledging the difference between them. In this story, neither is Sven a perfect or absolute host in their marriage nor are her parents perfect hosts to Sven as their son-in-law because all of them offer only conditional hospitality. As I have already mentioned, Derrida thinks the host has to be the master of his house if he wants to be hospitable, but that rules out the possibility of absolute hospitality and introduces possible violence (Westmoreland 2008: 5-6). Sven finds her parents' hospitality intrusive, even violent, and this conclusion results in his refusal to visit them. Sven "even didn't like being compelled to eat at dinnertime" (Jen 2000: 161) at their (her parents') place, saying it is "controlling" (Jen 2000: 161) and a "friendly hostility" (Jen 2000: 161). Pammie explains: "My parents came from a culture acquainted with famine. It's a form of selflessness to share their most precious resource" (Jen 2000: 161). Sven replies to that: "But one has no choice as to whether one accepts their hospitality. They don't listen to no. They ride gangbusters over one's boundaries. It's a naked coercion" (Jen 2000: 161). Pammie's identity is divided between the Chinese customs and traditions she was taught as a young girl and her American husband and his way of life and habits. Pammie is very much attached to her family, and she spends a lot of time buying and wrapping gifts for them. Sven asks her once: "Is that how you want to spend your life, trying to remember and please?" (Jen 2000: 154) She comes from a family "that thought mostly about bills" (Jen 2000: 139) and "She had grown up considering the optimum use of every dollar and every hour" (Jen 2000: 140). Contrary to what she was taught, "Sven did not see why they should not sleep in the living room. Sven did not see why people should not come in and out at all hours. Sven did not see why he should not wear other people's clothes" (Jen 2000: 139).

4. Gish Jen's Chinese culture-specific concepts and words in literary translation

In her stories, Gish Jen uses some Chinese culture-specific concepts, loan words and expressions and her protagonists very often do not speak grammatically correct English and they cannot spell. All these could present a challenge when translating her work into Serbian.

When it comes to the translation of loan words, Mona Baker writes: "The use of loan words in the source text poses a special problem in translation" (Baker 2011: 22). She suggests several possible solutions to this problem: "translation by a more general word" (Baker 2011: 23), "translation by a more neutral/less expressive word" (Baker 2011: 25), "translation by cultural substitution" (Baker 2011: 29), "translation by paraphrase using a related word" (Baker 2011: 36), "translation by paraphrase using unrelated words" (Baker 2011: 38), "translation by omission" (Baker 2011: 42), "translation by illustration" (Baker 2011: 43), "translation using a loan word or loan word plus explanation" (Baker 2011: 33). Mona Baker explains: "This strategy is particularly common in dealing with culture-specific items […] Following the loan word with an explanation is very useful when the word in question is repeated several times in the text" (Baker 2011: 33). The translation strategy that includes "translation using a loan word or loan word plus explanation" (Baker 2011: 33) could very well work when translating some loan words in Gish Jen's stories because they are culture-specific items and because she herself gives explanation for some loan words in the text and some loan words are repeated several times in her stories.

Gish Jen introduces the following loan words in her stories: "pad thai" (Jen 2000: 4), "go shu-shu", the author explains in the text that it means 'to pee' (Jen 2000: 8), "lao taitai", the author herself explains it means 'little old ladies' (Jen 2000: 63, 64, 68, 69, 71, 73), "kowtow" (Jen 2000: 64, 65), a doctor "diagnosed Duncan, via pulse, as too yang" (Jen 2000: 77), "shou shou", the author herself explains it means 'skinny monkeys' (Jen 2000: 121), "a silver Chinese qipao" (Jen 2000: 162), "ma fan", the author explains in the text that it means 'making trouble' (Jen 2000: 197).

The author uses some English words and expressions which refer to the traditional and contemporary Chinese cultural concepts and the translation of these words and expressions could be accompanied by an explanation in a footnote because some readers are probably not familiar

with the following even when they are translated into a target language: "Opium War" (Jen 2000: 4), "hoisin sauce" (Jen 2000: 5), "Chinese age" (Jen 2000: 5), "Long March" (Jen 2000: 50), "Cultural Revolution" (Jen 2000: 52, 57, 76), "Red Guards" (Jen 2000: 52, 57), "Mao jackets" (Jen 2000: 52), "bound feet" (Jen 2000: 63), "mung bean soup" (Jen 2000: 77), "Dragon's Well tea" (Jen 2000: 204).

Some immigrants in Gish Jen's story, particularly the first-generation immigrants, do not learn the language well and they are not fully proficient in its grammar. It can be a challenge to translate into Serbian the grammatically incorrect English language spoken by the old woman in "Who's Irish?": "[…] they are come to eat." (Jen 2000: 3), "she is handle everything […]" (Jen 2000: 4), "She never go in the sun […]" (Jen 2000: 6). The story "Duncan in China" can be challenging for a translator because it is about the American Chinese who comes to China to visit the country of his ancestors and to teach English to the Chinese, so in the story there are many mistakes made by the Chinese protagonists: "Must we have to practice English?" (Jen 2000: 58), "I catch your meaning." (Jen 2000: 66), "Now he has no any girlfriend" (Jen 2000: 66), "What you say?" (Jen 2000: 78), "You see his English how good" (Jen 2000: 78).

In the story "In American Society", there are some English words that are not written correctly in the letter written by former employees to their boss who posted bail for them so that they could be released from prison: "[…] Plese to excus us. People saying the law in America is fears like dragon […] We hope some day we can pay back the rest bale. You will getting intrest, as you diserving, so grat a boss you are […] In the next life you will be burn in rich family, with no more pancaks" (Jen 2000: 125).

In literary translation, a strategy for dealing with grammatically incorrect structures and errors used intentionally in the source text is given by Jeremy Munday, who says: "The translator should first determine what the function is: perhaps to indicate an uneducated speaker and to try to find some way of recreating that in the target language by also producing some incorrectness or linguistic signals of uneducatedness" (Daničić and Josipović 2015/2016: 178). He explains further on: "Look at the function: If the function is to indicate that the speaker has made an error because they don't have the education to understand or to make a correct selection, you are going to have to reproduce that in the target language" (Daničić and Josipović 2015/2016: 178).

Learning the language of the country he is coming to is one of the conditions an immigrant has to fulfil if he wants to find his place in the sun in a new country. Therefore, language is one of the elements that also makes unconditional hospitality something which is almost unattainable. Derrida concludes,

When (conditional) hospitality is given, it is accompanied with laws— the rules and codes of language, which are shared among human beings. Common hospitality involves linguistic communication, which requires the distinction between individuals to be stripped away, and cancels the possibility of having an unconditional hospitality (Westmoreland 2008: 5).

5. Conclusion

As it can be seen, Gish Jen writes about the Chinese immigrants who come to America, whose identity is transformed when they come into contact with the American culture and society, but at the same time they never fully relinquish the elements of their Chinese culture and tradition. This is the process in which the Chinese and American cultures touch, interact, exchange words, cultural concepts and elements, thus proving Edward Said's belief that culture is a question of cultural borrowings, common experiences and interdependencies (Said 1994: 217). These Chinese immigrants are *arrivants* or newcomers who not only change their own lives, but also the lives of their hosts. This exchange and interaction between cultures presupposes the existence of hospitality. As far as hospitality is concerned, in Jen's stories we see the examples of what Derrida calls conditional hospitality (Westmoreland 2008: 5-6) with immigrants who have to fulfil certain conditions imposed by their hosts who do not intend to abandon the conditions of their hospitality. Therefore, unconditional hospitality can be a goal worth striving for, but for Gish Jen's protagonists it is difficult and almost impossible to accomplish such a goal.

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TRADITION AND CHANGE
IN PETER ACKROYD'S LONDON:
A CONCISE BIOGRAPHY

Abstract

In his essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent" T. S. Eliot describes tradition as accumulation and flux. Tradition is, claims Eliot, "not … what is dead, but … what is already living". In his thinking Eliot was much influenced by Henry Bergson's philosophy of time. According to Bergson's study "Time and Free Will", every new event throws light on and changes the past. For Bergson as for Eliot, to be living means to be constantly changing.

In his book *London: a Concise Biography* Peter Ackroyd describes the communion of present and past in the city space of London. He presents the events of London life over two millennia of its history as if they were happening on the stage of London's streets at the moment of speaking. On the other hand he meticulously builds the chronological grid into the texture of his narrative by providing accurate historical evidence. In this way, he writes London as a street spectacle against the backdrop of history. This paper aims at interpreting Ackroyd's image of the city in view of Eliot's philosophy of time and change.

Key words: London, biography, Peter Ackroyd, T. S. Eliot, time, change, tradition, Henry Bergson

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In his biography of London, Peter Ackroyd views the city as a human being. From the outset we learn that London has a body (2012: 1) and consciousness. In this vein, Ackroyd reveals the city's thoughts, manners, rituals and routines in an overwhelming narrative. As Patrick McGrath has it, "London lives, and therefore demands not a history but a biography (2001).

Ackroyd writes London's space as a living mind – it integrates history with tradition, and chronology with the pattern of activities. Accordingly, London's biography is written at the intersection of its two temporal axes – internal and external time – the time of its consciousness and the time of its history. Throughout the narrative Ackroyd works simultaneously on two levels of reality, one which offers the chronological track of events and the other where events are placed one above the other and loosely linked by certain "personality traits" which, in turn, make up the portrait of London. Before I turn to Ackroyd's text I want to introduce a few theoretical insights about time which appear to be relevant to Ackroyd's text.

T. S. Eliot's notion of tradition as described in his essay "Tradition and the Individual Talent" (1919) is grounded in the concept of accumulation as much as in the idea of change. Values and works accumulate over time and create spaces, locations and subjectivities. Every new contribution to the body of accumulated traditions changes the familiar order (Eliot 1920: 42-53). In his thinking Eliot was much influenced by the philosophy of Henry Bergson. For Bergson, "to be living means to be constantly changing" (1911: I96).

For Eliot time is twofold: the time of "pure observation" and ordinary, daily time. A human being must be conscious of both, "of both what is still, and what is still moving" ("East Cooker"). In Bergson's words, moments that create a pattern are both 'in and out of time' (1944: 383). Eliot confirms Bergson's thought in his famous phrase at the end of his essay, "a poet must be conscious of what is already living" (1920. 53).

Both Eliot's and Bergson's philosophies of time are philosophies of continuity. Bergson holds that, [every new form] flows out of previous forms, while adding to them something new, and is explained by them as much as it explains them' (1944: 393). Eliot subscribes to this thinking in *The Quartets* when he says: 'approach to the meaning restores the experience/ In a different form....' ("The Dry Salvage"). This thought is actually central to Eliot's time philosophy and opens Eliot's *Four Quartets*:

> Time present and time past/are both perhaps present in time future/and time future contained in time past. /If all time is eternally present/All time is unredeemable ("Burnt Norton").

Eliot's and Bergson's thoughts echo in Ackroyd's words as he writes in the Prologue to his biography of London:

> London is unredeemable, too, and we may also think of [its features] as comprising a vast mass of subjective private times continually retreating into non-existence (2012: 65).

Thus, as this essay will show, Eliot's time philosophy structures Ackroyd's writing. At the beginning Ackroyd comments on the principal of narrative organization:

> The biography of London [...] defies chronology. Contemporary theorists have suggested that linear time is itself a figment of the human imagination, but London has already anticipated their conclusions. There are many different forms of time in the city, and it would be foolish of me to change its character for the sake of creating a conventional narrative. That is why this book moves quixotically through time, itself forming a labyrinth (Ibid: 2)

However, Ackroyd's labyrinthine story about London does wind around historical facts. Every new age is first introduced by its official historical account. At times Ackroyd's excessive use of factuality seems odd. Official stories are reported down to the tiniest details, like:

> Barely a decade after its foundation a great fire of London utterly destroyed its buildings. In AD 60 Boudicca and her tribal army laid waste the city with flame and sword, wreaking vengeance upon those who were trying to sell the women and children of the Iceni as slaves (Ibid: 20).

The historical account abruptly gives way to a different voice which, in a threatening claim, "[the fire] is the first token of the city's appetite for human lives" (Ibid: 20) indicates a pattern of London's life. Thus, Eliot's words, "[t]he knowledge imposes a pattern, and falsifies, For the pattern is new in every moment...." ("East Coker"), echo throughout Ackroyd's text.

"Fire" is one of the distinguishing marks of London life which forms one of its "traditions". The attention turns from time to space and from chronology to pattern since the notion of fire, besides being one of the

recurring events of London history, shapes in its metaphorical capacity the conceptual space of London life. Specifically, while the historical records of the great London fires make its history, "fire" serves as a symbol of devastation and doom and the unique ability of the city to rise anew from its ashes, ever more powerful and glorious. It also intimates another "tradition", the colour red. "Red is London's colour, a sign of fire and devastation" (Ackroyd 2012: 20).

Throughout the narrative the "big" history provides a stage for London's adventures. By tracing them Ackroyd draws a pattern of the city's daily life. This pattern is made of a set of markers like violence, noise, love of spectacle, a flavour for certain colours, attachment to darkness and a perverse weakness for crime and obscenity. These concepts structure Ackroyd's narrative of London as they map and remap the city space.

Concepts and patterns clash and reshape these London stories, presenting the same facts in a spectrum of different perspectives. As a result, London emerges as a palimpsest, "a constant and constantly changing pattern" (Le Brun 1967: 115). In the process, events, areas, people, facts, rituals and manners are clustered around concepts like noise, theatre, costume, violence, flame, devastation, darkness, fog and many others. All of them coincide in London street life, where London concepts and features are present regardless of the age and participate in one great noisy spectacle.

The shift of the tone and voice of the narration is even more striking in descriptions such as that of "noise" as both a "tradition" and a pattern of its street life. "Noise" is, Ackroyd claims, "a token of its energy and of its power" (2012: 59).

Ackroyd tells us that, "from its earliest foundation London rang with the hammers of artisans and the cries of tradesmen. (Ibid: 59). As the city grew, [i]n the early medieval city, the clatter of manufacturing trades and crafts would have been accompanied by the sound of bells" (Ibid: 59).

"Noise" speaks of the types of London's activities and of the degree of its liveliness, "the sound of bells, .. secular bells, church bells, convent bells, the bell of the curfew and the bell of the watchman" (Ibid: 59). In the 17th century a visitor, a German duke, was allegedly surprised "by the unique character of the city sound" (Ibid: 59). The visitor wrote: "On arriving in London we heard a great ringing of bells in almost all the churches going on very late in the evening" (Ibid: 59). The noise has taken many forms over the centuries, the noise of hammers, artisans and church bells from

London's early days merges over time with the other voices of city life, carts, shops, signs, the "ceaseless and peculiar sound", an incessant roar. A visitor in the 19th century wrote of, "the loud and everlasting rattle of the countless vehicles which ply the streets of London" (Ibid: 66). While Jane Carlyle spoke about, "an everlasting sound in my ears, of men, women, children, omnibuses, carriages, glass coaches, street coaches, wagons, carts, dog-carts, steeple bells, door-bells, gentlemen-raps, twopenny post-raps, footmen-showers-of-raps, of the whole devil to pay" (Ibid: 66). Types of London noises over time speak about the extent of its economic growth and social dynamics.

Noise, that intrinsic feature of city life seems to be connected to its other "traditions". It is an attribute of one of the most distinctive London features – the theatricality of its street life.

Ackroyd describes London's streets as a permanent stage. In the chapter "London as Theatre" we learn that many aspects of its city life are linked with some sort of spectacle: from un-festive occupations such as the trades, to real amusements such as tournaments, fairs, festivals and certainly the miracle plays of medieval times.

> Show! Show! Show! Show! Show! This was the cry of a seventeenth-century city crowd, as recorded in Ned Ward's London Spy. There were indeed many shows to be seen on the London streets, but the greatest fair of all was held at Smithfield. It was known as Bartholomew's Fair… Historical scenes were dramatised by street performers… (Ibid: 119).

London is described as a "great stage" where, "extravagance in gesture, mien, and dress," (Ibid: 125), where the citizens are "living shapes". As "spectacle" proves to be a part of every aspect of London life, from trade and street performers to literature, it does not seem odd that all these people participate in the habit of wearing costumes.

> A shopkeeper of the mid-eighteenth century would advertise the traditional worth of his wares "with his hair full-powdered, his silver knee and shoe buckles, and his hands surrounded with the nicely-plaited ruffle" (Ibid: 128).

For centuries, events that offered a number of historical and traditional readings were the London annual fairs. One of the emblems of London was certainly Bartholomew Fair. Following Wordsworth's description in the

Prelude, Ackroyd views the fair as one of the traditions which sums up many of the intrinsic features of the city's life and personal space, with its "anarchy and din Barbarian and informal", the fair was "monstrous in colour, motion, shape, sight, sound" (Ibid: 123). Bartholomew fair was an important festival which was held each year in late summer form the twelfth to the nineteenth century. Like London itself, "heterogeneous and instinctively egalitarian" the Fair was marked by "a complete erasure of ordinary social distinctions" (Ibid: 122). "The apprentice and lord might be enjoying the same entertainments, or betting at the same gaming tables." (Ibid: 122). The Fair expressed the true "egalitarian" spirit of the city where the dignitaries and ordinary citizens enjoyed the same shows of "acrobats, actors, tight-rope walkers, rope-flyer descends, and at each corner there was a wooden stage". (Ibid: 123). It revealed the taste for battle, violent games, dangerous skills, theatricality and competition: "There are dwarves, conjurors and waxworks, performing dogs and monkeys; a girl beats a drum while a mountebank sells his medicine; a pickpocket plies his trade while another kind of performer swallows fire" (Ibid: 123). There was "no distinction or subordination left, which accounts precisely for the combination of egalitarianism and theatricality that is so characteristic of London" (Ibid: 129).

Ackroyd writes Bartholomew Fair as a "moment in and out of time". On the one hand it was "a true simulacrum of London life" (Ibid: 123), on the other it prefigured later London styles: a wheel set at Bartholomew's Fair in the seventeenth century anticipated the modern wheel of the "London Eye" in the year 2000 (Ibid: 217).

Among the concepts which link a number of London's unique features from violence, to war, to plague, to transportation is "the colour red". About the "colour red" Ackroyd declares:

> Red is London's colour. The cabs of the early nineteenth century were red. The pillar boxes are red. The telephone boxes were, until recently, red. The buses are characteristically still red. The Underground trains were once generally of that colour. (Ibid: 188).

In the more distant past, "The tiles of Roman London were red. The original wall of London was built from red sandstone". Red also incorporates darker features of the city: "London Bridge itself was reputed to be imbued with red, "bespattered with the blood of little children" as a part of the ancient rituals of building. Red is also the colour of violence" (Ibid)

Londoners are, in Ackroyd's story, violent in their desires, and … carry all their passions to excess., almost in equal measures in the games, such as shooting or cockfighting, female wrestling, bear baiting, or in the public executions of criminals. Through blood, violence is also linked with the "colour red".

Beyond this, through associations with fire and blood, red also means disaster, devastations, and pestilence. It pictures London as the city which is "perpetually doomed" (Ibid: 173). Ackroyd claims, "two great titular spirits of London [are] fire and plague" (Ibid: 22). It is so described in the literature of all ages.

> Within the texture of Defoe's prose London becomes a living and suffering being, not the "abstract civic space" of W.H. Auden's poem. London is itself racked with "fever" and is "all in tears." Its "face" is "strangely altered," and its streets circulate "steams and fumes" like the blood of those infected (Ibid: 177).

Notions of pestilence, plague, death and violence intimate the idea of London's dark side which is, as Ackroyd describes it, immanent to its nature. In the chapter "Crime and Punishment" Ackroyd spins the story about London crimes and prisons. Newgate Prison which existed from the twelfth until the eighteenth century was "an emblem of death and suffering" and "a true symbol of London" (Ibid: 199). Ackroyd traces the events of the several centuries long history of Newgate, "a legendary place, where the very stones were considered "deathlike," and [which] has inspired more poems, dramas and novels than any other building in London" (Ibid: 199). From its beginning it was "associated with hell" and its smell spread in the streets around it. In the fourteenth and the fifteenth century it was afflicted with the epidemic of "gaol fever" in the sixteenth, "eleven Catholic monks were left, standing and chained to pillars, to die of starvation (Ibid: 200). In the sixteenth century rumour had it that there was an underground dungeon, known as "Limbo" […] which was "a most fearful, sad, deplorable place" (Ibid: 201). In the early seventeenth century "an anonymous drama describes it as "a prison from which it was impossible to escape" (Ibid: 201). Certainly, that presented a constant challenge to its inhabitants. A Jack Shepard at the beginning of the eighteenth century managed to escape from the Newgate several times and became largely popular "a type or symbol of those who elude the practices of oppression with effrontery and bravery as well as skill" (Ibid: 203). Shepard was a true

Londoner. His "escapes" were memorable and humorous. On one occasion he forgot a blanket in his cell, so he returned all the way down the prison chimneys and roof through the corridors until he reached his cell so as to retrieve his blanket and claim his freedom quietly again. Ackroyd inscribes other London lore in his story,

> After his escapes he disguised himself as a variety of tradesmen, and generally behaved in a thoroughly dramatic fashion. To ride in a coach through Newgate was a mark of theatrical genius. He was profane to the point of being irreligious, while his violence against the propertied interests was not inconsistent with the egalitarianism of the "mob." (Ibid: 207).

During the eighteenth century Newgate was improved and renovated several times, visited by famous writers and authorities and in the eighteenth century become a true literary symbol. Sometime in the 1830s, it was visited by a young journalist Charles Dickens and its drama recounted in *The Sketches by Boz* as "pass and repass this gloomy depository of the guilt and misery of London, in one perpetual stream of life and bustle, utterly unmindful of the throng of wretched creatures pent up within it" (Ibid: 208). Dickens again sets his characters and stories in Newgate in his second novel *Oliver Twist*. Looking at the second half of the century, Ackroyd gives an account of Newgate as "theatre", being open to the public on certain days of the week. After the last execution in 1902, Newgate was demolished. However its story doesn't end there since the auction of its relics renders it a symbolic nature. The paraphernalia of the execution shed sold for £5 15s 0d while each of the plaster casts of the famous criminals was "knocked down" for £5 (Ibid: 210). The auction proves again and again how the true mob of London cherish "humour and savagery in equal manners" (Ibid: 127).

The images of London scenes, objects and events are inscribed in its people, as well as produced by them. Ackroyd claims that, "It is not clear whether the whole sick body of London is an emanation of its citizens, or whether the inhabitants are an emanation or projection of the city" (Ibid: 177).

The space of London is intimately linked with its literary heritage. The famous characters, lines and authors – London dignitaries, as Ackroyd has it, sum up the concepts and traits that make up London's portrait. The fictions that were spun round their characters "confirm the impression"

that their deeds were created by the city space itself. (Ibid: 555). This is the description of one of the most notorious of London "dignitaries":

> The scale of the sudden and brutal killings effectively marked out the area as one of incomparable violence and depravity, but it was equally significant that the crimes should have been committed in the darkness of malodorous alleys (Ibid: 555).

Another symbol of London is Sherlock Holmes who epitomizes changing identities, masks, mystery and secret lives:

> Sherlock Holmes is a character who could have existed only in the heart of London as his construction epitomizes the spirit of the city. Its mystery and instability expresses the manner of Holmes who had at least five small refuges in different parts of London, in which he was able to change his personality (Ibid: 126).

Stevenson's character, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, whose identity shifts is set in the context of the city's "shifting insubstantial mists […] who, could be conducted only through "the swirling wreaths" of London fog where character and identity may suddenly and dramatically be obscured" (Ibid: 126).

Ackroyd announces that "the city of crime and of unsolved mysteries is quintessentially the city of fog" (Ibid: 377). That is how Arthur Conan Doyle and Robert Louis Stevenson created their characters. Sherlock Holmes and Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde's narratives are grounded in "the steamy, vaporous air" of a "dense drizzly fog" (Ibid: 377). Stevenson's character expresses the dramatic contrast which expresses the true identity of London: There is more to it, writes Ackroyd, than the fog. In the city where evil and good live side by side "the strange destiny of Dr. Jekyll does not seem quite so incongruous" (Ibid: 377). Thus London characters appear as if they were born out of the city space. They embody London's idiosyncratic traits, like violence, brutality and duplicity. So, in spite of their fictive nature it is difficult to separate them from the real people of London.

Ackroyd's biography of London shows the "fullness of its time" (Bakhtin 1986: 10-59) as it is inscribed in London's people, fictions and stones. The image of London in Ackroyd's story appears as if it were created out of its experience, memories and actions. The city that he was born in, in which he lives and which he never leaves, is still noisy, violent, red, and theatrical and so keeps the "unredeemable moments" ever at hand.

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A COGNITIVE NARRATOLOGY APPROACH TO THE AMERICAN NEOLIBERAL NOVEL: FIGURE VERSUS GROUND IN JONATHAN FRANZEN'S *FREEDOM*

Abstract
The paper discusses Jonathan Franzen's *Freedom* (2010) in the context of the American Neoliberal novel – a recent subgenre[1] which builds upon the tradition of the 1970s – 1980s conspiracy-centred fictions and creatively transforms it into a set of literary productions focused on the significance of global capital on everyday American lives and political governance. By capitalizing on cognitive narratology theories on the (de)structuring of fictional storyworlds, predicated on various means of spatialization, I intend to examine how ideological and social spatiality works and why such an approach to text analysis would be useful for a close reading of literary texts.

Key words: *Neoliberalism*, *American fiction*, *cognitive narratology*, *spatialization*.

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[1] This literary subgenre encompasses work by Jennifer Egan, Dave Eggers, Joshua Ferris, Allegra Goodman, and Sam Lypsite, alongside Jonathan Franzen.

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In the 2013 Winter issue of *Dissent,* critic Jeffrey J. Williams defined a new political literary subgenre, embodied by the 1990s new wave of American fiction, as a distinct body of work which focuses on "the dominance of finance, the political power of the super-rich, and the decline of the middle class…this new wave tend[ing] to see government as subsidiary, with the main societal choices occurring within the economic sphere." (Williams 2013: 93) His essay[2] foregrounds, as major representatives, fiction writers Jennifer Egan, Dave Eggers, Joshua Ferris, Jonathan Franzen, Allegra Goodman, and Sam Lypsite. Such authors critically engage with Neoliberalism, generally defined as Milton Friedman and Friedrich von Hayek's version of liberalism with an emphasis on self-regulating free markets, associated in the last three decades with the economic policies practiced by Ronald Reagan, Bill Clinton and George W. Bush[3] and "aimed at deregulating national economies, liberalizing international trade, and creating a single global market." (Steger and Roy 2010: x)

My reading of the neoliberal global spatial representations relies on cognitive narratology, specifically on the concept of *storyworld*, a mental model of what the fictional world presented Ryan 1991: 13), as well as on spatialization, as one means through which the author / narrator creates a sense of space in the fictional text. As David Herman argues "In trying to make sense of a narrative, interpreters attempt to reconstruct not just what happened but also the surrounding context or environment embedding storyworld existents (Herman 2008: 154), their attributes, and the actions and events in which they are involved." (Herman 2008: 570). Herman discusses the concept of 'spatialization' as resulting from 'six key ideas growing out of work on language and space': deictic shift;[4] figure versus

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[2] For another definition of this subgenre please see Michaels (2011).

[3] Neoliberalism as a concept partially overlaps with Jameson's understanding of the multinational/late stage of capitalism or postmodernity (Jameson 2001; La Berge 2015).

[4] 'Deictic shift' refers to the literary discourse device through which a storyteller prompts his/her interlocutor/reader to relocate from his/her HERE and NOW to the alternative space-time coordinates of the storyworld (Herman 2002: 270.

ground;[5] regions, landmarks, and paths;[6] topological versus projective locations;[7] motion verbs;[8] and the WHAT versus the WHERE Systems.[9] The use of such criteria in a fictional text analysis can demonstrate how narratives enable 'cognitive mapping', i.e. 'the process by which things and events are mentally modelled as being located somewhere in the world.' (Herman 2002: 265)

For the purpose of this paper, I will focus on the "figure versus ground" (or "*located object* versus *reference object*") and its representation in Jonathan Franzen's novel. According to Herman, the relationship between figure/located object and ground/reference object is basic to the process of narration. Storyworlds contain focused-upon participants, objects and places, i.e. "figures" and a background against which those focused-upon entities stand out, i.e. ground. By structuring the world in this way stories make it humanly cognizable. "On this view, narrative is…an overarching communicative, interactional, and cognitive environment thanks to which modules can be brought into a systematic, mutually enabling and constraining relationship with one another." (Herman 2002: 277).

David Herman explains the concepts of "figure" and "ground" at the level of physical narrative space and grammatical representation with the help of a fragment from George Eliot's novel *Daniel Deronda* (1876), which exemplifies the extensively and minutely descriptive style of the nineteenth – century Victorian novel, where the social and individual psychological elements were revealed via the intricate relationships between settings and characters expressed through specific prepositions that indicated the

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[5] The semantic structure of spatial expressions can be thought of as a dependency relation between *located objects* (i.e. *figures*) and *reference objects* (i.e. grounds). In the process of narration storyworlds are constructed by authors and perceived by readers as imaginative spaces inhabited by figures moving/acting against a background (i.e. ground) (Herman 2000: 346-347).

[6] The meaning of landmarks, regions, and paths in cognitive narratology is similar to those used in charting any spatial trajectories (Herman 2000: 279).

[7] Topological locations are invariant whereas projective ones vary with the author's/ narrator's angle of vision (Herman 2000: 280).

[8] Motion verbs are instrumental for the construction of storyworld cognitive maps. They express *projective locations* and *paths* taken by characters/participants that move from place to place within the storyworld. They may signal and trigger a *deictic shift* and set the space-time coordinates of the *deictic center* to which the reader is prompted to relocate (Zubin and Hewitt 1995: 129-155; Herman 2000: 282).

[9] The WHAT system is concerned with objects (object shapes, names, and kinds), whereas the WHERE system is made out of places (Herman 2000: 284-285).

interpersonal emotions of the participants. The post-postmodern twenty-first century American novel replaced the material space movements and relatedness, so common with nineteenth-century realist fiction, with those inside the area of consciousness. "Figure" and "ground" are narratively constructed within this type of *virtual* space, through renditions of the main characters' mental representations of the storyworld they inhabit, narratively expressed in 3ʳᵈ person diary-style conventions (Patty Berglund, neé Emerson) or semi-omniscient heterodigetic storytelling (unnamed narrator). The American neoliberal novel thus imbues the fictional space of human consciousness with "figure" and "ground" elements of Neoliberal ideology that the reader can intellectually/imaginatively perceive.

In an unevenly, unconventionally organized novel matter (three unequal parts, one Steinian, self-analyzing 3ʳᵈ person four-chapter diary, lopsidedly straggling the six hundred-ish "baggy monster", six subparts) one tells mimetically and diegetically (all extra, intra and meta variants), in Genette-wise analeptic and proleptic hetero and homodiegetic episodes, the story of the liberal middle-class Berglunds: William, wife Patty, sibling offspring Joey and Jessica, as well as the husband's friend and wife's lover and rock star Richard Katz. These characters are depicted in Minnesota and Washington D.C. to and fro movements, over almost three decades, covering the Ronald Reagan to the beginning of Barak Obama's administrations. William grows neoliberal almost unaware, in a series of existentially unexamined choices, Patty stays left liberal and so does Richard Katz, if only more vocal in his deeply ingrained anti-Republican beliefs.

The most illustrative sample of narrative focus on what Herman calls "localized areas of concern" (Herman 2002: 275), in Franzen's text, is the part which focuses on the 1980s-2010 neoliberal America, where "figure" and "ground" storytelling spatial principles make this period cognizable, Part II "2004", subsection entitled "Mountaintop Removal." The subtitle refers to an infamous surface mining procedure practiced in the period: mountain tops are removed in order to extract coal freely. Paradoxical ecologist William Berglund reached the conclusion that the government and the average American will never be able to act ecologically responsible and efficient, while the wealthy are both interested, as enjoyers of earthly possessions, and capable of doing it. Supported financially by billionaire mogul Vin Haven, Berglund creates the Cerulean Mountain Trust meant to preserve the disappearing Cerulean Warbler species by purchasing coal rich mountainous territory where coal companies were allowed to drill

the earth dry and then leave the territory for the Trust to keep the bird and protect its species. This moment in the novel represents its political/ ideological crux: the liberal left ecological vs. neoliberal of the novel, the "figure"/ *located object* expressed in this section qua interpretation in both mimesis (showing) and diegesis (telling) narrative manner of Walter Berglund's slow, unconsciously existential and ideological conversion. It is expressed openly in the explicit meeting Walter, supported by Bengali-American erotically involved assistant Lalitha, arranges with Richard in order to obtain his cooperation, as a famed rock 'n' roll musician in advertising the Cerulean Trust ecological campaign.

> 'I work for a guy named Vin Haven who's based in Houston, he's a big oil-and-gas guy. His wife's dad was an old-school Republican. Served under Nixon, Ford, and Reagan.'[…] The cerulean warbler, Walter said, bred exclusively in mature temperate hardwood forests, with a stronghold in the central Appalachians. There was a particularly healthy population in southern West Virginia, and Vin Haven, with his ties to the nonrenewable energy industry, had seen an opportunity to partner with coal companies to create a very large, permanent private reserve for the warbler and other threatened hardwood species. The coal companies had reason to fear that the warbler would soon be listed under the Endangered Species Act, with potentially deleterious effects on their freedom to cut down forests and blow up mountains. Vin believed that they could be persuaded to help the warbler, to keep the bird off the Threatened list and garner some much-needed good press, as long as they were allowed to continue extracting coal. And this was how Walter had landed the job as executive director of the Trust. (Franzen 2011: 222 – 224)

The contradictory, almost oxymoronic ideological compound of Walter's obsessive ecologism and market oriented strategy is psychologically explained to contribute to the authenticity of his humanity, as Franzen conceived it, in alternate "figure/located object" components of the novelistic narrative, which evolve out of the "ground/reference object" of his unsuccessful family life, as commented upon by a heterodiegetic narrator, also posing as spokesman of Walter's consciousness, in Part II "2004," section "The Nice Man's Anger":

> To Walter the message of every single radio station was that
> nobody else in America was thinking about the planet's ruination.
> The God stations and the country stations and the Limbaugh
> stations were all, of course, actively cheering the ruination; the
> classicrock and news-network stations continually made much
> ado about absolutely nothing; and National Public Radio was,
> for Walter, even worse. Mountain Stage and A Prairie Home
> Companion: literally fiddling while the planet burned! And worst
> of all were Morning Edition and All Things Considered. The NPR
> news unit, once upon a time fairly liberal, had become just another
> voice of center-right free-market ideology, describing even the
> slightest slowing of the nation's economic growth rate as "bad
> news" and deliberately wasting precious minutes of airtime every
> morning and evening—minutes that could have been devoted to
> raising the alarm about overpopulation and mass extinctions—
> on fatuously earnest reviews of literary novels and quirky
> musical acts like Walnut Surprise. And TV: TV was like radio,
> only ten times worse. The country that minutely followed every
> phony turn of American Idol while the world went up in flames
> seemed to Walter fully deserving of whatever nightmare future
> awaited it. He was aware, of course, that it was wrong to feel
> this way—if only because, for almost twenty years, in St. Paul, he
> hadn't. He was aware of the intimate connection between anger
> and depression, aware that it was mentally unhealthy to be so
> exclusively obsessed with apocalyptic scenarios, aware of how, in
> his case, the obsession was feeding on frustration with his wife
> and disappointment with his son. (Franzen 2011: 334)

The ground/reference object of this revelation for both reader and
participant/character Richard Katz is constituted by a series of narrative
elements constructed both diegetically and mimetically. At the diegetic
level, a heterodiegetic semi-omniscient storyteller talks from inside
Richard's guilt-ridden consciousness, due to a brief but complex affair with
Patty, about his saturation with music playing and stardom accompanied
by a vague wish to obtain some kind of redemption, presumably followed
by a change of life initiated by his reconnecting with best friend Walter
Berglund. On the mimetic plan, in the same section, things start happening
in the direction wished by this character. After a brief depressive period,
in 2003, Katz returns to his old hobby in order to earn a living and starts

building decks in Jersey City, New Jersey until, he resumes contact with Walter, following the latter's insistent calls:

> Behind him, on a counter crowded with unwashed dishes, his landline rang. The readout said Walter Berglund. 'Walter, my conscience,' Katz said. 'Why are you bothering me now?' He was tempted, in spite of himself, to pick up, because he'd lately found himself missing Walter…Katz couldn't have said exactly why Walter mattered to him. No doubt part of it was simply an accident of grandfathering: of forming an attachment at an impressionable age, before the contours of his personality were fully set. Walter had slipped into his life before he'd shut the door on the world of ordinary people and cast his lot with misfits and dropouts. (Franzen 2011: 217-218)

Patty Berglund's intimate perceptions of her husband's ideological transformation, which are strewn all over the book matter, but especially in her autobiography inserted in the novel, completes the ground/reference object material against which the "figure/located object" stands out in "Mountaintop Removal." One such example is as follows:

> And so Walter became competitive. Within weeks of the release of Nameless Lake, he was flying to Houston for his first interview with the megamillionaire Vin Haven, and a month after that he began to spend his work weeks in Washington, D.C. It was obvious to Patty, if not to Walter himself, that his resolve to go to Washington and create the Cerulean Mountain Trust and become a more ambitious international player was fueled by competition. (Franzen 2011: 121)

As illustrated above, in this sample brief presentation of two components of narrative spatiality, cognitive narratology provides the opportunity to connect to a creative/artistic rendition of an ideology originating and unfolding in the private lives, psychology and relationships of emblematic fictional characters.

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TRANSFORMATION OF BRITISHNESS – GRAHAM SWIFT AS A POSTCOLONIAL STORYTELLER

Abstract

According to some scholars, Graham Swift's opus falls under the category of postmodernism. Others, however, would more readily categorize his work as modernist fiction. Swift's choice of characters mainly does not reflect the contemporary changes in British demographics, and because of this it is not on first impulse that one would treat his work as postcolonial. However, using a broader definition of the term 'postcolonial' and leaning on certain aspects of the theories of Michel Foucault enable us to investigate Swift's work as that of a postcolonial storyteller. An encouragement on this path of investigation is his latest short story collection, aptly titled *England and Other Stories* (2014), from which two short stories will be examined: "Saving Grace" and "England".

Key words: Graham Swift, modernism, Post modernism, Postcolonial Literature, Britishness

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Graham Swift (1949 –) is a renowned contemporary British author. He has been writing novels, short stories and essays since the early eighties of the past century and has established a revered position in literary circles. One might argue that he is better known among literary critics than the wider audiences, but his novels have been translated into over thirty languages and a few have been made into motion pictures ("Waterland" in 1992, "Shuttlecock" in 1993 and "Last Orders" in 2001). Swift is the author of nine novels, two short story collections, one novella, *Making an Elephant* (a book of poetry and prose in connection with his profession of a writer) and numerous essays.

At this point in time Swift's writing career has spanned across a quarter of a century, as his first novel was published in 1980. As one can deduce, he is not as prolific a writer as some, but most of his novels were very well-received by literary critics and he is the recipient of numerous awards, such as the Guardian Fiction Award and the Geoffrey Faber Memorial Prize (both for *Waterland*). His most prestigious award, however, was the Booker prize for his 1996 novel *Last Orders*. Strangely, this is not the novel Swift is most famous for. He is most famous for *Waterland* (1983).

It is *Waterland* that perhaps best introduces the topics Swift most frequently deals with – the meaning of history, man's place in history and the role of history and legacy in the lives of the most ordinary of people. Swift's novels are usually set in a somewhat dreary atmosphere. In most of them you will read about a person who has an ancestor they are proud of, a person who, according to the protagonist, had found their place in history. Swift's protagonists, however, cannot seem to find their own identity or their own place in history (which is usually the period between post-WWII and the contemporary Britain of today). His characters come from different walks of life – one is a shop owner, one a history teacher, another an aerial photographer, one used to be a butcher (to name just a few) but the everyday struggles and dilemmas they are faced with are the same. Female characters are less prominent in Swift's work, but their role in the plot is usually crucial for the storyline.

If you wished to be more informed about the works of Graham Swift and looked him up in some more recent compendiums of literary reviews (in which he usually holds the place of an important contemporary British author) you would probably find him categorized as either a modernist or postmodernist author. In *The Politics of Postmodernism*, Linda Hutcheon describes *Waterland* as a "historiographic metafiction" (1991: 64). Because

of the historiographic metafiction in *Waterland*, which is, as we mentioned, Swift's most famous novel, one may categorize him as a postmodern writer. However, some critics would not be as ready to categorize him as postmodernist. On the contrary, due to the narrative coherence present in most of his novels and the fact that they are taking place in the real world one may just as readily categorize Swift as a modernist writer (for example, such is the categorization by Malcolm Bradbury, who describes Swift's novels as having an echo of the Victorian novel and being 'modern social realism' (2001: 6)). Daniel Lea and Peter Widdowson, both authors of studies on Swift, recognize postmodern tendencies in Swift's work but would not strictly categorize Swift's work as such (Lea 2005: 6, Widdowson 2006: 4). Catherine Bernard, also a researcher of Swift's work, notices these opposing forces in his work, comparing them with the quiet but rebellious waters of the Fens in *Waterland* (1991: 8).

Whether one chooses to opt for either or both sides, an interesting point remains to be investigated. Graham Swift deals with the life of ordinary people – as we have already mentioned all his stories are about the lives of the "little people" – and all these people live in the UK after WWII. In spite of this, no one has ever tried to categorize Swift as a postcolonial writer. At first sight, this may seem logical, as he does not, strictly speaking, tackle topics in direct connection with the Empire, nor does he, on the other hand, present in his novels the numerous changes that have taken place in British demographics in the second half of the past century. However, if the UK has been the setting for numerous postcolonial voices in literature, voices given by second or third generation immigrant writers, then all literature produced in the UK following the fall of Empire could, in a way, be perceived as postcolonial. This, of course, depends on our definition of what the somewhat controversial term *postcolonial* refers to. Though perhaps its original meaning was in direct connection with the different colonies gaining independence, today it is closer to encompassing the cultural effects of colonization and/or its legacy. The point of contact has been irrevocably shifted to the former center after waves of immigrants from the former colonies flooded the British Isles following WWII. In fact, there is no point of contact per se any more because now the former colonial subjects are full citizens of the UK. However, invisible borders remain present among the population.

It is a well-known fact that there have been disputes over whether postcolonial literature should even exist as a separate line of study (for

example, see Young's discussion on Ernst Gellner (2001: 5)). In addition to this, there have been disputes, among those who have accepted the existence of postcolonial literature, over what exactly can be considered to be such literature. We would most readily agree with the definitions provided by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin in their *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (1998). They define postcolonialism as dealing "…with the *effects*[1] of colonization on cultures and societies" (1998: 186) and postcolonial reading as "…reconsidering English literature and literary production as less a series of domestically inspired changes and progressions than one emanating from and through the imperial process and/or colonial contacts." (1998: 193) We would also agree with Ania Loomba when she says that "It is true that the term 'postcolonialism' has become so heterogeneous and diffuse that it is impossible to satisfactorily describe what its study might entail." (Loomba 1998: xii). This means that we would readily accept the fact that today, with the transformation of the world map, the metaphorical disappearance of borders and the constant migrations all literature written in the territory of former colonies or in the centres of former colonies, as the case is with British literature, could, in fact, be considered postcolonial. This would be postcolonial literature in a postcolonial Britain.

Graham Swift always boasts making up all his stories, claiming that there is absolutely nothing personal in them. In addition to this, he himself has said that the author and his biography do not matter, but that the moment in which the story is written, the time in history, is important (as per Gallix 2003: 10). This may be taken to imply, since he has been writing about the second half of the 20th century, that the fact that this is the British postcolonial era the times had an effect on his choice of character and storyline. In addition to this, one gets the feeling, as one critic mentions, that when Swift's characters are described what he is in fact describing and discussing are aspects of the nation (Malcolm 2003: 21). Something that is instantly recognizable in Swift's fiction is the complete absence of the multicultural society the UK has become in the past decades. This could be a possible argument against investigating Swift's work in the postcolonial framework. However, as one critic mentions with regards to, for example, *Last Orders*, one could also argue that such is the characters' view of the world (Malcolm 2003: 19). People of different race do not interact in Swift's stories or do so on rare occasions.

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[1] Author's emphasis.

To further sustain such a course of investigation, we would call upon the literary implications of some of the aspects of the theory of Michel Foucault. Firstly, the implication that one should always bear in mind that discourse is usually created in a pattern that has already been established and that everything (which includes literary works) should always be analyzed over and over again in a wider context. According to Foucault, there is no singular kind of an ideal discourse (Фуко 1998: 76). If we apply this aspect of his theory to the case of postcolonial literature, it becomes obvious that postcolonial discourse should, especially due to its diverse and controversial nature, constantly be re-examined within the set limits. Secondly, according to Foucault, in order to analyze relations of power, one must examine both sides (Fuko 2010: 388). This argument allows us to investigate the literature of a caucasian middle-aged Englishman who has lived in the United Kingdom all his life (and who writes about people who are similar to himself) in the postcolonial framework. Furthermore, according to Foucault, we always need to reinvestigate the existing categorizations in order to avoid creating unjustified positions of power for ourselves. If we readily dismiss Swift's literary world as having a slim chance of contributing to our understanding of what postcolonial implies, then what we are actually saying is that it is impossible for a writer of such a background and dealing with such topics to be a postcolonial writer, which is not necessarily true. Finally, according to Foucault, the role of the author in the creation of the text is to be ignored. The text itself is what matters, and it should not be dismissed on the grounds of the origin of the author. The author's biography, as Foucault claims, and as Swift himself has claimed, is irrelevant. If Graham Swift's texts can assist us in obtaining a clearer vision of what the contemporary British society is like, then they should be discussed within any discourse that allows this. Gaining insight into what it looks and feels like "on the other side" can sometimes be just as valuable as first-hand impressions of those who used to be behind this imaginary borderline.

The United Kingdom, as a powerful modern-day nation-state has gone through some incredible changes over the past few decades. After the fall of Empire, many aspects of life have become different both for the people of Great Britain and the people of the former colonies, whether they stayed in their homelands or found a new home in the former centre of the Empire. Due to these mass migrations, and due to second and further generations of former immigrants being born as British citizens, the issue of what it

means to be British in the contemporary day and age remains a moot point. Unfortunately, the response from the local people has also remained ambiguous over the decades in spite of the numerous efforts to overcome differences among the population and to introduce multiculturality as a way of life. To sum up, the changes are there – they are clearly visible, but it is now up to the people to accept these changes and to start seeing their country, and the world, from a different perspective. To further illustrate this point, let us use Homi K. Bhabha's reflection on "the time of the nation" (Routledge 2000: 297):

> …the people must be thought in a double-time; the people are the historical 'objects' of a nationalist pedagogy, giving the discourse an authority that is based on the pre-given or constituted historical origin or event; the people are also the 'subjects' of a process of signification that must erase any prior or originary presence of the nation-people to demonstrate the prodigious, living principle of the people as that continual process by which the national life is redeemed and signified as a repeating and reproductive process.

For all the above stated reasons, it is very interesting to investigate contemporary British literature in a postcolonial framework and to try to find the 'British' side of the story, and by 'British' in this case I mean what was traditionally considered to be 'British' in the pre-WWII period. It is even more interesting to investigate stories that do not directly address post-imperial issues and seemingly have nothing to do with the fall of Empire. In the work of Graham Swift, there is an abundance of such cases. In 2014, as if to further support our idea about his work, Swift finally decided to tackle topics of multiculturality and did so in his collection of short stories aptly titled *England and Other Stories*. For the purpose of this paper, we have selected two stories to investigate, those titled "Saving Grace" and "England". The selection has been made according to their storylines, both are told by British men, but, as you shall see, they present the diversity the term British has come to mean today.

"Saving Grace" is a story about doctor Ranjit Shah, a Briton who has never visited the country of his origin, and his father's homeland – India. Doctor Shah is a heart doctor, so in this sense Swift perhaps wants to present him as someone being closer to getting to the human heart than the average person. This doctor loves to tell his patients stories. When

he finishes giving them their diagnosis and prescriptions, before he says goodbye (hoping, as he says, never to see them again), he tells them the story of his father and of how he came to be. In the course of him telling his story, Swift plays with the contemporary British identity on a few occasions. First of all, when doctor Shah starts to tell his story, we can almost see the incredulous face of the listener who is looking at, as Swift says, a brown face: "Dr Shah had never ceased to tell the story. 'I'm as British as you are,' he might begin. 'I was born in Battersea.' Or, more challengingly: 'My mother is as white as you. You don't believe me?'" (Swift 2015: 85) Swift further tells us that at the beginning of the doctor's career, "even though by then the National Health had become awash (it was his own word) with black and brown faces, it was not uncommon for patients to cut up rough at being treated by an Asian, or an Asian-looking, doctor." (Swift 2015: 85) But now, as Swift says, "his seniority, his reputation as a top consultant and his winning smile usually banished any trouble" (Swift 2015: 85) Still, one can guess that the person sitting across the desk can be a bit baffled by the doctor claiming to be as British as them.

As he continues his story, Swift further plays with the main character's identity. Doctor Shah tells us that his father, whose name was also Ranjit, was from India, that he had belonged to that faction of the Indian people who supported the British rule, and that he fought on the side of the British during WWII. His father had first been deployed to Italy, but by a twist of fate he ended up in England where he fell in love, married a British woman and stayed there for the rest of his life. While telling his listener the first part of the story, doctor Shah says at one point: "The fact is I might have been Italian, I might be telling you this in Naples or Rome. Think of that." (Swift 2015: 87) So, wherever his father's ship may have landed, this would have been the identity his son would have taken, which is a very interesting take on nationality, but a reality that the modern world is facing at a time when thousands of people from other parts of the world are coming to Europe, hoping that one day their children may be Europeans. To his own mind, doctor Shah has no questions regarding his identity; when he tells his listener that his father was born in India, in Poona, in 1925, he adds "In those days of course the British ruled. *We* ruled." (Swift 2015: 86)

Further on, as the doctor tells his story, it seems that he is very pleased with the story of his family and that he loves to tell it. We learn that his father took part in D-Day, as one of the rare Indians who did so, and he ended up in a British hospital as a wounded soldier. He was severely

injured, and he would have lost a leg had it not been for another Indian man who had come from Bombay to serve the British in a medical capacity. Because of doctor Chaudhry's origin, Ranjit was the only wounded soldier who accepted the young doctor's alternative treatment and that saved his leg. It also was there, in the hospital, that he met Rosie Watts, a British nurse, and they decided to get married, "against all the odds" (Swift 2015: 87). At this point in the story Swift, in his indirect manner, informs the reader of what a strange and unexpected turn of events this was: "'Imagine it. London, Battersea. At the end of the war. Against all the odds. But my mother always said there were no two ways about it. Ranjit was the one. And if she could fall in love with a man with his body all smashed up and the possibility that he'd lose a leg, then wasn't that a pretty good test of love? *Setting aside the other matter that had nothing to do with the war*[2].'" (Swift 2015: 91) The doctor's father never managed to return to India and see his family, but he was content because he believed that he had done well and made his family proud by marrying a British lady and settling in the country they loved so much.

As the story unfolds, we learn that the doctor was very close with his father and that he made his father very proud by becoming a doctor. His father was aware of the choice he and his wife had made, so he made sure to teach his son that he should never feel disadvantaged in life. To prove his point, he showed his son an old photograph from the hospital, of three men who had lost a leg, but were smiling nevertheless, and told him that if he should ever feel disadvantaged he should remember the men in the photograph. Even though he was a small boy at the time, he remembered this clearly. He dedicated his entire life to making his father proud in spite of the 'disadvantage' he was unfortunately aware of. In fact, he became so successful, that when he mentions this part of the story "Dr Shah's smile would broaden again and his listener might think – as he or she was perhaps meant to think – that 'disadvantaged' sat strangely on the lips of a senior consultant in an expensive pinstriped suit." (Swift 2015: 89)

In the doctor's story we also learn that his father passed away and we find out that for doctor Shah his father always represented India and he always kept an unconscious bond with his father's homeland throughout his life. With his father's death, it was as if the doctor had lost India too. In his father's final moments "He'd held him close and had the fleeting bizarre thought that he was also holding India." (Swift 2015: 86) So, even though

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[2] Author's emphasis.

this thought is strange, because the doctor has never been to India, and apparently never thinks of India, at the moment his father dies, he thinks of a story his father has told him and of India "as it had once appeared in old school atlases, in the 1950s, blush-red and plumply dangling, not unlike some other familiar shape." (Swift 2015: 93) The doctor is certain of who he is, but it appears that India and the memories of his father will never leave his heart.

The main protagonist of "England" is also a Briton, but one that is instantly recognizable as such. And even though, at first sight, he has not had much contact with anything in connection with the Empire, as the story develops we realize that this is not quite true. The man's name is Kenneth Black and he lives on 'the edge of England' with his wife Ruth. We learn that he works as a coastguard and that he is not familiar with much more than his immediate surroundings. He has not visited many places, and he has gone to London only twice. Nevertheless, he seems to be satisfied with his life. We find out that he both loves and admires his country, and that he even finds seeing the same scenery every morning when he goes to work inspirational: "He told himself, routinely, not to take it for granted." (Swift 2015: 257) We also find out that he has always wanted to be a coastguard, but he admits to himself that he was not courageous enough to be anything more. He wanted to protect his country, but always coveted the same level of safety for himself. When he talks about his job, we get a glimpse of the past 'glory' of a vast Empire: "Ships, he knew, had once sailed up the Bristol Channel with cargoes of sugar. On the way out they'd made for Africa. Then sailed west." (Swift 2015: 273) Today, naturally, there is not much of this glory left, except in these echoes of the past. One might even deduce that the man had selected such a job in the aftermath of such a glorious past, thinking that he would continue guarding the greatness against an unknown enemy. At the end of the story we find Kenneth "on the edge of England, supposedly guarding it, looking outwards." (Swift 2015: 274) but instead of being certain what his exact role is he realizes that he actually knows very little about his country. An interesting episode in the life of this man had brought about such sentiments.

One morning, as he was driving to work at the crack of dawn he was surprised to find a car standing in the middle of the road with its wheels lodged in a gully. Being a coastguard, he immediately felt the need to assist anyone who might be in trouble, so he stopped his car. His reaction upon seeing the distressed man was close to incredulity because what he saw was

a black face; "You might say it wasn't deep black, as black faces go, but it was black. This was not a place, an area, for black faces. It was remarkable to see them." (Swift 2015: 259) Kenneth is so surprised that he almost does not know how to respond. Soon enough, however, he encounters a different problem – the man seems to be speaking in different voices and different accents and Kenneth does not know what to make of it. "The first voice (the normal one?) had a strong accent which, nonetheless, he couldn't place, because all northern accents eluded him. The second voice was a foreign voice in the sense that the accent wasn't English at all. He couldn't place it exactly either, just that it was broadly – very broadly – Caribbean." (Swift 2015: 259)

The coastguard continues to be baffled by the strange man's behaviour. He sees that he is driving a blue BMW, albeit a vintage one, not very expensive. Kenneth also realizes, because of a blanket and pillow on the back seat, that the man could be spending his nights in the car. As the stranger tries to explain how he has found himself stuck in the middle of nowhere, he keeps changing voices and accents and at one point Kenneth even attempts to calm him down, with little success. The man mentions almost hitting a deer, "'A lee-tal baby Bambee.'" (Swift 2015: 261) and Kenneth does not know whether to believe him because he has never seen a deer in those parts just standing in the middle of the road, at the same time asking himself whether he would believe the story if the stranger were someone else. Ultimately, something about the man makes him feel protective and he decides to help him in the end. Together, they manage to pull the car out of the ditch, thus enabling the stranger to safely continue his journey. In the process Kenneth learns that the man is from Yorkshire (Leeds) and that he is a travelling comedian whose name is Johnny Dewhurst and who is on his way to Barnstaple, Ilfracombe, just one of the stops on his tour of England. They end up having coffee together and after saying their good-byes they each go their separate ways but Kenneth cannot stop thinking about the man and his amazing way of life – constantly being on the road, seeing all the amazing places England has to offer. For a moment it even appears as if Kenneth were jealous of the man.

On a few occasions throughout telling the story Swift tries to convey to the reader just how strange the whole encounter is to a man like Kenneth. Aside from being shocked upon seeing a black face on Exmoor, for a moment Johnny's leather jacket looks to Kenneth "like a droopy black second skin, which was an unfortunate way of thinking of it." (Swift 2015:

264) Kenneth is also surprised by the man's slight build, which draws upon stereotypes. On the other hand, as strange as the man may seem to him, Kenneth realizes his difficult position in the contemporary British society: "The man was behaving, it was true, as if he were being doubted, were under suspicion, as if this were a familiar situation." (Swift 2015: 262) While they are having coffee together Kenneth is reluctant to tell the man that his last name is Black because he is afraid that he might insult him. Johnny, on the other hand, cracks a joke about his own appearance while they are having the coffee "'I never know whether to make a joke. And I never know whether to make a joke out of the black or the coffee. See my face, man? Black or coffee?'" (Swift 2015: 267)

As the story of this strange encounter draws to a close, we realize that Johnny Dewhurst, who is making ends meet trying to make people laugh may in fact be more at home in England than the man supposedly guarding it. As the story ends, Kenneth seems to be in two minds about the choices he has made in life and wonders what it must be like to be a man like Johnny. He realizes that there seems to be a whole world he had been oblivious to: "He knew what he knew about this land to which his back was largely turned, this strange expanse beyond Exmoor, but it was precious little really. He really knew, he thought, as he brought his car to a halt again, nothing about it at all." (Swift 2015: 274)

This brief exploration of the storylines of these two short stories offers a good start for the further investigation of Graham Swift's opus in a different framework, that of postcolonial literature. Life in these modern times of great migrations may be complicated, especially in multicultural nations such as the British one, but at times precious works of literary art may assist us in gaining a clearer insight into and understanding of such environments. There is no better way to become acquainted with the complexities of a certain society than by reading the literary production of individuals coming from it. Furthermore, understanding the complexities and challenges of a multicultural society helps us to understand ourselves better, as citizens of the world. After all, as Salman Rushdie wrote in his *Imaginary Homelands* "It may be argued that the past is a country from which we have all emigrated, that its loss is a part of our common humanity." (Rushdie 2010: 12)

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