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LINGUISTICS

edited by Marta Dick-Bursztyn and Karolina Puchała-Ladzińska

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TOWARDS THE FUNCTIONS OF PRISON SLANG¹

Abstract: The phenomenon of *prison slang* has always raised much controversy. There have been many attempts of different scholars, at different points in history, to fully cover the subject in question, and especially one of its aspects, namely the functions that this particular language variety may serve. Nevertheless, the issue of functions of *prison argot* has always received merely fragmentary treatment, and hence it is difficult to find widely and unequivocally accepted conclusions. The paper provides a consistent overview of the subject with special reference to the following functions of *prison slang*: <SOLIDARITY AND LOYALTY FUNCTION>, <IDENTITY EXPRESSING FUNCTION>, <SECRETIVE FUNCTION>, <ALLEVIATING FUNCTION> and <INMATE RECOGNITION FUNCTION>.

Key words: prison slang, prison subculture, communication in prison, prison argot functions.

In recent linguistic literature there have been many attempts to account for various types of *argot*. As far as *prison argot* is concerned, the research on the type of jargon targeted in this paper has been conducted from various perspectives and resulted in publications of both foreign and Polish provenance, such as Потапов (1927), Clemmer (1940), Maurer (1955), Sykes (1958), Cardozo-Freeman (1984), Rossi (1989), Moczydłowski (1991), Oryńska (1991), Балдаев, *et al.* (1992), Einat and Einat (2000), Szaszkiewicz (2000), Einat and Livnat (2012) and many others; although, as far as lexicographic works are concerned, Eric Partridge's *A Dictionary of the Underworld* published in the middle of the 20th century remains the most widely referenced book on the subject. Nevertheless, barely any of the works mentioned in the foregoing concentrate on the communicative system of inmates,

¹ Let me take this opportunity and thank **Prof. Grzegorz A. Klepaski** for suggesting a number of improvements. Obviously, all the remaining errors, blunders and misfires are entirely my own responsibility.

but rather *prison slang* forms one of the target points of the analysis and it is usually located within the larger socio-cultural panorama of the problem. Nonetheless, there are a few exceptions to this rule and one may encounter works whose only target of analysis is the language of the subgroup, such as those of Oryńska (1991), Einat and Einat (2000) and Einat and Livnat (2012). Due to the fact that the very subject of the functions served by this particular language variety seems to receive merely fragmentary treatment in the publications mentioned, the main purpose set to this paper is to propose a somewhat systematized picture of the functional aspects of *prison argot*. In other words, an attempt will be made to single out such clearly emerging functions as <SOLIDARITY AND LOYALTY FUNCTION>, <IDENTITY EXPRESSING FUNCTION>, <SECRETIVE FUNCTION>, <ALLEVIATING FUNCTION> and <INMATE RECOGNITION FUNCTION>.

Multiple studies have examined the language repertoire used by inmates which is as difficult to account for as other aspects of prison subculture. The number of factors that make the picture of this particular language variety dim and complicated is extensive, and hence understanding them demands specific knowledge in certain academic areas, ranging from psychology and sociology, to criminology. Accordingly, there are many controversial questions surrounding the phenomenon of *prison argot*; one of them pertains specifically to the subject of its functions.

In search of the functions of *prison slang*, let us start from analysing the power to form and maintain solidarity and group loyalty within the subgroup, which is almost universally foregrounded in most publications and stressed by those who come into contact with representatives of this group (see Einat and Einat 2000, Sykes 1958, Lutze and Murphy 1999). Linguists seem to agree that *prison argot*, being a subtype of *anti-language*,² serves the function of affirming membership and validating its anti-normative character. Thus, in other words, *prison jargon* may be considered to be a kind of a 'boundary-maintaining mechanism' in which words and expressions — on the one hand — aim at excluding the free society and deliberately alienating by means of using words that are derisive and derogatory when they reference people outside of the subgroup, and — on the other hand — reinforcing group solidarity by the use of terms and expressions that are, not infrequently, euphemistic or even laudatory for themselves. The lexical manifestations of the <SOLIDARITY AND LOYALTY FUNCTION> are by no means hard to find. And so, for example in English *prison slang* the term *boss*, used extensively by inmates to refer to correctional officers, at first glance, seems to be positively loaded but, in fact, it is a derogatory term which began its life in the early years of penitentiaries as the reversed interpretation of *sorry son of a b**itch*³ read backwards. Other negatively loaded terms used in the human-

² For more on the issue of *anti-language*, see Halliday (1976).

³ To meet the criterion of politeness and taboo avoidance in the spelling sequence of words that may be considered as insulting by the reader, we apply a convention of breaking such spelling sequences with two asterisks.

specific sense of ‘a correctional officer’ are *pig* and *monkey*.⁴ For those who are inside criminal society, among the euphemistic terms found in *prison argot* we encounter the term *organisation* used to convey the sense of ‘a gang’, or *retired* whose semantic reading is ‘a lifer’. Less frequent as they are, one may speak of laudatory terms such as *convict* or *old school* which are used by inmates in the sense of ‘a prisoner with traditional values, one who has pride and respect and maintains integrity within prison’. Assuming the comparative angle we see the Polish *gad* (literally ‘a reptile’) that is a derisive term used to refer to ‘a correctional officer’ and *milioner* (literally ‘a millionaire’), that pigeonholes a given criminal in a particular category because it is used in the very specific sense of ‘a prisoner who has been incarcerated for committing an economic crime’.

According to Pollock (2006:94): [...] *prisoner argot serves as a symbolic expression of group loyalty, the use of which serves as a measure of integration and allegiance to the inmate subculture*. This emphasis is in line with some recent studies of Einat and Livnat (2012:101) who explicitly suggest that: [...] *mastery of the argot represents an important index for the degree of a prisoner’s assimilation into the prison subculture, a great deal of pressure is put to bear on the inmate to learn it*. As one may observe, *prison slang* is certainly a kind of a hermetic language variety which promotes isolation and serves to unite, and is also a tool for demonstrating criminal identity and full loyalty. Interestingly, such values as loyalty and unity are, not infrequently, given high status within certain professional groups and this includes criminal groups, and especially within the group of professional criminals.⁵ *Prison argot*, in other words, identifies an inmate as a well-versed member of the subgroup, but — on the other hand — reinforces the intended opaqueness and is an expression of a defensive reaction to the hostility of the outside world or other subgroups existing within prison walls, such as, for example, different prison gangs. As a result, various verbal manifestations of the <SOLIDARITY AND LOYALTY FUNCTION> pertain to the outside world as well as to those who are outside a given criminal group and, at the same time, organised within the limits of another group in the same criminal world. And hence, in certain states of the USA the acronym *AB* is used in the sense of ‘Aryan Brotherhood, a white prison gang’. Likewise, the semantic reading of *AC* is ‘Aryan Circle, a white prison gang’, the term *Border Brothers* is used in the sense of

⁴ Note that these two examples are cases of *zoosemy* (see Kleparski 1997, 2002, 2007).

⁵ For a number of authors dealing with the subject of the underground subcultures, including prison subculture (see Maurer 1940, Malik 1972, Schulte 2010 and Pollock 2006), the language used by criminals is considered to be a language of profession. As a matter of fact, the assumption that *prison slang* is mostly used by professional criminals has its roots in the works published by Maurer (1940) in which the author concluded that it was the language that was learnt and transmitted by the people who belonged to the social network as he believed it to be a kind of mirror of the social reality of criminals, and he suggested that *criminal argot* is used exclusively by professional criminals who are rooted in the milieu.

‘Mexican nationals’, whereas *Nazi Low Riders* is used in reference with ‘a white prison gang’. At the same time one can speak of derogatory terms that are used by members of a certain gang towards other gangs’ members, such as, for instance, *babydoll*, which is a Texas Syndicate *slang* term for Mexican Mafia members.⁶

All things considered, the mastery and day-to-day application of *prison slang* reflects and testifies to an inmate’s belonging to the subgroup of prisoners and that is the reason why upon entering any correctional institution prisoners are expected by other convicts to adopt a new way of communication, which, in turn, is a way of specialized socialisation into the new community. Moreover, *prison argot*, not infrequently, is regarded as a kind of ‘insurance policy’ for a recidivist who enters the environment of a new correctional institution, since it is then an indicator of the inmate’s membership to the subculture of prisoners. Therefore, we shall turn now to the <IDENTITY EXPRESSING FUNCTION> of *prison argot*.

According to a substantial number of researchers dealing with the subject of *prison subculture*, such as, for example, Cardozo-Freeman (1984), Nadrag and Stroescu (2010) and Einat and Livnat (2012), the peculiar language variety used by prisoners plays a very significant role in reflecting the attitudes, beliefs, needs and philosophies that are constitutive elements of an inmate’s identity. Identity, in this respect, is understood by Bucholtz and Hall (2005:586) as: [...] *the social positioning of self and others* [...] and is considered to be constituted through social action, and especially through language. In effect, in *prison argot* there is an extensive number of terms that determine an inmate’s position on the hierarchical ladder, and hence at the top of the hierarchy one finds a *convict boss*, a prisoner given authority in prison, whereas at the other end of the spectrum there are *rats*, *cheese eaters* and *snitches*, informants who give up information to correctional officers, child molesters referred to as *chester*, *Cho Mo*, *diaper snipper* or *diddler*, and passive homosexuals labelled as *joto*, *punk* or *old lady*.

When we narrow our perspective to Polish criminal language, we see that the hierarchy of prisoners displays certain similar, if not identical features. And hence, at the top there are *ludzie* (literally ‘people’), also labelled as *gitowcy* (literally ‘ok people’) who belong to the so-called subgroup of *grypsera*,⁷ a lower level is occupied by those who do not identify themselves with that group, and they are referred to as *frajerzy* (literally ‘losers’) by the members of *grypsera*. At the bottom of the ladder there are those least respected, labelled as *cwele*, *cwelatka* or *cwelerzy* (literally ‘wankers’) who are either passive homosexuals or those who were raped in prison.

⁶ The examples sketched in the foregoing derive from the American prison background which is due to the fact that it is the activity of American prison gangs that has been most extensively researched, whereas in Great Britain the issue has received merely fragmentary treatment and perfunctory attention. For more on this issue, see e.g. Klein (1995), Wood and Adler (2001).

⁷ The Polish term *grypsera* is a label for a widely understood prison subculture in Polish penitentiary. For more on this issue, see e.g. Szaszkiewicz (1997), Moczydłowski, (1991).

In order to lay stress on the importance of the identity constructing role of *prison argot*, let us quote at this point Boroff (1951:190) who vividly claimed that: *Pungent, vivid, racy, and irreverent, the parlance of prisoners' reflects the personality of the inmates who employ it, as well as the conflicts and tensions inherent in the institutional setting.* This emphasis is in line with the words of Nadrag and Stroescu (2010:12): *[...] prison argot reflects the personalities of inmates who employ them, as well as the conflicts and tensions inherent in prison settings. [...] the distinctiveness of prison argot is largely a product of the character of penal context. Its extent of use varies with the extent of penal discipline.* On the basis of the view quoted in the foregoing one may conclude that *prison slang* — on the one hand — is considered to be the embodiment of prisoners' identity or, in other words, personality, but — on the other hand — it may also justifiably be regarded as a way of defining the framework of a correctional institution and a mechanism reflecting other aspects of prisoners' lives, namely their conflicts and tensions arising as a result of living in conditions of confinement.⁸

Obviously, what has been labelled as the <IDENTITY EXPRESSING FUNCTION> is naturally linked to various other aspects of criminal existence and criminal conduct. It is clear that the more crime engaged the person is, the more there is to hide, or — to put it differently— the graver the crime, the greater the mystery and secret that there may be behind it. Therefore one of the most outstanding functions of *prison slang* is the <SECRETIVE FUNCTION> which forms the backbone of most of the definitions of this particular language variety. As pointed out by Sykes (1958:87):

Certain types of information are prohibited from flowing across social boundaries, erected within the group and deception, hypocrisy, spying, and betrayal emerge as crucial social events. The most obvious social boundary in the custodial institution is, of course, that which exists between captors and captives; and inmates argue fiercely that a prisoner should never give any information to the custodians which will act to the detriment of a fellow captive. [...] The bureaucracy of custodians and the population of prisoners are supposed to struggle in silence.

Obviously, there are situations in which inmates can hardly avoid facing correctional officers, and hence must communicate with them, which requires the use of appropriate language. As a result, in such situations prisoners use certain language terms that are accepted by correctional officers when applied to them,

⁸ As formulated by Stohr and Walsh (2012), certain types of prison form the most favourable conditions for the development of prison subculture, and hence: *By definition, the longer inmates are in an institution, associating with others like them, and the more "total" the institution is in its restrictions on liberty and contact with "outsiders," the more subjected inmates are to the pains of imprisonment, and the more likely they are to become "prisonized" in that they adopt the inmate subculture.* (Stohr and Walsh, 2012:118).

such as *CO* used in the sense of ‘a correctional officer’, *officer*, *mister* or the earlier discussed *boss*. In other communicative situations, not involving staff members, correctional officers are labelled as *screw*, *monkey* or *hack*, all of which are linked to a certain amount of negative load and emotional charge.

No doubt, one of the functions of *prison argot* is to prevent others, especially the correctional staff, from eavesdropping on any of the secrets of inmates’ activities. Nevertheless, as Pollock (2006: 94) puts it: *This may or may not be correct because guards usually know the meaning of prisoner slang as well as the prisoners do, and may use it to a significant degree.* This conclusion is also echoed in the work of Fiszer (2012:7) who suggests that: *Funkcjonariusze obcując z osadzonymi siłą rzeczy wsiąkają w to środowisko, niejako go współkreując. Czy tego chcą, czy nie, muszą, a przynajmniej powinni, znać swoisty język więźniów, czasem również posługiwać się nim.*⁹ As a result, it poses much difficulty for prisoners to communicate without the danger of being uncovered by the correctional staff.

It is not without significance that in most correctional institutions *prison slang* is resorted to in order to generate those signs that allow prisoners to distinguish between those who actively belong to inmate subculture and those who are outside it. In Polish prison subculture the semantically almost uninterpretable and very much conventional combination: *Feścisz, greścisz czy szeleścisz?* serves as the question addressed to those you meet for the first time and wish to check whether they have mastered *prison argot*, which is at the same time a manifestation of the <INMATE RECOGNITION FUNCTION>.

It would be a simplification to say that the secrecy inherent in *prison slang* merely serves as a tool for keeping information from correctional officers. Gambetta (2009) makes an important point and claims that the deviant and criminal character of criminals’ business implies severe constraints on their communication in general, and thus it forces them to draw from a large repertoire of communicative options, the most important of which is *prison argot*. Apparently, such an attitude is in line with the opinion recently expressed by Russel (2014:3) who argues that *prison argot [...] can be defined as a system of non-verbal symbols, vocabulary, and verbal expressions within a natural language that is used expressly for the purpose of concealment. The reason for secrecy in this case is criminal or deviant behavior[...].* Certainly, *prison slang* is frequently used as a means of talking about illegal or questionable activities without fear of discovery, not merely by the correctional staff, but also by members of the free society. Hence, instead of the verb *to steal* prisoners employ the euphemistic verb *to nick*, and they never commit any crime but they professionally *do the job*. For the same reasons stolen goods are referred to as being *hot* and a person paid to smuggle drugs from one country to another is zoosemically labeled *a mule*.

⁹ Custodial officers interacting with convicts naturally permeate their environment, so to say, participating in the formation of it. Whether they want it or not, they have to, or at least they should, know the language peculiar to inmates, sometimes they even have to use it. (Translation is mine).

Gambetta (2006) and Russel (2014) conclude that inmates do not use the tool of language merely to pass on information, but rather there exist other, sometimes highly sophisticated and ingenious methods of communication between prisoners, such as *mimic alphabet*, *miganka* (literally ‘winking’) which is a way of communicating by means of a specific sign language, *lustrzanka* (literally ‘mirror signaling’), involving the use of mirrors to pass on information over long distances, *stukanka* (literally ‘tapping’) which is a way of communicating by means of knocking radiators, sewer pipes, walls or the floor, *dmuchanka* (literally ‘blowing’) which involves the use of a rolled up newspaper serving as a tool for blowing out *grypsy* (literally ‘illegal letters’) which are pieces of secret information contained within the limits of tiny scratches of paper that are blown out over a distance as far as 20-30 meters.¹⁰ All things considered, the <SECRETIVE FUNCTION> of *prison slang* defends inmates against the curious ear of those people who belong to what is widely regarded as mainstream society and allows its users to recognise other convicts as active members of the subculture, to mention but a few.

Another critical function of *prison argot*, which is emphasized in a number of publications, pertains specifically its role in alleviating the severity and drudgery of life behind bars, and therefore one may speak here of an <ALLEVIATING FUNCTION>. Prison life is pervaded with pessimism and all-embracing futility, therefore inmates must find ways to cope with the emotions that result from the difficulties of living under constant stress, and in conditions of degradation and stigmatisation. According to Jones (2005:64), [...] *prison argot functions on the emotional level, venting a release of pent-up emotions such as anger, frustration and anxiety in a way that maintains social space while minimizing tension*. Hence, it is hardly surprising that inmates, not infrequently, resort to swearing, teasing or offensive joking to relieve tension. As a result, as pointed out by Busic (1987:8), [...] *the use and need for euphemism is nowhere more apparent than within a prison population. In this highly specialized subculture, the psychological need to disguise and transform unpalatable realities becomes critical*. In the language repertoire used by inmates one easily comes across ubiquitous elements of humour the presence of which lowers the level of severity of reality in order to make it bearable. And that is why we encounter such humorously picturesque terms as *diesel therapy* used in the sense of ‘being transferred on the prison bus’ or *ninja turtles* employed in the sense of ‘guards dressed in full riot gear’, whereas *escape dust* is used in the sense of ‘fog’. When we narrow our perspective to the Polish criminal background we come across such terms as *ołówek* (literally ‘a pencil’), used metaphorically in the sense of ‘a crowbar’ or *cyferka* (literally a dim. form of ‘a number’) which is employed in the sense of ‘an accountant’.

All things considered, one may say that the functions of *prison argot* are both various and many, and — as the language data suggests — they range from

¹⁰ For more on this issue, see Kamiński (2003), Szaszkiewicz (1997).

those that are related to the secret nature of prisoners' activity, inmates' feeling of loyalty and devotion to the prison subculture. At the other end of the spectrum there are such functions that pertain to prisoners' identity or personality traits, as well as the peculiar character of criminals' professional life. Obviously, there are also other, less frequently discussed functions that *prison slang* may serve, such as, for example, the facilitation of social interactions and relationships, which are considered by Einat and Einat (2000) as one of the major functions of this particular language variety, and which due to the space limits of the paper was not discussed.

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BELIEFS ABOUT LEARNING ENGLISH AS A FOREIGN LANGUAGE – EXPERIENCE OF DEAF AND HARD-OF- HEARING POLISH ADOLESCENTS

Abstract: Students' individual characteristics, beliefs about language learning among them, are nowadays perceived as important factors influencing both the increase of knowledge and student's personal engagement in the learning process. This is especially important when we consider teaching students with special educational needs, deaf and hard of hearing students (D/HH) among them. The better foreign language teachers know their students, the more effective the process of learning is. The aim of this paper is to provide empirical data on D/HH secondary school (liceum) students' beliefs on foreign language learning. The empirical study was conducted among 90 D/HH students of several Polish special secondary schools. The data was collected using the *Beliefs About Language Inventory* (Horwitz 1999). The results show both the potential of the students and areas for teachers' intervention, thus providing important input for surdo-glottodidactics.

Keywords: deaf, hard-of-hearing, beliefs, adolescents, surdo-glottodidactics.

Introduction

Student's motivation, opinions, attitudes and beliefs about language learning are regarded to be important factors that modify the process of studying a new language. Knowing and understanding them is essential to acknowledge learner strategies and plan appropriate language instruction.

This is especially important in groups of students with special educational needs and more specifically – students with hearing impairment. In Poland they have been regularly taught foreign languages only since 2001 and research on how they learn is really scarce, but growing (Domagała-Zyśk 2013a, 2013b, 2003). The

subject literature (cf. Cornett 2001, Krakowiak 2012) shows that deafness should be understood mainly as a language disability. This calls for specific teaching and learning strategies of both national and foreign language learning.

To date there has been almost no examination of what motivates deaf and hard-of-hearing (henceforth D/HH) students, or what beliefs or attitudes they have towards learning a foreign language. The only studies include the ones conducted by Domagała-Zyśk on motivation (2012, 2013c) and beliefs about foreign language learning by D/HH university students (2013a). The aim of this paper is thus to provide empirical data on DHH secondary school students' beliefs about foreign language learning. The empirical study was conducted among 90 deaf and hard of hearing students of several Polish special secondary schools. The data was collected using the *Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory* (Horwitz 1999) and analyzed statistically.

On the importance of research on beliefs about language learning

In recent years the language learner has started to be perceived not only as a passive receiver of knowledge about language but more as an active participant of the teaching and learning process. Consequently, analyses of the important factors modifying this process were extended and they include not only issues connected with the quality of reading, writing, listening and speaking skills, but also components such as learners' opinions, attitudes, motivations or beliefs. This last element was thoroughly diagnosed recently by different authors (Horwitz 1999, 1998, 1988, Piechurska-Kuciel 2009, 2012; Bernat 2004, 2006, 2008, Bernat, Carter, Hall 2009, Bernat, Gvozdenko 2005, Siebert 2003, Bernat, Piechurska-Kuciel 2009, Bernat, Lyod 2007) in many international and intercultural groups.

Beliefs are defined as "ways of understanding the world, assumptions and proposals that we believe to be true" (Richardson 1996, s.102) and may relate to factors such as the perceived level of difficulty/complexity of a given language (e.g. *English is more difficult than German*), the difficulties encountered in the process of acquisition of different language skills (e.g. *speech is the most difficult thing to learn*), conviction of the superiority of certain learning strategies over the others (e.g. *you can learn a foreign language only while speaking to its native users*), the time needed to master a foreign language, expectations regarding the possibility of success, opinions on learning style or attitudes towards teachers. These beliefs cannot be underestimated, but must be taken into account in the process of creating the study plans and selecting teaching strategies. Teachers should not only know the students' beliefs, but also try to analyze and correct those that might be unfavorable in the process of learning a foreign language (Bernat, Gvozdenko 2005).

Students' beliefs about learning seem to be more important for the results achieved by them than personal characteristics such as intelligence and abilities (cf.

Thomas, Harri-Augustein 1983). Students who have realistic and positive beliefs about language learning do better than those whose beliefs are unrealistic and/or negative. The first group is more active during the lessons and spends more time on learning (Bernat, Gvozdenko 2005). It was also agreed that learners' beliefs about language learning provide an explanation for their choice to use certain learning strategies (Horwitz 1988, Wenden 1986)

Different factors may influence students' beliefs. They can be divided into personal and socio-cultural ones. Personal factors are those that result from the student's previous personal experience (cf. Gaoyin, Alvermann 1995) and individual differences such as gender (Siebert 2003), age or personality (Langston, 1997, Sykes, Furnham, Johnsonm Rawles 2002). Socio-cultural factors may include family characteristics (e.g. material status of the family, parents' educational level), human capital level (e.g. social network) and also institutional characteristics (type of institution where learning takes place, school curriculum, peer relationships).

Studies on the beliefs about language learning have been done in different countries and school environments. Some of them are jointly analyzed in a paper by Horwitz (1999). On the basis of seven major studies performed among different nationalities: American students learning French and Spanish (Horwitz, 1988, Kern 1995), Japanese (Oh 1996), Korean (Truitt 1995), Taiwanese (Yang 1992) and Turkish (Kunt 1997) students learning English as a foreign language, she concluded that beliefs about language learning, personal characteristics of the students (age, stage of life, the context of language learning), levels of foreign language proficiency and the type of language instruction they receive during the language course are more important than the socio-cultural characteristics such as nationality or cultural differences. Similar conclusions are formulated by Berent (2006) who investigated 262 students from 19 different countries learning English as a foreign language in Australia. She summarizes her results by stating that beliefs about language learning are not specific to the socio-cultural factors, but depend on personal factors and the structure of metacognitive knowledge of the person. The latest students show also links between beliefs about language learning and level of anxiety (Tsai 2008), gender (Siebert 2003) and type of educational institution (private or state, small vs large etc., Rifkin 2000).

Deaf and hard-of-hearing students – diversity of the population

The group of deaf and hard-of-hearing students is relatively small, as hearing problems appear in less than 1% of the population. However, this group is extremely diversified, as there are different medical conditions causing hearing impairment and hearing loss is diagnosed at different stages of the child's life. Additionally, there are diverse social, demographical and educational factors influencing the child's development and this makes it really difficult to categorise the group. In the

past, according to the suggestions from the International Office of Audiophonology (BIAP), the population of the deaf and hard-of-hearing persons was characterised mainly according to the level of hearing impairment: persons with mild (20-40 dB), moderate (41-70 dB), severe (71-90 dB) and profound impairment (more than 90 dB). It was presumed that the hearing loss measure could characterize the person best and the therapy types were adjusted accordingly.

Today the reality is more complicated. Digital hearing aids and cochlear implants can help some people even with the deepest hearing loss and turn them into functionally hearing individuals. The mode and intensity of rehabilitation – or lack of it - can also change the actual skills of the hearing impaired person. At the same time there is a large group of persons, both with severe to profound or intermediate hearing loss who choose to communicate in sign language and live according the principles of the so called Deaf Culture – a social movement that promotes Deaf identity, sign language communication and specific culture (history, traditions, language and art) of Deaf persons (Ladd 2003, Domagała-Zyśk 2013b, 166). Generally it seems to be useful to categorize the group of persons with hearing loss into two groups. The criterion of this should be communication style. Thus, we can distinguish: 1. Deaf persons, who communicate in sign language and identify with the Deaf community; 2. Hard-of-hearing persons, who use their national language as their means of communication and think of themselves as belonging to the national community. When we take this perspective, the medically diagnosed level of hearing loss does not play a crucial role.

The population of the D/HH persons is not easy to study. Its extreme diversity, low abundance and radical changes arising from technological support make it difficult to assess purely homogeneous groups. Due to not having them, it is difficult to generalize the research results. Therefore studies of DHH population are mainly case studies or small group studies and help to understand only a part of this complex reality.

As it was mentioned before, to date there has been almost no research on language learning beliefs of deaf and hard-of-hearing students. Today interest in foreign language methodology for this group is a growing one (Domagała-Zyśk 2013b, Kontra 2013, Pritchard 2013, Ochse 2013), mainly thanks to implementation of the ideas of normalization and inclusion of persons with disabilities into regular education. So far research on beliefs about language learning were conducted by Domagała-Zyśk (2013a) in an international group of 146 deaf and hard-of-hearing university students. The results of the latter research showed that the participants perceive foreign language fluency as an important factor to receiving a high quality education and to gaining better job opportunities. Almost 70% of the participants show a high motivation to learn a foreign language. This is not a low percentage, but definitely lower than the 90% found in the hearing students (Siebert 2003, Bernat 2006). Deaf and hard-of-hearing students believe that reading and writing are the easiest components of foreign language learning, while as the most difficult

they regard speech recognition. The interesting fact is that neither the nationality, nor the age, sex, level of hearing loss and preferred mode of communication differentiate the study participants.

Aims of the present study

The purpose of this study was to analyze DHH Polish secondary school students' beliefs about foreign language learning and locate them within the taxonomy of language learning beliefs using BALLI survey instrument. Identification and educational analysis of these beliefs and reflection on their potential impact on language learning of DHH subjects can be beneficial for surdo-glottodidactics and can influence future syllabus design and teacher practice in the course. An additional purpose was to check whether these beliefs are similar to, or different from beliefs of hearing subjects reported in other studies in which BALLI questionnaire was used.

Method and research procedure

The *Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory* (BALLI, Horwitz 1988) originally consists of 34 items on a Likert type scale and assesses the students' beliefs in 5 fields: 1) Foreign language aptitude; 2) The difficulty of language learning; 3) The nature of language learning; 4) Learning and communication strategies and 5) Motivation and expectations. BALLI was designed specifically with language learners in mind. It does not usually present any challenges in terms of language comprehension. However, after preliminary checking in a group of 7 DHH students it appeared that the English versions were too difficult for them to use so the text was translated into Polish by the author of this paper and back translated by two independent experts in the field. One of the questions was changed so as to suit better the studied population. Item 26 of the original scale, *It is important to practice with cassettes or tapes* was excluded from the inventory as DHH students usually do not use them. Instead of that, one more item was introduced. This new item aimed at checking the students' general belief about language usage for their education, *It is important for me to learn a foreign language as I want to be well educated*. Finally this 34-item version was used in the study, accompanied by a short personal questionnaire. Students were allocated 45 minutes to complete the test; those who used sign language as their main means of communication could have benefited from the presence of their English teachers who knew sign language as they were there to explain unknown phrases. However, none of the students asked for such support to complete the questionnaire. Finally the data was entered into SPSS for statistical analysis.

Participants

A research sample included 90 DHH students recruited from DHH students studying at four Special Schools for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing in four different Polish towns. All of them were secondary school students. Their age was between 16-21 and the mean was 17,2. The male students were slightly predominant (53%). In term of their hearing loss 10% of the students had slight hearing loss (henceforth HL, 21-40dB), following by 10% of moderate HL (41-69 dB), 15% of severe HL (70-89 dB) and 42% had profound HL (90 dB or more). They usually communicated in different ways: using Polish Sign Language (50%), Signed Polish (35%) or speech and speech reading (52%).

At secondary schools in Poland students usually learn two foreign languages, but individuals with serious hearing or speech problems can be waived from the classes of a second foreign language. It might be of a certain help for the DHH students to continue education without learning a second foreign language, but on the other hand it causes a significant disadvantage for this group. While their peers have a chance to get to know during their education two or three foreign languages and the culture of the countries where these languages are used, DHH students usually learn only one foreign language and it is most often English. It can also be illustrated by the characteristics of the study group: 97% students have been learning English and 20% attended German classes. Nine students have been learning other languages: Russian (4 persons), French (2 persons), Spanish, Italian and Latin (1 person each).

Results

In this part BALLI questionnaire results will be presented and analyzed. BALLI items 1,2,6,10,11,16,19, 30, 31 relate to the beliefs about general foreign language aptitude and beliefs about characteristics of successful and unsuccessful language learners. It can be stated that these items address the issues of individual potential for achievements in language learning. In this study the DHH participants generally mildly support the belief about special abilities necessary for language learning. Less than half of the participants believe that some people have special language abilities and about 40% assume that it is easier for children than for adults to learn foreign languages. Consequently – in a way – they do not believe in their own potential and language abilities - 39% declare they disagree with the statement *I have special language abilities*. They also generally disagree with the statement that women possess better language abilities than men (26%). Students' responses are shown in Table1 below.

Table 1. Foreign language aptitude

| No | BALLI statement | Mean | Agree | Disagree |
|--------|--|------|-------|----------|
| B1 | It is easier for children than adults to learn a foreign language | 3,3 | 42 | 16 |
| B2 | Some people have a special ability for learning foreign languages | 3,5 | 48 | 9 |
| B6 | People from my country are good at learning foreign languages | 3,0 | 6 | 4 |
| B10 | It is easier for someone who already speaks a foreign language to learn another one | 3,0 | 11 | 11 |
| B11 | People who are good at mathematics or science are not good at learning foreign languages | 2,5 | 3 | 39 |
| B16 | I have a special ability for learning foreign languages | 2,5 | 2 | 39 |
| B19 | Women are better than men at learning foreign languages | 2,7 | 4 | 26 |
| B29/30 | If I learn a foreign language very well, I will have better opportunities for a good job | 2,9 | 12 | 15 |
| B32/31 | I would like to have friends from the country where they use the language I am learning | 3,0 | 21 | 10 |

*Agree – means percent of answers *I agree* and *I strongly agree*; Disagree indicates a choice of answers *I disagree* and *I strongly disagree*

Next category of items describes difficulties in foreign language learning and comprises items no 3,4,15,25 and 34. In the study only 12% of the respondents believed that a foreign language is an easy or a very easy subject. More of the respondents (19%) were instead convinced that a foreign language is a difficult or very difficult subject for them. At the same time they believed that it is really hard to learn a foreign language – they mostly answered that one needs 5 to 10 years to learn it. They admitted that it is easier for them to understand to read and write than to speak in a foreign language.

Table 2. The difficulty of language learning

| No | BALLI statement | Mean | Agree | Disagree |
|--------|--|------|-------|----------|
| B3 | Some languages are easier to learn than others | 3,2 | 34 | 12 |
| B4 | A foreign language that I learn is a very difficult language | 2,5 | 12 | 19 |
| B15 | If someone spent one hour a day learning a language, how long would it take them to speak the language very well: (a) less than a year (b) 1-2 years (c) 3-5 years (d) 5-10 years (e) You can't learn a language in 1 hour a day | 2,4 | 26 | 1 |
| B25 | It is easier to speak than understand a foreign language | 2,8 | 9 | 21 |
| B33/34 | It is easier to read and write in a foreign language than to speak and understand it | 3,0 | 21 | 13 |

The third category includes six items describing the nature of language learning (8,12,17,23,27, 28). These concern the role of cultural knowledge and language immersion in the language learning, item 26 determines if a learner views language learning as different from other types of learning and items 17,23,27 assess the learner's conception of the focus of the language learning. The study found that DHH students believed that learning a foreign language means mainly translating from a native into a foreign language (24%), learning vocabulary (22%) and learning grammar (14%). Students are partially convinced that in the process of language learning it is valuable to get to know the culture of foreign countries (19%) and learn language in a country where it is used (24%). Table 3 shows students' responses.

Table 3. The nature of language learning

| No | BALLI statement | Mean | Agree | Disagree |
|--------|---|------|-------|----------|
| B8 | It is necessary to know a lot about the culture of the country where they use the language you learn | 2,9 | 19 | 24 |
| B12 | It is best to learn a foreign language in a country where it is spoken | 3,0 | 24 | 14 |
| B17 | The most important part of learning a foreign language is learning vocabulary | 3,2 | 22 | 4 |
| B23 | The most important part of learning a foreign language is learning the grammar | 2,8 | 14 | 15 |
| B26/27 | Learning a foreign language is different than learning other academic subjects | 2,9 | 7 | 15 |
| B27/28 | The most important part of learning a foreign language is learning how to translate from my native language | 3,2 | 24 | 2 |

The fourth BALLI category comprises seven items (7,9,13,14,18,21,22), which address language and communication strategies. These items are the most directly related to the DHH students learning strategies. The participants strongly endorsed repetition as their main learning strategy (29%). Interestingly, although many of them experience severe problems in speech production, they believe that it is important to pronounce the foreign words correctly (29%). They do not see themselves as shy while communicating with foreigners (only 7% do), but at the same time not more than 13% of them like using a foreign language. Table 4 below details their responses.

Table 4. Learning and communication strategies

| No | BALLI statement | Mean | Agree | Disagree |
|-----|---|------|-------|----------|
| B7 | It is important to speak a foreign language with an excellent pronunciation | 3,2 | 28 | 1 |
| B9 | You shouldn't say anything in a foreign language until you can say it correctly | 2,7 | 9 | 27 |
| B13 | I enjoy practicing a foreign language with native speakers of it | 2,9 | 13 | 22 |

| | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|----|----|
| B14 | It is o.k. to guess if you don't know a word in a foreign language | 2,9 | 6 | 29 |
| B18 | It is important to repeat and practice a lot | 3,2 | 29 | 6 |
| B21 | I feel timid speaking a foreign language with other people | 2,7 | 7 | 23 |
| B22 | If students – beginners are permitted to make errors in a foreign language, it will be difficult for them to speak correctly later on | 2,9 | 14 | 12 |

BALLI items 5,20,24,29,31 and 32 relate to motivations, expectations, desires and opportunities that the students associate with the learning of their target language. The DHH students express an intermediate level of belief that they will be able to get to know a foreign language well (28%). Still, they seem to be mildly convinced that they want to learn a foreign language well (24%) in a contemporary world, knowing a foreign language means the possibility of getting a better job (28%) and a good quality of education (19%). Students' responses are shown in Table 5 below.

Table 5. Motivation and expectations

| No | BALLI statement | Mean | Agree | Disagree |
|--------|--|------|-------|----------|
| B5 | I believe that I will learn to speak a foreign language very well | 3,3 | 28 | 9 |
| B20 | People from my country feel that it is important to speak a foreign language | 3,1 | 19 | 4 |
| B24 | I would like to learn a foreign language so that I can get to better know people from the country where it is used | 3,0 | 23 | 14 |
| B28/29 | If I learn a foreign language very well, I will have better opportunities for a good job | 3,2 | 28 | 7 |
| B30/31 | I want to learn to speak a foreign language well | 3,0 | 24 | 12 |
| B31/32 | I would like to have friends from the country where they use the language I learn | 2,9 | 22 | 16 |
| 34 | It is important for me to study a foreign language in order to be better educated | 3,0 | 19 | 7 |

Estimated differences and similarities between secondary school DHH students and hearing students from Poland

As it was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, BALLI has been used extensively to assess beliefs about language learning in different groups of students. One such study was conducted by Piechurska-Kuciel (2009) in a group of 488 hearing Polish secondary school students in one of Polish towns. The students were 17-19 years old so their age and type of school are similar to the participants of the study presented in this paper. Disparities in the number of participant (N=488 and N=90) do not allow for a detailed statistical comparison, but still the research results

can be analyzed so as to formulate some practical advice for surdo-glottodidactic.

Generally DHH students' results show their "conservatism". If we assume that mean values 1.0-2.0 counts for low level of beliefs, 2.1-3.9 – medium and 4.0-5.0 – high level, then all their beliefs can be located within the medium interval, while the beliefs of the hearing students as described by Piechurska-Kuciel (2009) vary in their intensity and some of them reach the highest interval. Detailed analysis of the items shows that hearing students are much more certain that it is important for Polish people to know a foreign language (B20; 3.1- 4.13), every person can learn a foreign language well (B31/24: M=3.0 - M=4.1), some people have special language abilities (B2: M=3.5 – M=4.25), it is better to learn a foreign language abroad in a country where it is spoken (B12: M=3.0 – M=4.20) and a good command of a foreign language helps in getting a good job (B28: M=3.2 - M=4.25). Although DHH students are convinced that language learning is mainly about revising and repeating language material, the hearing students are much more certain as for that (B18; M=3.2; M=4.23). Interestingly, some of the results are similar. Students from both groups express similar medium level beliefs as far as the meaning of correct pronunciation (B7: M=3.2 – M=3.6) and tolerance for pronunciation mistakes are concerned (B9: M=2.7 – M=1.96). Although DHH students experience potentially more severe difficulties in communication with other people, the level of theirs and the hearing students' beliefs concerning their eagerness to communicate with people from other countries is similar and of medium intensity (B13: M=2.9 – M= 2.88). Hearing and DHH students are also similar in their doubt as far as the predominance of language abilities in women is concerned – both groups express medium level of beliefs concerning that item (B19/22: M=2.7 - M= 2.62). Table 6 presents data of chosen items of BALLI as received in these two studies.

Table 6. Selected results of hearing secondary school students (Piechurska-Kuciel, Bernat 2009) and D/HH students described in this paper

| Item No | Item content | Mean (M) DHH students, present study | Level L-low M- medium H- high | Mean (M) Hearing students (Piechurska-Kuciel, Bernat 2009) | Level L-low M- medium H- high |
|---------|---|--|--|--|--|
| 2 | Some people have a special ability for learning foreign languages | 3,5 | M | 4,45 | H |
| 7 | It is important to speak a foreign language with an excellent pronunciation | 3,2 | M | 3,66 | M |
| 9 | You shouldn't say anything in a foreign language until you can say it correctly | 2,7 | M | 1,96 | M |

| | | | | | |
|-------|--|-----|---|------|---|
| 12 | It is best to learn a foreign language in a country where it is spoken | 3,0 | M | 4,20 | H |
| 13 | I enjoy practicing a foreign language with native speakers of it | 2,9 | M | 2,88 | M |
| 17 | The most important part of learning a foreign language is learning vocabulary | 3,1 | M | 3,59 | M |
| 18 | It is important to repeat and practice a lot | 3,2 | M | 4,23 | H |
| 19/22 | Women are better than men at learning foreign languages | 2,7 | M | 2,62 | M |
| 20 | People from my country feel that it is important to speak a foreign language | 3,1 | M | 4,13 | H |
| 26/27 | Learning a foreign language is different than learning other academic subjects | 2,9 | M | 3,72 | M |
| 28/29 | If I learn a foreign language very well, I will have better opportunities for a good job | 3,2 | M | 4,25 | H |
| 29/30 | People who speak more than one language are very intelligent | 2,9 | M | 3,30 | M |
| 31/32 | I would like to have friends from the country where they use the language I learn | 2,9 | M | 3,47 | M |
| 32/34 | Everyone can learn to speak a foreign language | 3,0 | M | 4,01 | H |

Conclusion

Researchers generally agree that deeper knowledge about a learner leads to more effective teaching strategies being found. This is especially important when we consider teaching special needs students, DHH students among them. Usually language teachers have not had any training in special education. It is not easy for them to accomplish the task of teaching these special groups. Making the bulk of

specialist knowledge in the field of surdoglottodidactics more accessible is thus an important task nowadays. The research results discussed in this paper call for concrete teaching strategies.

One of the most important results is that one showing that only 1/5 of the DHH students considers a foreign language a difficult subject. This result informs that generally DHH students perceive foreign language classes as a manageable subject and are ready to learn it. They know it takes a long time to master it but almost 1/3 of the respondents admitted that they are sure they will learn a foreign language well. At the same time almost 40% of the respondents state that they do not have any language abilities and only 1% admitted that they do have a talent for language learning. It is worth mentioning that in Domagała-Zyśk's international research (2013a) conducted among 146 DHH university students, just 16% expressed the conviction that they have language abilities. This comparison shows that the participants of the study analyzed in this paper present rather low self-esteem as far as their potential is concerned. It needs to be boosted by their teachers and school counselors. Hearing impairment poses a serious barrier for language acquisition, but at the same time does not mean that a person is bereft of language abilities.

The second conclusion is that in this research students indicated their preferences for certain learning strategies. It is easier for them to read, write and understand a foreign language than to speak it. They also admitted that in order to learn a foreign language well they need a lot of repetition and translation. These results call for teaching strategies that involve work based on reading, translation and writing. At the same time an astonishingly large group of about 28% admitted that it is very important to pronounce a foreign language well. This result is ambiguous. It may mean that some DHH students also want to learn foreign pronunciation, as 52% of them already use Polish speech as their means of communication. At the same time, when a sign language user agrees with such a sentence, it may mean he/she perceives a foreign language as an unattainable goal that cannot be reached by them – and this may provoke a feeling of helplessness and resignation. This phenomena calls both for the teachers' precise observation and for future surdoglottodidactical research.

Thirdly, it is important to notice not only differences, but also similarities of the study results with the results reported in studies among hearing subjects. The sketchy comparison shows that DHH students' results cannot be interpreted in isolation, but calls for a thorough knowledge of research results amongst hearing students. The first such comparison shows many similarities. This is an important argument for using similar approaches and methods both in general foreign language methodology and in surdo-glottodidactics. They should be, however, adjusted to the special communication needs of the DHH students. All these phenomena call for future detailed research.

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GENRE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH-WRITTEN MASTER'S THESES AND DISSERTATION ABSTRACTS IN THE SETTING OF PREŠOV UNIVERSITY

Abstract: The genre of abstract is an important part of academic writing which functions as an eye-catcher inducing other members of a particular discourse community to read the original work. While conference abstracts (CA) and research article abstracts (RA) have been widely discussed from the perspective of genre analysis, the importance of thesis abstracts (TA) has been, on the other hand, neglected. According to the present paper, TA embodies the essential step in development of a student's academic writing skills. Moreover, this study examines the issue of English-written TA with the focus on five widely used rhetorical moves, tense and grammatical subject used by the students of Management at Prešov University. The corpus of 33 Master's and 33 Dissertation thesis abstracts shows a common preference for the moves of Problem Statement and Methodology, whereas the most significant moves of Results and Conclusion are sparsely included. The phenomenon of tenses displays the predominance of the present simple and it is pointed out that the students prefer non-personal Discourse Domain grammatical subjects. The results confirm the underestimated position of TA and show how its genre features are characteristic of the Slovak academic setting.

Key words: genre analysis, academic writing, thesis abstract, rhetorical moves, tense, grammatical subject.

The background to thesis abstract analysis

Thesis abstract (TA) as a text type reifies a vital component in the world of academia. Although limited in length, it is aimed at fulfilling the underlying function of communicating information on an original piece of writing to a predominantly academic readership. In doing so, a set of rhetorical and linguistic features is chosen by the text producer and it is their interrelationship on which this study is focused. The analysis is carried out in the setting of *Prešov University*, thus

the outcomes reveal the characteristics of Slovak students when writing the only part of academic work in their non-native language – English.

In order to pursue the analysis itself, it is important to make clear at the outset what the position of TA is within a framework of genre analysis. *Genre* is generally distinguished by a communicative function which is superordinate to its linguistic features (Swales 1990:58). The communicative function consequently identifies a set of purposes embodied within rhetorical strategies used by the text producer which determine the actual textual structure as well as the use of language in genre.

Concerning the structure, an abstract is recognised in two basic subtypes influenced by a slightly different set of communicative purposes (Stašková 2005:30). The first type is exemplified by the *conference abstract* with its main purpose of persuading the members of a conference committee on the significance of a future presentation (Berkenkotter and Huckin 1995). Secondly, a *research article abstract* aims at presenting the overall structure of an already written piece of academic work and emphasises its findings (Čmerjková, Daneš and Světlá 1999:75). The text type of TA appears to fulfill the communication function characteristic of research article abstracts, thus the textual structure of TA mirrors the structure of the original thesis which is reflected in a set of rhetorical moves.

Although there is not an absolute model of rhetorical moves, the most widely known and effective one seems to be Koopman's model (1997) which consists of five communicative stages, i.e. *Motivation; Problem Statement; Methodology; Results* and *Conclusion*. The merit of the model for the present study is reflected by its correspondence with the standards for writing final theses at *Prešov University* provided by the document *STN ISO 214 Abstrakty (referáty) pre publikácie a dokumentáciu*.¹

As pointed out above, the use of language in genre is primarily under the influence of communicative purposes of a particular text type. The linguistic features peculiar to an abstract were first summarised by Graetz (1985:125) as follows: the use of past tense, third person and passive structures; the non-use of negatives and the avoidance of redundancy. Since language is a living substance dependent on its users, the linguistic option of the present simple happens to be more popular at present (Swales 1990:180-181). A subtly higher occurrence of the passive in abstracts is still evident, however the presence of the active voice is becoming more and more frequent (Busà 2005:45-46). In turn, the third person singular and the general avoidance of redundancy keep their hegemonic position and have become inherent features of the language used in abstracts. Although there is a constant change in language users' preferences, Graetz (1985) has outlined the areas of interest when analysing the linguistic features of abstract and two of them – the use of tense and grammatical subject – underpin our research.

What is more, Gosden's (1993) categorisation of grammatical subjects into four domains, i.e. *the Participant; Discourse; Hypothesised/Objectivised (H/O)*

¹ The author's translation: *Abstracts (Reports) for Publication and Documentation*.

and *Real World*, functions as a stepping stone to the present analysis. Given the categories, one can notice a scale ranging from the presence of the writer in the text on the one hand, up to his or her absence on the other hand. The presence of the text producer is evident by the use of pronouns, common and proper nouns in the Participant Domain, e.g. *we*; *author*. The Discourse Domain subject describes the internal or previously community-validated units of the text, e.g. *literature*; *study*. The H/O subject represents externally validated entities as well as the author's mental activity, e.g. *aim*; *idea*. Finally, the Real World Domain accounts for nominalisations of mental and research processes and entities. The classification is widely used in the analyses of research articles (cf. Busà 2005; Ebrahimi, Chan and Ain 2014) and thus seems to be suitable for the context of the current study drawing from the parallels between research article abstract and TA.

Since the aforementioned theoretical and empirical framework is predominantly drawn from the studies of English-written abstracts or by English-speaking linguists, the text type of abstract has been generally neglected by non-native speakers of the English language. Nevertheless, the process of globalisation has penetrated the academic world and Slovak academia has recently witnessed an increased interest in genre analysis of abstracts (cf. Krajňáková 2014a, 2014b; Rázusová 2012; Stašková 2005). As the present author considers English-written TA in the setting of Slovak universities to be the only contact with non-Slovak speaking members of academia, the inherent function and power to communicate the outcomes of an original thesis to a wider academic community is indisputable.

Concerning the research areas discussed, the author's previous studies on the rhetorical patterns in the corpus of abstracts of Bachelor's and Master's theses show the hegemony of Problem Statement and Methodology (Krajňáková 2014b) and the predominance of the present simple, the Discourse Domain subject, stereotypically used passive constructions and simple sentences (Krajňáková 2014a). The foregoing outcomes have raised the question of a potential link between the rhetorical and linguistic patterns used by non-native English speakers at *Prešov University*. In order to provide a reliable answer, this paper aims at going beyond the surface of the rhetorical moves by examining the connections between the textual structure and linguistic choices of text producers with focus on the morphosemantic feature of tense and the morphosyntactic feature of grammatical subject.

Corpus and research method

The corpus of 33 Master's and 33 PhD thesis abstracts under scrutiny is retrieved from the electronic database *Centrálny register záverečných a kvalifikačných prác*²

² The author's translation: *The Central Registry of Final and Qualification Theses*.

and compiled with regard to the following criteria. TA is (1) written in English; (2) written by non-native English speaking students of Management at *Prešov University*; (3) a part of Master's or PhD thesis. The overall number of the analysed thesis abstracts is determined by the number of PhD theses available in the Registry at the time of data collection. A numerically identical subcorpus is analogously drawn on Master's thesis abstracts.

The rationale behind the first two criteria is influenced by the author's primary area of research, which is the sociolinguistic phenomenon of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). From its perspective, the students of Management at *Prešov University* are proficient users of ELF and not learners (cf. Jenkins 2006). They are thus suitable subjects for discussion in terms of ELF communication in academic settings.

The third criterion reflects our wish to compare the academic writings of undergraduate and postgraduate students of Management at *Prešov University*. Although the author presupposes negligible differences, objective research has to be done to demonstrate this.

After the compilation of data in the first phase of the present research, the individual components, i.e. moves, tenses and grammatical subjects, are consequently identified and further interpreted in terms of potential mutual rhetorical and linguistic links. The overall dispersal of the moves in the present corpus is additionally contrasted with the outcomes of the author's previous studies. The most significant divergence is identified.

In examining the morphosemantic and morphosyntactic features, the identical procedural pattern is generated. It starts with measuring the incidence of particular linguistic items, which are subsequently labelled according to the particular rhetorical move they occur in. The research question here is whether the linguistic choices of tense and subject are dependent on the individual rhetorical moves embedded in the communicative function of TA and whether an evident pattern of the dependence can be recognised.

Thesis abstract analysis – rhetorical moves

Initially, the analysis inclusive of both subcorpora confirms the author's previous studies since the most recurrent moves appear to be Problem Statement and Methodology. Interestingly enough, more than a half of the analysed thesis abstracts (53%) are limited solely to these two moves. The move of Motivation is statistically equal to Results whereas the Conclusion move is nearly excluded from the textual structure of the abstracts discussed. Figure 1 summarizes the findings in percentages.

In the spirit of comparing the subcorpora at hand, Table 1 shows the distribution of moves in the two samples. The most striking difference is seen in the moves

of Results and Conclusion. Despite an increase in the Doctoral thesis abstracts, the incidence is still represented in relatively small numbers. What is important here is that the most recurrent as well as overlooked moves are identical for both subcorpora as anticipated by the author.

Figure 1. Percentage of all thesis abstracts containing particular moves.

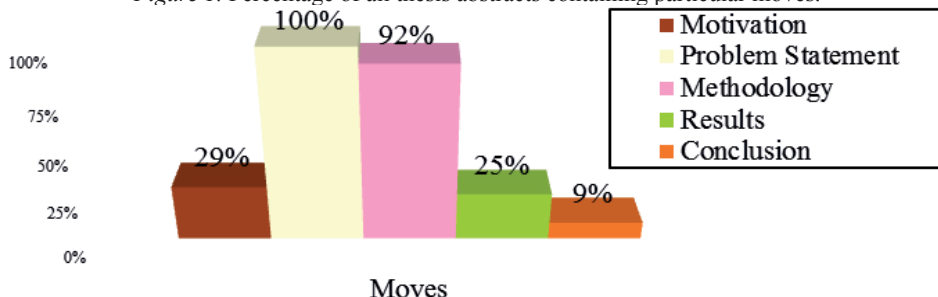


Table 1. Distribution of the moves in the subcorpora.

| | Master's TA | PhD TA | Average |
|-------------------|-------------|--------|---------|
| Motivation | 30 % | 27 % | 29 % |
| Problem Statement | 100 % | 100 % | 100 % |
| Methodology | 91 % | 94 % | 92 % |
| Results | 18 % | 33 % | 25 % |
| Conclusion | 6 % | 12 % | 9 % |

Thesis abstract analysis – tense

Since the situation of the moves is outlined, the study moves on to the subanalysis of the morphosemantic feature of tense. At the end of the twentieth century, text producers were advised to write the abstracts using only one tense, usually the past simple or present simple (cf. Graetz 1985; Swales 1990). At present, the homogenous character of abstracts is not so prevalent as writers tend to use a greater variety of tenses (cf. Orasan 2001; Rázusová 2012).

However, as shown in the table below, the prevailing dominance of one tense is still evident since 71% of all verb phrases are written in the present simple. This is followed by the past simple and interestingly enough by the present perfect simple. Taking into consideration the subcorpora, differences are negligible except for an increased use of the central modal *will* expressing the future in the Master's thesis abstracts. Its use expresses a sense of the writer's future intention and implies that the writing process of TA probably precedes the act of writing the thesis, which is not peculiar to this text type.

Other verbal forms range from the present continuous and past perfect up to the modals *would*; *could* and *may*; however they occur very infrequently.

Table 2. Tenses employed in the corpus.

| | Master's TA | PhD TA | Average |
|-------------------|-------------|--------|---------|
| present simple | 65 % | 76 % | 71 % |
| past simple | 23 % | 16 % | 20 % |
| present perfect | 7 % | 5 % | 6 % |
| modal <i>will</i> | 4 % | 0.5 % | 2 % |
| others | 1 % | 0.5 % | 1 % |

A closer look at the distribution of the past simple reveals that it is predominantly included in Methodology and Results. According to the findings, it seems to be employed when indicating the completion of the research, its past state or event, the most frequent verbs used being *analyse*; *confirm* and *show*; either in the active or passive.

The preference for the passive voice is more striking in the use of the present perfect simple, which mostly occurs in the Methodology move. Given the instances from the corpus such as *to be assessed*; *to be evaluated* and *to be fulfilled*; one can notice the intention of text producers to show the relevance and influence of the research in the present. This can be effective in persuading the readership on the significance that the thesis is topical and up-to-date.

At this point here, several points need to be made about the ubiquity of the present simple. The overwhelming dominance happens to be in the moves of Motivation and Problem Statement, but the problematic case seems to be Conclusion as it is hardly present in the corpus. However, when taking a different perspective, 8 out of 13 verb forms in this move are written in the present simple. It evidently confirms the dominance of the simple present in the academic world of TA.

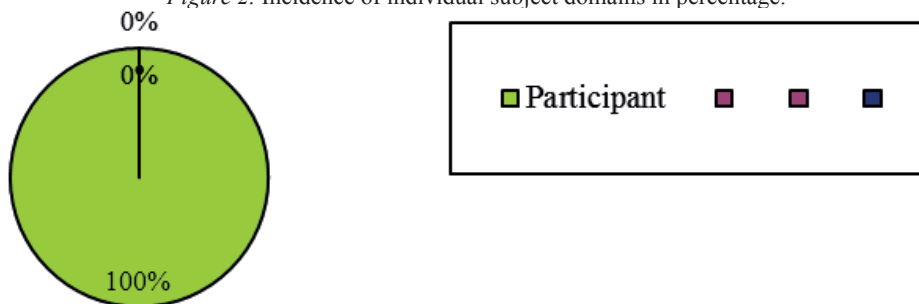
Thesis abstract analysis – grammatical subject

While the use of tense seems to be rather straightforward, the identification of grammatical subjects shows a diversification in use which can be seen in Figure 2.

In order to provide an objective picture of the outcomes, the analysis is carried out from two perspectives. The focus is initially put on the particular domains, their lexical realisations and frequency in the individual moves; secondly, the moves and their typical subject domains are examined. At the outset of the following subanalysis, it is important to note that the differences in the subject use between the subcorpora appear to be inconsiderable here and are therefore not discussed further in this subsection.

In the present research, the text producer is clearly recognised in the discourse, especially in Methodology and Results, by the use of the personal pronouns *we* and *I*, which represent the Participant Domain.

Figure 2. Incidence of individual subject domains in percentage.



According to Figure 2, the percentage of the Discourse Domain subject equals the sum of all other domains and appears to be the most frequent in the present corpus. Discourse Domain subjects refer here to internal entities and integral units of the text and predominantly occur in the Methodology and Problem Statement moves, e.g. *the first/second/third chapter*; *the/this thesis*.

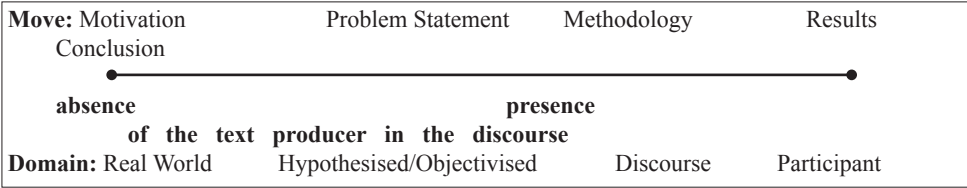
Focusing on the domain of H/O viewpoints, it is the move of Problem Statement in which they occur most. The most recurring phrase *the goal/aim + (prepositional phrase)* implies the writer's intention and general modality which is reinforced by the distance of the writer within the text.

Finally, the absent writer happens to be in the Real World Domain, which is in a position similar to the Participant Domain in terms of its frequency. However, a noteworthy difference is evident when discussing their use in the rhetorical moves. As mentioned above, the Participant Domain subject is predominantly employed in Methodology and Results, in contrast, text producers opt for the subject referring to the Real World Domain in the Motivation and Conclusion moves, e.g. *globalisation*; *the world*.

By way of summarizing the subanalysis, the investigation of the individual communicative stages and their typical subject domains reveals the preferences of text producers for a particular set of linguistic tools. Motivation is, despite its underestimated position in abstract writing, characteristic of the grammatical subjects referring to the Real World entities and processes. The most recurrent move of Problem Statement turns up to be a representative of the H/O subjects pursued by Discourse Domain. Methodology is linguistically reflected by the Discourse and Participant Domains. The Participant Domain is similarly present in Results and the almost invisible move of Conclusion is reified by the Real World Domain.

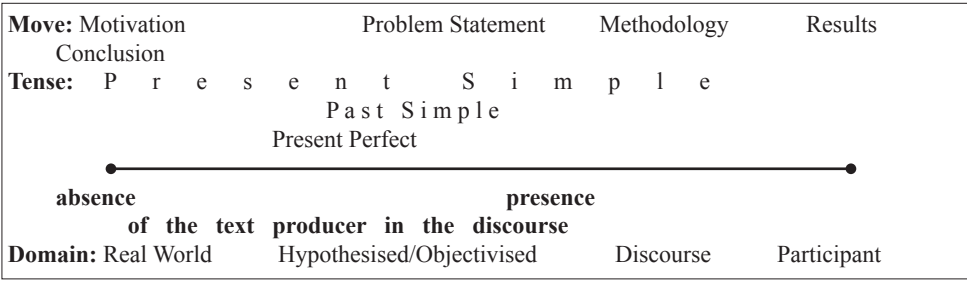
Given Gosden's model (1993) of the presence/absence of the writer in the text, the individual rhetorical moves can be placed in the continuum as illustrated below.

Figure 3. Interrelation between rhetorical moves and grammatical subject domains.



Blending the three analysed areas and their components, the extended scale demonstrates their interrelationship, which can be summarised as follows. The more present the text producer seems to be within the text, the more miscellaneous the writer's language choices are. The moves of Methodology and Results appear to be characteristic of the use of the Participant and Discourse Domains and simultaneously the greatest range of tenses is employed here. On the other hand, Motivation and Conclusion exclusively fall into the category of the Real World Domain while the use of tense is limited to the present simple.

Figure 4. Interrelation between moves, grammatical subject domains and tenses used.



By way of interpreting the link between the rhetorical and linguistic patterns in the present corpus, three specific cases peculiar to the academia discussed are revealed. Firstly, although the rhetorical functions used in Motivation and Conclusion differ, their general aim is the same – to imply the notion of general truth. In doing so, the text producer employs the grammatical subject referring to the Real World Domain, which deprives the text of the presence of its author and increases its objectivity. What is more, the writer's absence is in terms of tense expressed by the present simple, which also underpins the text's objectivity and universality. The linguistic choices can therefore easily fulfill the rhetorical functions of both moves, viz. to motivate the reader to read the original thesis and to show the significance and further implication of the work.

The second case accounts for Methodology and Results with the functions of demonstrating the main methodological principles and the most significant outcomes of the thesis. Both moves are reflected in the corpus by the use of the Participant Domain subjects and by a higher occurrence of the past simple and

present perfect. The rationale behind these language choices seems to be a tendency to persuade the readership about the writer's personal interest in the subject as well as personal engagement in the research.

Finally, Problem Statement appears to be in the middle of two sets of moves aforementioned; however, it is more inclined towards the strategy of general truth, thus the writer tends to employ the present simple and to be absent from the discourse. Nevertheless, the presence of the text producer cannot be excluded from this move as it aims at fulfilling the function of showing the writer's orientation in the research subject and the aims of their thesis.

Conclusion

In the present study, the part-genre of thesis abstract reveals its peculiarities when written in the setting of *Prešov University in Prešov*, Slovakia. The initial subanalysis confirms the author's previous research as the most frequent rhetorical moves happen to be Problem Statement and Methodology, while Motivation, Result and especially Conclusion are still neglected by the Slovak students in the current corpus. Another important point here is that there is only one instance demonstrating a difference between the subcorpora of Master's and PhD thesis abstracts. This is the use of the central modal *will* in the sample of the Master's TA; other variances appear to be negligible.

Two subsequent partial analyses examine the interrelationship between the moves and both tense and grammatical subject employed in the corpus. First, the present simple proves its hegemony in thesis abstracts, especially in the moves of Motivation, Problem Statement and Conclusion. This dominance is followed by the past simple and present perfect mainly employed in Methodology and partially in Results. What is more, the interrelation between the moves and the choice of grammatical subject happens to follow a similar paradigm as the grammatical subject referring to the Real World Domain, characteristic of the writer's absence from the text, is exclusively present in the moves of Motivation and Conclusion. In contrast, the presence of the writer in the Participant Domain is typical for Results and Methodology. In other words, the moves of Motivation and Conclusion seem to present the notion of general truth by the use of the present simple and non-personal subjects. On the other hand, the Methodology and Results moves are open to the past simple and present perfect as well as the Participant Domain subject in order to present the writer's personal engagement in the research and thus enhance the credibility of the thesis.

A general conclusion that might be drawn from the current study is the evidence of links between the individual rhetorical moves and both tense and grammatical subject. However, it is not possible to describe them by the term *pattern* because of the limited data in the corpus at hand.

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SOME REMARKS ON FOR AND AGAINST POLYSEMY IN POLISH COGNITIVE STUDIES

Abstract: In the article, we ask a question of the role of polysemy in cognitive ethnolinguistic research identified here with the so-called Polish Cognitive Studies (after Tabakowska 2013). We first place polysemy in the context of the homonymy-polysemy dilemma and, then, attempt to establish to what degree polysemy can still be found of use and help in actual research. As we conclude, although polysemy features high on the agenda of the Polish Cognitive Studies circle, it happens at times to be found of limiting application, giving way to the denotation-connotation distinction.

Keywords: polysemy, homonymy, cognitive ethnolinguistics, denotation, connotation

Introduction

Our main objective is to identify the place and the role of polysemy as an explanatory mechanism of linguistic phenomena in some of the latest cognitively-oriented ethnolinguistic contributions that have appeared either within the framework of or in relation to what Tabakowska (2013) calls “Polish Cognitive Studies” (PCS), a project run by Bartmiński and his collaborators. The choice of the research circle has to do with the fact that, as Tabakowska (2013:321) argues, PCS is *an alternative and at the same time a welcome complement to*

the American and European schools of cognitive linguistics that have *developed separately and almost independently*. If so, as a distinct model of language and linguistic communication, with its own actual and potential applications and methodological implications, PCS requires a separate treatment, often in comparison to, if not just in contrast to, Langacker's cognitive grammar, Layoff's conceptual metaphor, Turner's conceptual blending, and other cognitively-oriented methodologies.

We, thus, assume that with the development of cognitive-functional paradigms, PCS included, the role of systemic lexical semantics has lost most of its structural and formal appeal, and this alone poses a question of, among many other things, the present status of polysemy, a structural construct in its traditional design that is believed to capture the correspondences between related senses of one and the same lexeme, or, as Langacker (2008:240) sees it, *a family of related senses*.

The question of polysemy appears especially pending in the light of the fact that cognitivists typically reject any sensible compromise, or reconciliation, between systemic and cognitive-functional approaches to meaning. Take this from Langacker (2010: 224; emphasis added):

The meaning of a lexical item [...] is not revealingly described just by indicating the systemic relations it bears to others (i.e. its participation in relationships of antonymy, hyponymy, and so on). At least as important – and arguably more fundamental – is the task of providing a positive characterization in terms of conceptual content and construal. Without a specification of content, a system of oppositions is just an empty shell.

What Langacker specifically sees as an alternative to the old (systemic) credo of meaning as sense relation is the new (cognitive) credo of meaning as conceptualization:

Conceptualization is broadly defined to encompass any facet of mental experience. It is understood as subsuming (i) both novel and established conceptions; (ii) not just “intellectual” notions, but sensory, motor, and emotive experience as well; (iii) apprehension of the physical, linguistic, social, and cultural context; and (iv) conceptions that develop and unfold through processing time (rather than being simultaneously manifested). (Langacker 2008:2-3)

It is easy to see now why the idea of sense relations, as understood in mainstream linguistics, must be rejected: subjected to the constant mental process of emerging, or acquiring shape, meaning can hardly be identified with fixed relations reflecting frozen states of the synchronic linguistic system.

Indeed, as the name suggests, lexical semantics deals with the meaning of lexemes.¹ A lexeme, in its turn, is a generalization, an abstraction, a base form for all morphological variants of one and the same word abstracted from all its occurrences. Quite like a phoneme, then, a lexeme is void of a speaker's age, sex, gender, attitude, connotation, real-world association, or experience grounding, its primary meaning being the extra-contextual sense it shows in contrastive distinctions with the other lexemes it is related to. To quote a classic:

By the sense of a word we mean its place in a system of relationships which it contracts with other words in the vocabulary. [...] The sense of a lexical item may be defined to be, not only dependent upon, but identical with, the set of relations which hold between the item in question and other items in the same lexical system. (Lyons 1968: 427 and 443; emphasis added)

This, naturally, invites systemic linguistics, which is where abstractions called lexemes are believed to relate to each other, and, thus, constitute an autonomous system of relations typically called 'synonymy', 'antonymy', 'hyponymy', 'homonymy', 'polysemy', etc. In a way, then, doing lexical semantics is (i) to examine the intra-systemic correspondences between lexemes, (ii) identify the senses of lexemes in terms of necessary and sufficient attributes, and (iii) decide which of the sense relations they actually exemplify. (For more in a specific research context, see Łozowski 2014.)

Now, against this background, if polysemy is a traditionally-recognized sense relation, is there any place for it in cognitive linguistic research at all, especially in cognitively-oriented ethnolinguistics? After all, cognitive ethnolinguists aim at reconstructing the linguistic worldview, a language-encoded interpretation of

¹ As can be expected, there is a fair amount of confusion and disagreement as to whether the actual object of investigation in lexical semantics is lexemes, rather than words. To mention the relatively recent publications on general semantics, even within the same formally- and structurally-oriented tradition, some principally argue for the term *lexeme* (e.g., Murphy 2010:5), while others do well without it (e.g. Kearns 2011, or Hurford et al. 2007, or Cann et al. 2009 where the term *lexeme* features just twice, with sense relations claimed to hold between words, not lexemes). Those that do not seem to take any clear position and aim at no specific theory in their analysis either identify *lexemes* with *semantic words* (Saeed 2008), or do make a distinction between *word forms* and *lexemes* (Riemer 2010, Cruse 2011:76), or use just *words* in all contexts (Elbourne 2011). What adds to the confusion is that although cognitive semantics holds that *grammatical constructions [...] are themselves inherently meaningful, independently of the content words that fill them* (Evans and Green 2006:215), the very term *lexeme* does survive well, yet in a quite different sense. For example, in his brief discussion of the meaning of *glass*, Langacker (2008:48-50) embraces the idea that "a lexeme not only gives access to a set of domains, but does so preferentially, making some especially likely to be activated," which makes him conclude that "strictly speaking, a lexeme is never used twice with exactly the same meaning." Naturally, that possibility is ruled out in (systemic) sense-relation semantics, a lexeme being an abstraction frozen in its form and its meaning.

reality, where same forms notoriously exemplify a number of related shades of meaning. (See, for example, some of the most recent studies on the concepts of “the people” in Underhill 2013, of “home” in Bułat-Silva 2014, of “dobry” ‘being good’ in Puzynina 2014, or of “house/home” of Saharan Tuaregs in Jackowska-Uwadizu 2014.)

The homonymy-polysemy dilemma

Before we try to answer this question, let us begin with a more general remark having to do with the so-called homonymy-polysemy dilemma (cf. Jaszczolt 2002, among many others). Simply, it is truly convenient and methodologically desirable to approach polysemy in contrast to homonymy. The reason seems to be that the concepts of homonymy and polysemy do indeed prove to be the bone of contention of modern linguistics. With regard to the classification of lexical (sense) relations alone, Cann et al. (2009:6) speak of only *three basic types of sense relations: synonymy, hyponymy, and antonymy*, with no single mention of homonymy and polysemy, Riemer (2010:Ch.5) allows for two more, meronymy and taxonomy, homonymy and polysemy being called a *situation*, whereas Saeed’s (2008:Ch.3) classification includes as many as 8 kinds of relations, homonymy and polysemy included. Concomitantly, each of these authors assumes a different theoretical position on language and linguistics, the homonymy/polysemy dilemma having a direct bearing on meaning-related linguistic inquiries in general.

This also brings us to the observation that functionally-oriented linguists have shifted their research priorities from homonymy to polysemy. For example, Langacker (1987:387) remarks that:

[...] homonymy represents a limiting case, where the comparison of two identically symbolized concepts reveals no similarity that is salient or plausible enough to establish a categorization achieving unit status. For a speaker who fails to notice any special resemblance among the meanings of BILL (proper name; request for payment; protrusion on a bird, cap, or platypus), the semantic units do not unite to form a network and are connected only via their common symbolic correspondent.

Homonymy is then ascribed with the accidental and peripheral character in favour of variable and gradable cognitive associations that enable humans to expand the lexical boundaries to the extent of subtly-structured multi-polysemous units. This corresponds to Langacker’s (2008:30) conviction expressed more recently that *a single abstract meaning does not fully describe a lexical item’s established semantic value. Such a meaning should always be sought, and - if found - incorporated in the polysemy network.*

Most of the time this polysemy network happens to be postulated at the expense of homonymy. To give yet another example from Langacker (2008:87), it makes sense to ask whether the conditional *if* and the interrogative *if* can anyhow be seen as semantically related. In terms of their respective grammatical functions, the two must be taken as independent and unrelated expressions. In other words, the *if* occurring in conditional clauses (*If it rains we'll stay home*) and the *if* occurring in interrogative clauses (*I wonder if it will rain*) have nothing to do with each other semantically. Yet, as Langacker argues, *supporting a claim of polysemy is the fact that a single form is used in both ways in numerous other languages (e.g. French); [w]ere this merely a case of accidental homonymy, it should not be prevalent cross-linguistically*.

In that respect, our own conviction accords also with what is generally now believed to be the default standpoint in functional linguistics on the polysemy/homonymy issue. As Traugott and Dasher's (2002:14-16) words:

[...] homonymy should be postulated only when there is no clear semantic relation between the meanings of a phonological string, that is, only when there is [...] "contrastive ambiguity". [...] For example, still "without motion, quietly" is no longer associated with still in its temporal sense of "without interruption", or in its concessive sense of "however". [...] Our view is that polysemy is [...] central to a theory of semantics and semantic change. It arises out of processes of invited inferencing.

Once this "inferencing" is given its continuous historical dimension, the pivotal role of polysemy can hardly be overemphasized.

Polysemy in PCS: for and against

While polysemy may be the bone of contention of modern linguistics as such, thus capturing the distinction into structurally- and functionally-oriented paradigms, it also serves the purposes of telling apart related, yet divergent, conceptions within the shared (cognitive) methodology. Confronting Bartmiński's and Langacker's models of cognitive definitions, Mierzwińska-Hajnos (2013) notices that, however cognitively-oriented in his research, Bartmiński is not really prepared to make use of polysemy while offering the definitions of such terms as Polish *fiótek* 'violet', *banan* 'banana', or English *pansy*. Although the secondary meanings of these three can easily be seen as extended applications of the primary ones – respectively, *fiótek* 'violet' ~ 'the tip of a fox's tail', *banan* 'banana' ~ 'a type of vehicle', and *pansy* 'a kind of flower' ~ 'effeminate homosexual', Bartmiński does not make use of polysemy, but explains the meaning extension here in terms of the denotation/connotation distinction. This results in the omission of the secondary (extended) meanings from the cognitive definitions being postulated. In a way, then, instead

of polysemous categories, we have two *fiolek*, *banan*, and *pansy* forms, one being a lexicographic entity and, thus, a lexeme proper, and the other one being merely a matter of perspective, contextualization, and a point of view. As Mierzwińska-Hajnos (2013:397) concludes, *such an attitude makes the cognitive definition in Bartmiński's sense more structural and less flexible and [less] encyclopedic in character*.

Naturally, as he writes elsewhere, Bartmiński has got his reasons why he finds the denotation/connotation distinction enough of explanatory powers to do without polysemy:

I am not interested here in polysemy, in which case systematic differences in a lexeme's meaning (but above all in its denotation) motivate those in categorisation: kamień 'stone', 'figure in a game' or 'unit of weight': kania 'kite' (bird) or 'parasol mushroom', kret 'mole' or 'mole plough', etc. Rather, I am focusing on names with the same denotation but different connotations, depending on different viewpoints and different categorisations, adjusted to the viewpoints. (Bartmiński 2009:87; emphasis added)

In other words, Polish *kania* can mean a bird as much as a kind of mushroom and this *is* a matter of different categorizations only because there are different denotata behind. Similarly, in *żuraw* 'crane' and 'shadoof' or in *baran* 'ram' and 'idiot', we find different meanings because the cognitive structures of the respective concepts 'bird', 'mechanical device' and 'human being' are quite divergent. Yet, the case of *człowiek* 'human being' is different – for Bartmiński, the difference between *człowiek* 'social creature' and *człowiek* 'living organism' does not mark any difference in denotation and, thus, qualifies to be a difference in profiling, and not in meaning. That, as a cognitivist, Bartmiński favours a denotatively-oriented account rather than a polysemy-driven explanation should be noted as an interesting methodological practice that needs to be set against his overall conception of meaning.

Namely, for Bartmiński, the question of polysemy does indeed relate to the problem of profiling: if a given expression can be ascribed to different profiles, there is a temptation to assume that each of these profiles stands for a separate meaning of that expression, which would in effect amount to Langacker's "family of related senses". However, Bartmiński rejects that possibility and finds support in

[...] the domain of proper names, which are said to denote rather than mean, but which can be analysed in terms of profiling. For proper names are accompanied by a 'semantic correlate' which can be variously profiled: a reference to X may concern different aspect of X, depending on the speakers' attitudes and intentions. [This includes, for example, geographical names or the names of people, such as Napoleon, Kosciuszko etc.] The names denote what they do and no-one doubts

how to use them, but the associations they evoke – which do not correspond to meaning as traditionally understood – are strongly diversified at the level of what I described as subjectively and culturally determined profiles. (Bartmiński 2009:92)

Although the case of proper names is pretty straightforward – they can be profiled differently according to a number of categorizing factors, such as, for example, national stereotypes, it is difficult to see why Bartmiński should expect the same of any other kind of vocabulary.

What adds to the confusion is precisely a different treatment of *kania* as a bird and as a mushroom or *baran* as an animal and as a person on the one hand and *człowiek* as a social creature and as a biological organism on the other hand. Still worse, Bartmiński (2009:93) motivates the difference with how the word *as* functions in relation to the head: in ‘*kania*’ and ‘*baran*’, *the expression as is assigned to the head in the formal supposition (i.e. the latter is treated as a word), [whereas in ‘człowiek’] the head is taken in the material supposition, as a concept rather than a name*. This all makes Bartmiński (2009:93) claim that as long as we have different profiles, we do have the same meaning: *different profiles are not different meanings: they are ways of organising the semantic content within meanings*. If so, the role of polysemy happens to be markedly diminished in favour of the traditional denotation/connotation distinction, a solution that is much of a surprise if it comes from a cognitive linguist.²

To complete our selective survey, let us report on yet another piece of cognitive ethnolinguistic research, this time as evidence of the growing importance of polysemy as an explanation factor. In Piekarczyk (2013), semantic relatedness (polysemy) happens to be postulated despite clear structural/distributional divergence. In her contribution, Piekarczyk adopts an onomasiological approach in order to investigate the concepts of ORAL TEXT and WRITTEN TEXT, or, more

² Equally puzzling and revealing is Palmer’s (in print) account of the *ka-__-an* construction in Tagalog-English data. (Naturally, Palmer is not part of the PCS circle and is better known for championing cultural linguistics, rather than cognitive ethnolinguistics, but has recently related to the PCS research, pointing out both points of contact and points of departure between the two, as he says, “sister disciplines”). Although he distinguishes 5 different senses behind the compound affix construction *ka-__-an* (PLACE, ABSTRACT QUALITY1, ABSTRACT QUALITY2: EXPERIENTIAL STATES, CUSTOM - COLLECTIVE ACTIVITY, and COLLECTIONS: MATERIAL, TOOLS, ASSEMBLED ITEM) and attempts the explanation of the category structure in terms of the prototype theory, he does not present the emerging network of senses in terms of polysemy. It is only by implication that we can safely assume that the mechanism at work is that of polysemy, which comes with Palmer’s explaining the Tagalog-English *ka-__-an* construction as a case of metonymy. After all, one could remember Langacker’s (2008:240) statements that “metonymy is a regular source of polysemy, which results when a particular metonymic usage becomes entrenched and conventionalized”, as in the case of *church* that can profile either a building used for religious meetings or a religious organization that meets in such buildings: *They built a new church just out of town* versus *The church he belongs to has very odd beliefs*.

precisely, to find out what are the portraits or images of oral and written text, as entrenched in the Polish language. In other words, as oral and written text are two fundamental forms of human communication, she finds it interesting to investigate how these forms are portrayed through language and what kinds of judgments about them are linguistically encoded.

When she comes to discuss *the relationship between written text and its sender plus receiver*, she concludes that the relationship is *complex and difficult to grasp* (p. 256), which is what she ascribes to the polysemy of the verbs of writing, especially *pisać* ‘write.’ In what follows, she presents four *pisać* forms, each having a different set of structural constraints, or requirements.

In its basic meaning, i.e. when it denotes the action of writing graphic symbols, *pisać1* requires only one personal complementation, as well as an indication of the product of the action, the instrument, and the writing surface. The structural/syntagmatic limitations of *pisać1* can be presented as follows – this and other figures adapted from Piekarczyk (2013:256-258):

X {*pisze1* ‘is writing’} } *czym* ‘with what’ // *w/na czym* ‘in/on what’ } *na czym* ‘on what’ // *w czym* ‘in what’ // *po czym* ‘over what’

This structure looks different when *pisać* is meant to be a verb of text production, that is in the sense of *tworzyć coś* ‘create, compose something’:

X {*pisze2* ‘is writing’} *coś* ‘something’ } *dla...* ‘for’ ... // *do...* ‘to/for’ ... // *na...* ‘for’ ...

This time *pisać2* opens three argument positions. As Piekarczyk (2013:257) explains:

*Because these verbs [like *pisać2*] denote an action whose end product is a communicative text and because the second argument [i.e. *coś* ‘something’, ‘a product’] is realized only by the name of that product (the name of the text or its part), the first personal argument is identified with the sender of the message. However, the third argument need not be the receiver; for its manifestations may be such expressions as *do druku* ‘for publication,’ *do gazety* ‘for/to a newspaper,’ *na konferencję* ‘for a conference.’*

The set of structural requirements is still different in the case of *pisać3* ‘preserve something in writing’, as in *zapisać* ‘write down,’ *notować* ‘take notes,’ *protokolować* ‘take minutes.’ Sentences with these verbs inform about the texts that are created not in order to communicate something, but in order to preserve what has been communicated orally. In other words, the forms in question here *point to texts that have arisen as a result of speech (or of thought) being transferred into*

the written form (Piekarczyk 2013:257). Finally, Piekarczyk presents the following structure of *pisać* used in the sense of ‘inform/communicate about something’:

X {*pisze* ‘is writing’} Y-owi/do Y-ka ‘Y-DAT/to Y-GEN’} *że.../żeby...* that.../in order to... OR *na o + loc* on/over} W loc

In Piekarczyk’s words (2013:258), *the left-hand-side argument denotes the text’s sender, the second personal argument denotes its receiver, and the non-personal arguments denote the text itself and the medium of the message*. In other words, text is understood here as a message (the most typical argument is an event). Thus, the structure of *pisać* captures the communicative situation as something already completed.

What we see in Piekarczyk’s analysis is one lexical form being ascribed to 4 different structural requirements and 4 different senses, which could otherwise be enough to claim that all the four *pisać* forms constitute homonyms, or separate words of unrelated senses. Yet, despite formal divergence in the form of different structural/distributional requirements, all the four senses are placed within the bounds of one and the same verb *pisać* (and similar verbs of writing). No wonder then, that Piekarczyk (2013:246) wants to make it clear that in her analysis *ORAL TEXT* and *WRITTEN TEXT* are treated not as lexemes but as concepts that can be realized linguistically in manifold ways. In short, what brings *pisać* senses together, and what makes *pisać* polysemous, is the conceptualization (of WRITTEN TEXT) they share, without any pretence to sharing the same set of formal requirements.

Concluding remarks

As we attempt to show above, PCS researchers do not seem to be in unison with regard to the role and place of polysemy in their research. Some would opt for the denotation-connotation distinction precisely where some others would eagerly postulate polysemy. As polysemy has been elevated to the position of primary linguistic phenomenon only recently, one could expect that with subsequent developments within the PCS circle and a stronger cognitive orientation, there will be more and more polysemy-based accounts and examinations.

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DUBBING VERSUS VOICE OVER: CULTURE-BOUND JOKES & REFERENCES IN THE ENGLISH-ITALIAN- POLISH TRANSLATION OF HUMOUR IN ADULT ANIMATED SITCOMS

Abstract: This material is aimed at discussing and comparing the translations of culture-bound jokes and references with special attention paid to the translation of adult animated sitcoms. The material will encompass the Italian dubbing and Polish voice-over versions of the American TV show “Family Guy”. The analysis will focus on the different approaches to the translation of the above mentioned elements and their correspondence and closure to the original version of the series.

Key words: culture, dubbing, humour, translation, voice-over.

Introductory remarks

Audio-visual translation can be performed by the application of three main techniques, namely dubbing, subtitling and voice-over. The last one is not very popular throughout the world, but has established a firm position in various former communist countries like Poland. The reason for its popularity can be explained by financial factors as well as the preferences of viewers. Simply, voice-over translations are more time-efficient and cheaper than dubbings. It therefore seems that audio-visual translation markets are greatly influenced by tradition as well as the financial situation of a given society. An example based on traditional reasoning is the high popularity of dubbing in Italy due to historical factors such as the Fascist

regime wanting to protect the purity of the Italian language, effectively blocking all foreign influences.

Dubbing and voice-over are also different in the way in which cultural elements are translated from one language and culture into another. Dubbing is considered to be closer to the target culture (TC) and as such be an instrument of 'colonialism' (Iaia 2011). This view is upheld by Basnett (2002) who believed that dubbing produces sense-for-sense translations. Therefore, source culture (SC) references are usually replaced by TC equivalents to facilitate the reception of the translation. Here, adaptations and the neutralization of foreign cultural content are frequently applied tools. Voice-over however, should be more faithful and closer to the SC.

The following material will analyse the translation of cultural elements in adult animated sitcoms. The material will encompass episodes of "Family Guy", an American TV show which mocks popular culture. The aim of the analysis is to indicate whether cultural references stored in the jokes presented in the series will be translated differently by the Italian dubbing and the Polish voice-over versions. Additionally, the analysis will indicate whether the voice-over translation technique transfers cultural elements in adult animated sitcoms more faithfully than dubbing.

Adult animated sitcoms

An adult animated sitcom, also known as an adult cartoon, is a special type of animation which is especially devised for adult viewers. Adult content, language and thematic patterns which are used in such animations can be considered as distinctive features which determine their categorization. Nevertheless, it may be difficult to set rigid and definite boundary requirements which would meet the needs of adult viewers. Due to the nature of the content, teenagers can also be perceived as a vital part of the audience because of their desire to deal with more complex, adult forms of entertainment. Even though the visual aspects of such sitcoms are usually associated with ordinary cartoons devised for children, it is the content, thematic patterns that are discussed and the language used by the characters which serve as an audience determinant factor. Due to their form, adult animated sitcoms are sometimes negatively perceived by some adult viewers. There is concern about their appropriateness and accessibility by children, and the controversies are therefore based on the form, which is viewed as one that should be reserved for a younger audience (Mittel 2004). Adult animated sitcoms are also characterized by the presence of humour which is frequently exaggerated and denotes various important subject matters. It covers a full spectrum of topics which usually demand an adequate level of cultural knowledge to make them fully comprehensible, attractive or funny. Feasey (2008) considered 'adult humour' to be the most important factor which assigns

a given animated sitcom to the category of adult animations. Dobson (2009) underlined that the humour in adult animated sitcoms is a mixture of various slapstick, visual gags and satirical references and commentaries to the sphere of culture. Frequently, such programs take into their scope various controversial themes, motives, characters and events to comment on reality. The discussion is usually centred around philosophical dilemmas, diseases, deviant behaviours, mental disorders, incidents, social inequalities, ethnic minorities, politics, prejudices, religion, scandals, sexuality, etc. (Organ 2015). The themes are typically presented in an exaggerated way to demand attention from the viewers. Furthermore, the surrealistic and humorous presentation of these themes is accompanied by the application of violent language. Batchelor and Hammond noted that adult animated sitcoms [...] *wanted viewers to forget that they were watching a cartoon, but still have the ability to use animated tropes, such as violence and exaggerated satire that live actors could not perform without physical or moral outrage* (2012:228). Additionally, such cartoons aim to propose humorous commentaries on reality as well as events which are currently publicized in the press, TV or internet. The recognition of ridiculed elements and cultural references in humorous scenes can be treated as a special strategy of commenting on reality as well as a technique of creating and gathering the audience. It was stated by Pike: *these texts interact with diverse audiences, from cocktail waitress to factory workers to artists to university workers* (2012:21). Consequently, adult animated sitcoms are created to meet the needs of the average adult viewer who is able to comprehend various humorous references which are deliberately placed by the authors of such shows.

An adult animated sitcom can be exemplified by the American show ‘Family Guy’. This series created by Seth MacFarlane focuses on the adventures of the Griffins, a nuclear family living in the fictional city of Quahog, Rhode Island. The family consists of parents Peter and Lois, their children Stewie, Chris and Meg as well as their anthropomorphic dog Brian. ‘Family Guy’ is famous for its specific sense of humour which is presented in the form of cutaway gags frequently referring to American culture. Very often, the humour in the series lampoons current events, cultural icons and celebrities. Here, the jokes are usually presented in the form of cutaways which are seemingly not related to the main plot. First, the introduction to the joke is presented and then a cutaway with a culture-bound joke takes place, for instance:

INTRODUCTION OF THE JOKE

[Quagmire is chained to the bed after sex with a prostitute who has stolen all of his money. Instead of helping him, Stewie decides to steal his bus.]

BRIAN: We’re stealing the Winnebago, aren’t we?

STEWIE: Oh, you can read me like a book, Brian.

THE JOKE:

[Stewie begins to drive and puts a John Deere hat. Immediately, the Smokey and the Bandit theme song begins playing.]

STEWIE: Breaker, breaker, Sidewinder this is Party Pooper.

STEWIE: Don't want to be a ratchet-jaw, but it looks like we've got a seat cover feeding the bears in the chicken coop, come on.

The understanding of this scene depends on the ability of the viewer to notice various cultural references. Therefore, the cultural competence of the viewer is regarded a vital element in comprehending and appreciating the humour and jokes. In the above presented example, the viewer should be familiar with the 1977 action comedy film "Smokey and the Bandit" to value its parody.

Humour & translation

Tomaszkewicz (2006) considered humour as something that does not take place automatically. For her, humour is a process which happens in certain situations in which various different factors co-occur. This process requires two essential factors, namely a humorous object and a person who would be able to notice it and react by a smile or laughter. The reception of humour is also determined by culture as it is frequently asserted that a given TV series, movie, person or a book has a British, American, Polish or German sense of humour. From this point of view certain things, situations or references may be considered amusing in some societies and cultures whereas unacceptable, iconoclastic, tasteless or vulgar in others. Moreover, subtle jokes or culturally based humour can even go unnoticed in certain cultures and societies. Additionally, certain jokes, characters, themes and behaviours can be treated as a taboo or be simply forbidden.

The transfer of humour from one language and culture into another is generally considered a difficult task. Some scholars even claim that the translation of humour is an example of untranslatability. In a similar tone Diot stated: When it comes to translating humour, the operation proves to be as desperate as that of translating poetry (1989:84). Schröter (2004) perceived the problem of humour translation as troublesome in all types of modern media, but especially difficult in the case of screen translation. The translator who deals with the transfer of humour has to overcome not only various linguistic obstacles but also cultural elements which can be culture-specific (Chiario 2010). From this view, the specificity of the audience plays a crucial role: [...] the language used in films or cartoons, the scenes represented and other characteristics, like the sense of humour, also depend on the audience the show has been created for (Iaia 2011:173). Consequently, a given joke, humours reference or element will only fulfil its task when adequate linguistic and cultural knowledge is shared by both, the sender and recipient of

the joke (Chiaro 1992). However, the transfer of humour between languages and cultures may alter its amusement power. It was observed by Ying and Jing who stated: In translation, it is likely that the target context differs from the original one, and the change may not be able to produce the original effects of humorous expressions (2010:454). Humour can be established by the application of various linguistic means, such as wordplays which are used for their multiple meanings in a given source language, however these wordplays may not be as effective in another language.

Humour is not only created by linguistic means, but also by various elements of culture like references to history, traditions, heritage, religion, literature, etc as well. However, the rules of their application and understanding can be verified among different groups and cultures (Vandaele 2010), resulting in a different perception. To illustrate this point one can think of a parody in which a given celebrity is spoofed. Here, the understanding and appreciation of humour will also be determined by the ability to recognize the imitation and compare it with one's existing knowledge of the character. Therefore it seems that cultural competence plays a key role in the creation and translation of humour.

It is common that a mixture of linguistic and cultural elements are used to create a joke. The success of the humorous event is expressed by various visible physiological manifestations, for instance a smile or laughter. This point is of great importance for the translator as the lack of a smile or laughter on the side of the recipient can be equalled to the failure of translation. Consequently, [...] communication breaks down when the levels of prior knowledge held by the speaker/writer and by the listener/reader are not similar. While this is true of any communication, the breakdown is particularly obvious in the case of translated humour, whose perception depends directly on the concurrence of facts and impressions available to both speaker/writer and listener/reader (Del Corral 1988:25). However, as stressed by Belczyk (2007) humour applied in sitcoms is frequently based on situational comedy which has a universal nature and as such is recognizable and meaningful for the audiences belonging to different cultures alike.

Analysis

This analysis will focus on the translation of cultural references in the jokes presented in "Family Guy". The material will encompass five humorous scenes presented in the fourth season of the show and previously indicated by Iaia (2011). The contrastive analysis will demonstrate the differences in translation strategies and the alterations introduced during the transfer from the original. They will be observed in Italian dubbing and Polish voice-over. The instances of change due to the translation will be demonstrated and commented on to prove that in the case of

culture-bound jokes and references the Polish voice-over translation is closer to the original than Italian dubbing.

Example 1:
Episode “Blind Ambition”

| English Version | Italian Version | Polish Version |
|--|---|---|
| <p>PETER: Everybody, you’re looking at a guy who’s gonna set a new world record. I am gonna eat more nickels than anyone has ever eaten before. Setting this World Record is gonna make me famous, just like the world’s fattest twins over there.</p> <p>FAT TWIN 2: Did I tell you that I’m doing Atkins?</p> <p>FAT TWIN 1: Oh... That’s not good for you.</p> | <p>PETER: Notizia per voi! State guardando l’uomo che stabilirà un nuovo record del mondo. Il sottoscritto mangerà più nichelini di quanti ne abbia mai mangiato un umano prima d’ora. Stabilire questo record mi farà diventare famoso come i gemelli più grassi del mondo lì davanti.</p> <p>FAT TWIN 2: Te l’ho detto che faccio la dieta delle patate?</p> <p>FAT TWIN 1: Non è che poi ingrassi troppo?</p> | <p>PETER: Rodzinko, ustanowię nowy rekord. Zjem najwięcej monet na świecie i stanę się sławny jak te najgrubsze bliźniaki.</p> <p>FAT TWIN 2: Próbuję diety doktora Atkinsa.</p> <p>FAT TWIN 1: Kiepsko na tym wyjdiesz.</p> |

The joke presented in this scene is based on a character that is not well known in Italy or Poland, namely nutritionist Robert Coleman Atkins. Peter wants to stand out and be remembered by his family and the rest of society, so he decides to break the record of eating coins. During a car journey, Peter announces his decision and points out that he wants to be as famous as the Fat Twins. The action moves to a cutaway in which the Fat Twins are riding on motorbikes that are obviously too small for them. Here, the humour is based on the perception of typically obese American southerners. One of the twins is afraid that his brother would be thinner than him because he had undertaken a controversial low-carbohydrate Atkins Nutritional Approach. In the Italian dubbing, the cultural reference in the joke is lost in translation as it is replaced by a counterpart of a similar value in the TC. The Italian translator was probably afraid to create a non-joke by following the original version so he decided to replace Atkins Nutritional Approach with potato diet. Nevertheless, the cultural reference and satirical nature of the joke is partially lost as a direct reference to the Atkins diet is not rendered. On the other hand, the Polish voice-over is closer to the original version and the TC as it includes a direct reference to the diet. However, the Atkins diet is also not very well-known in Poland so the translation does not propose an equivalent humorous effect. Here, the Polish translator could have adopted a more familiar diet in Poland to establish a corresponding humorous effect. For example the famous low-carbohydrate Optimal diet proposed by Jan Kwaśniewski which had been popularized by Polish TV. In the translation of this joke, the Polish voice-over version includes the English culture reference but

undermines its humorous effect. On the contrary, the Italian dubbing eliminates the reference and proposes a more general and culturally-neutral counterpart to avoid the risk of creating a non-joke.

Example 2:
Episode “Model Misbehaviour”

| English Version | Italian Version | Polish Version |
|--|---|--|
| SPEAKER: Newport would like to extend a special welcome to all those here today who have children stationed overseas in Iraq. [THE VOICE STOPS] [LAUGHS] Just kidding! | SPEAKER: La nostra città vorrebbe dare un caloroso benvenuto a tutti coloro che sono qui oggi e che hanno figli impegnati in missioni di guerra. [THE VOICE STOPS] [LAUGHS] Stavo scherzando! | SPEAKER: Witamy ciepło rodziców których dziełne dzieci walczą w Iraku. [THE VOICE STOPS] [LAUGHS] Żartuję! |

The joke presented in this scene is an example of a culture-bound commentary referring to a current political situation in the US. Peter wants to impress his father-in-law so he decides to take part in a yacht race. The action moves to the coast in Newport where the wealthy are gathering to support their crews. The people are calm and indifferent when the speaker warmly welcomes all those with children on the mission in Iraq. Their attitude completely changes when the gesture is turned into a joke; the wealthy are sneeringly sniggering and clapping. This scene ridicules the attitude of wealthy Americans who consider the mission in Iraq as a major concern of the less affluent US citizens. Interestingly, the Italian dubbing does not mention Iraq as the exact place of the war, it only generally refers to children who are taking part in military missions. From this point of view, the joke is censored due to the possible negative reaction from the Italian viewers, who at the same time could be observing the atrocities of the Iraqi war in the news. On the contrary, the Polish translation is closer to the original and directly refers to Iraq. This can be explained by the American and Polish active involvement in the Iraq war, so that the theme is closer to the given audiences. On the other hand, both the Polish and Italian translations do not convey the satire included in the original version, as the speaker in the translations does not mention that the action is taking part in Newport. The place of action is actually a vital part of the satire, as Newport is a famous American seaside city and summer resort with luxurious mansions belonging to the affluent American upper class. Moreover, the place is also the home of a Naval War College and a major United States Navy training centre which is another significant element in this context. In the Polish and Italian versions the additional information conveyed by the associations connected with the place and its residents is not rendered. The lack of cultural reference partially devalues the humorous effect of the joke.

Example 3:
Episode “Model Misbehaviour”

| English Version | Italian Version | Polish Version |
|---|--|---|
| COOKIE MONSTER: YOU GUYS ARE NAZIS, MAN! YOU’RE FREAKIN’ NAZIS! | COOKIE MONSTER: SIETE UN BRANCO DI TERRIBILI DITTATORI! | COOKIE MONSTER: NAZIŚCI! PIEPRZENI NAZIŚCI! |

Example 4:
Episode “Untitled Griffin Family History”

| English Version | Italian Version | Polish Version |
|--|---|--|
| HITLER: Peter, can’t you see I’m busy? PETER: Hey, what are you doing? Stuff? HITLER: Yes. PETER: Nazi stuff? HITLER: Yes, Peter: Nazi stuff. | HITLER: Peter, non lo vedi che ho da fare? PETER: Ja! Che stai scrivendo? Un discorso? HITLER: Sì. PETER: Un proclama nazista? HITLER: Sì, Peter: un proclama nazista. | HITLER: Peter nie widzisz że pracuję! PETER: Czym się zajmujesz? Sprawami? HITLER: PETER: Nazistowskimi sprawami? HITLER: Tak, nazistowskimi. |

Both scenes are referring to Nazism, however their translations are carried out in totally different ways. In “Model Misbehaviour” Stewie asks brain to contact the Cookie Monster. The action then moves to a detox clinic where the cell of the Cookie Monster is being checked by three doctors who are on the ward round. During the inspection, a hidden plate of cookies is found in the bed. The Cookie Monster presents the typical behaviour of a drug addict and tries to convince the doctors that the cookies were planted in his bed. After a short scrimmage the Cookie Monster is forcibly anaesthetized. Here, the humour is based on a well-known character from a childrens’ TV show whose characteristic behaviour is overdrawn to create a funny and exaggerated image. The general recognisability of the character in both target cultures greatly facilitates translation as it does not require any additional explanations. However, the outrage of the Cookie Monster is translated differently into Italian and Polish. The Italian translation does not directly refer to Nazism but more generally alludes to a dictatorship. On the other hand, the Polish voice-over is closer to the original as it directly refers to Nazism. Interestingly, at the same time the Polish version is more vulgar to stress the outrage of the Cookie Monster. Simultaneously, it makes the scene even more grotesque and funny for the elder viewer who is able to notice its exaggerated nature whilst comparing it to the original scene from Sesame Street. Conversely, in the scene “Untitled Griffin Family History” both translators directly refer to Nazism. The scene is a flashback representing the history of Peter’s ancestor. In this parody Peter is presented as a younger and beloved brother of Adolf Hitler. Peter Hitler in an irritating way is interrupting Adolf Hitler

while he is working in his office in Reichstag. Due to the general recognisability of the character, the viewer is also able to notice and appreciate the inappropriate nature of the questions, which additionally stress the humorous reception of the scene. However, the Italian dubbing and Polish voice-over differ in terms of their tone. Both the English and Polish versions are less respectful than the Italian dubbing. The parody of Nazism is stressed by the words of Peter when he refers to the thing on which Hitler is working as ‘Nazi stuff’. Here, the use of the general term is deliberate to emphasise that these things should only be associated with the atrocities of Nazism. Therefore, the use of this term additionally triggers these associations, which in this case are recognizable in both the English and Polish languages and cultures, enhancing the effects of the parody. However the humorous effect in the Italian dubbing seems to be less tangible as the translator has replaced the generic word with the more natural and specific ‘proclamation’.

Example 5:

Episode “The Cleveland-Loretta Quagmire”

| English Version | Italian Version | Polish Version |
|---|--|--|
| HOST: My friend, my friend! [HE KICKS PETER] PETER: What? HOST: You’ve been kicked in the nuts! | HOST: Amico, amico, senti! [HE KICKS PETER] PETER: Cosa? HOST: Sei su Scherzi a parte! | HOST: [HE KICKS PETER] PETER: HOST: Kolego, kopnąłem Cię w jaja na wizji. |

In this scene, Peter is on his way home when suddenly a man dressed in a blue jump-suit, sunglasses, and a bright orange afro wig attacks him and kicks Peter in the crotch. Achy Peter is angry with the man until it turns out that he is a victim of the show ‘Kicked in the Nuts’. Therefore, the whole scene is a spoof of the hidden camera shows created by Mike and Patrick Henry. The translation of the lines is governed by different strategies concerning the transmission of cultural elements. In the Italian dubbing, the translation follows the rules of domestication to meet the demands of a rather self-centred Italian commercial television market. Here, the original quote from ‘Kicked in the Nuts’ is replaced in Italian by a quote from a famous Italian hidden camera show entitled ‘Scherzi a parte’. On the contrary, the Polish version is closer to the original, but the potential recognisability of the reference is questionable, and as such negatively affects its humorous nature.

Concluding remarks

This analysis has proven that the translation of cultural references and culture-bound jokes is a difficult task, which is conducted differently in the Italian dubbing and Polish voice-over version of the famous adult animated sitcom “Family Guy”.

The differences in the approaches to the translation of certain elements have confirmed that the Italian dubbing version of the show is closer to the TC than to the SC. On the other hand, the Polish voice-over is closer to the SC and in this respect is not ‘culturally colonialized’ in translation. Furthermore, the analysis has proven that a good translation of humour and culture-bound jokes is possible to achieve, either by maintaining original cultural references or by adapting them for the needs of the audience.

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Materials used:

Family Guy - episode “Blind Ambition”

Family Guy – episode “Model Misbehaviour”

Family Guy – episode “Untitled Griffin Family History”

Family Guy – episode “The Cleveland-Loretta Quagmire”

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ANALYSING COGNITIVE STRUCTURES: THE LEXICAL FRAME OF PAIN

Abstract: The discussion aims at sketching out the cognitive frame of PAIN and showing the interrelations between its elements. The semantic analysis of the elements of the frame shall be conducted on the basis of English lexical units.

Key words: *pain*, NSM, semantic analysis, frame of PAIN.

Introduction

The present discussion is aimed at an illustration of the structure of the cognitive model of a phenomenon present in daily human life. Much as it is despised and avoided, pain is, unfortunately, one of the givens of human existence (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014). It is present in various forms and diverse intensities, however, as an entirely subjective experience it can only be assessed by the experiencer and is usually communicated to others by means of verbal expression. However, in the case of high intensity, certain non-verbal forms of communication can reveal its presence. What is meant here is the involuntary application of particular facial expressions, grimaces or body positions, such as squatting or bending, which might indicate this unwelcome health condition. This claim is supported by Rowbotham et al. (2014:244) who focus on *the importance of effective pain communication within both medical and everyday settings, and the difficulties that pain sufferers face in verbalising their pain experience*. Inevitably, certain support from *co-speech gestures* is visible in communicating particular pain-related messages and sensory description. The conducted research study proved that verbal messages

were in great majority supported by gestures, half of which represented pain sensation. Moreover, for over 40% of the instances *gestures represented pain sensation information that was not contained in speech, contributing additional, complementary¹ information to the pain sensation message.*

Analysing pain

Pain, as noted by Fabbro and Crescentini (2014:540), *is an experience that none of us would like to have but that each one of us is destined to experience in our lives.* Additionally, it is stated that pain is

a strong, burning experience. When pain is present the whole mind is involved, when it is absent the thought recalls the threat. The experience of pain, although strong and compelling, remains in its depth problematic and complex.

Pain is considered to be a response² to nociceptive stimuli, *often the driving force leading individuals to seek treatment, when they ache, hurt, and/or suffer³* (Simons et al. 2014:62). Therefore, *escape or avoidance from painful or potentially painful stimulus is a normal process (i.e., even rapid withdrawal from a noxious stimuli (sic)) for acute threats* (Simons et al. 2014:64).

Wierzbicka (2012:29) claims that pain is not a human universal, despite its common presence in human life. *The reason is that this universal human phenomenon is differently thought of in different languages, and ways of thinking about it are reflected in the meanings of words with which speakers of different languages talk about it.* Some of the evidence is provided through the analysis of French *douleur* and English *pain* in the following words:

[...] douleur⁴ can embrace a person's emotional and physical suffering in a single, undifferentiated whole, whereas the English pain⁵ is more focused on physical suffering; in contexts where the suffering is seen as engulfing the whole person, body and soul, the word pain⁶ is not commonly used.

Goddard and Ye (2014: 132) share this opinion and state:

extensive cross-linguistic research has demonstrated that there are no precise lexical semantic universals in the domain of emotion, and that the specific meanings

¹ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

² The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

³ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

⁴ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

⁵ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

⁶ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

of the emotion words of any language are often heavily “culturally coloured”. [...] This means that English-specific words like happiness⁷ and pain⁸ can have no special claim to epistemological priority, and that using them even as rough-and-ready labels runs a risk of introducing a biased discourse that is centred on the Anglo cultural perspective.

It is important to add that, as noted by Goddard and Wierzbicka (2014:127), *the language used to describe pain is subject to significant cross-cultural variation*, which frequently results in a lack of understanding as well as confusion when people from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds are involved in communication. *Different ways of talking about pain, linked with different languages and cultures, colour the way people of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds speak about and express their pain when they speak English.*

Another essential point that is raised in this connection is that diverse cultural communities apply *different cultural scripts for expressing, and talking about, pain* (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014:128). The example of a healthcare practitioner is evoked to highlight the significance of proper verbal description of a particular health condition. Mary Narayan, a *trans-cultural nurse consultant in Vienna* stresses the fact that *people from different cultures conceptualise and describe pain using different cognitive frameworks. Being asked to characterise pain using an unfamiliar descriptive context may result in inadequate pain control* (2010:41).

In terms of the universal language applied to the interpretation of lexical meaning, i.e. the Natural Semantic Metalanguage, English *pain* can be interpreted by means of the following explication (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014:133):

*She felt pain*⁹.

a. she felt something bad at that time

b. like someone can feel when it is like this:

c. something bad is happening to a part of this someone's body

d. this someone feels something bad in this part of the body because of this

e. this someone can't not think like this at this time: “I don't want this”

Clearly, the primary message conveyed is that of ‘feeling something bad in one's body’ as well as the fact that this sensation is unwelcome and the experiencer would like to avoid it or dispose of it.

The concept expressed through French *douleur* is rendered by means of the following NSM formula (Wierzbicka 2012:37):

⁷ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

⁸ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

⁹ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

She felt douleur¹⁰

a. she felt something bad at that time

b. like someone can feel when it is like this:

c. something bad is happening to this someone's body for some time

d. because of this, this someone feels something very bad in the body for some time

e. this someone can't not think like this at this time: "I don't want to feel like this"

As can be observed above, the explication does not differentiate between the senses, i.e. emotional and physical¹¹. Nevertheless, *the prototype of the experience is physical, but unlike the physical prototype of pain¹², it [i.e. douleur¹³] refers to the body as a whole, and not just part of the body* (Wierzbicka 2012:37). French *douleur* seems to address the body as a whole, not just its part – the latter is more representative of the explication of *pain*.

It has to be noted that in Polish the lexical items designating the concept in question is *ból* and, according to Wierzbicka (2012) as well as Goddard and Wierzbicka (2014), it is closer in use to the French *douleur* rather than the English *pain*. The Polish term, conceptually, is in an intermediate position between *pain* and *douleur*: it is *more akin to emotions* than the former, but *evokes less intensity* than the latter. Goddard and Wierzbicka (2014:152) state additionally that another Polish term *męka*, referring to *a very great pain*, would be a more natural counterpart for the French term; in English *agony* would need to be employed as the translation equivalent.

To refer to the location of a pain in Polish the verb *boli* is commonly applied; however, there are also particular set phrases referring to certain types of localised pain. Therefore, the explication of Polish *ból* (as a free-standing noun, not an element of set phrases) assumes the following form (Goddard and Wierzbicka 2014:152):

She felt ból¹⁴

a. she felt something bad at that time

b. like someone can feel when it is like this:

c. something bad is happening to this someone's body

d. this someone feels something bad in the body because of this

e. this someone can't not think like this at this time: "I don't want this"

The reference to time and the duration of experience is missing from the explication for the reason that *ból* can be momentary, while the duration is accentuated in the meaning of *męka*.

¹⁰ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

¹¹ Compare: *OED* definition: *the sensation which one feels when hurt (in body or mind)*; no distinction is made between the physical or emotional condition.

¹² The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

¹³ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

¹⁴ The underline has been introduced here to represent the original italicised form

Due to size limitation only the outline of the frame of PAIN as lexicalised in English shall be provided in the following discussion.

Discussing the frame of PAIN

The lexical area under consideration is a wide-ranging language structure. Specialist sources consider a frame to be a central descriptive category in cognitive semantics, a complex construct which allows the operation of large knowledge structures¹⁵. The frame in question can include a number of different scripts, all of which will contain various sequences of events, such as among others: ‘GOING TO THE DOCTOR’ – to get the source of pain diagnosed and receive treatment; ‘BEING HOSPITALISED’ – to relieve pain and restore healthy condition, and many others.

Pain is a word relating to a physical sensation of something bad. Wierzbicka (2014) points out that not all languages have a word corresponding to it, yet most have a lexical item which refers to ‘feeling something bad in one’s body’. Pain is clearly an unwelcome feeling with varying degrees of intensity and diverse locations. Prototypically, pain refers to a physical experience, nevertheless, it also relates to malignant psychic conditions.

While analysing the frame of PAIN one has to consider diverse pain-related concepts embedded in the discussed cognitive construct, including the type of pain¹⁶, its intensity, duration, occurrence, location, the ways of experiencing it, enduring, reacting to and avoiding pain, forms of pain relief, and many other aspects. Additionally, steps taken to prevent bouts of pain can be addressed.

Pain, as defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* v. 4.0.0.2 (henceforth *OED*) is: *a primary condition of sensation or consciousness, the opposite of pleasure; the sensation which one feels when hurt (in body or mind); suffering, distress.*

While discussing the **intensity of pain** the following collocations with the noun *pain* can be noted: *acute, agonising, awful, excruciating, extreme, great, intense, severe, sharp, terrible, unbearable; burning, searing, shooting, stabbing, throbbing; dull, little, slight* (*OCDSE* 2002:548).

Duration of pain is described by means of the following adjectives: *chronic, constant, nagging, persistent*; while pain **frequency or occurrence** may be, among others: *sudden, intermittent* (*OCDSE* 2002:548), etc.

To suggest the **location** of pain, language users can resort to the following adjectives: *physical; emotional; abdominal, back, chest, leg, muscle, shoulder,*

¹⁵ Compare: Cruse (1986), Taylor (1989); Ungerer and Schmid (1996); Burkhanov (1999).

¹⁶ Synonyms: *pain, ache, pang, smart, stitch, throe, twinge*. These nouns denote a sensation of severe physical discomfort: *abdominal pain; aches in my leg; the pangs of a cramped muscle; aspirin that alleviated the smart; a stitch in my side; the throes of dying; a twinge of arthritis* (*AHDEL* 2000:1263).

stomach (OCDSE 2002:548) or expressions such as *pain in the leg*, *pain in the neck*. Obviously, other phrases that do not make use of the lexeme ‘pain’ are abundant in English, for instance: *headache*, *stomach ache*, *backache*, *toothache*, *earache*, etc.

Of the various **types of pain**, where ‘pain’ is an element of a phrase, the following can be quoted: *growing pains*, *labour pain*, *period pain* (OCDSE 2002:548).

Once encountered, pain has to be relieved to ensure comfort and proper functioning. Diverse **forms of relieving pain** can be suggested: *visiting a doctor*, *taking pills and medication*, *taking painkillers*, *undergoing rehabilitation*, *being operated on*, *getting a massage*, *undergoing treatment at outpatient’s*, *getting an injection*, *dressing a wound*, *going to the dentist*, *acupuncture*, *suicide attempts*¹⁷. This list is certainly not exhaustive, as many more instances could be provided, depending on the type, form and duration of pain.

Various other elements which pertain to the frame are listed below:

Result of pain: (verb + *pain*) *to cry in pain*, *to cry out in pain*, *to groan with pain*, *to scream with pain*; *to be contorted with*, *to contort in pain* (OCDSE 2002:548).

Experiencing pain: (verb + *pain*) *to be in*, *to be racked with*, *to experience*, *to feel*, *to get*, *to go through*, *to have*, *to suffer (from)*, *to bear*, *to endure*, (OCDSE 2002:548); *to be pained*, *to look pained*, *to seem pained*, *to sound pained* (OCDSE 2002:548).

Enduring pain: (verb + *pain*) *to bear*, *to endure*, *to put up with*, *to stand*, *to take* (OCDSE 2002:548).

Overcoming pain: (verb + *pain*) *to alleviate*, *to control*, *to deaden*, *to do something for*, *to dull*, *to ease*, *to help*, *to kill*, *to relieve*, *to stop*, *to get over*, *to spare somebody pain* (OCDSE 2002:548).

Causing pain: (verb + *pain*) *to cause*, *to give somebody*, *to inflict* (OCDSE 2002:548).

Appearance of pain: (*pain* + verb) *to begin*, *to come*, *to shoot through/up*, *to grow stronger*, *to increase*, *to intensify*; *to come back*, *to return*; (verb + *pain*) *to increase*, *to make worse* (OCDSE 2002:548).

Disappearance of pain: (*pain* + verb) *to disappear*, *to go*, *to stop*, *to wear off* (OCDSE 2002:548).

The language used in daily communication is also filled with numerous metaphors of pain and suffering. They either include the lexeme *pain* itself or

¹⁷ According to Stenager et al. (2014), there is high incidence of suicide attempts among chronic pain patients; the numbers are much lower in the general population, which seems to point to suicidal behaviour as a form of pain relief in the case of chronic pain. Simons et al. (2014:62) state that *as pain becomes chronic, there is a tendency to be different – one’s psychological state of being (and mind) is altered*. This might explain the abnormal behavior and suicide attempts of chronic pain patients.

refer to the concept of pain; hence by way of extension they constitute elements of the frame under consideration. Some examples shall be introduced and briefly discussed in the following.

To grit one's teeth (MS 1992:137) is interpreted as *to get ready to suffer pain*; this expression implies endurance and forecasts suffering.

The phrase **growing pains** meant as *problems encountered by virtue of expansion* (MS 1992:138), or *problems that arise in beginning or enlarging an enterprise* (AHDI 1997:443), relies on the similarity with the physical sensation of aching limbs and joints experienced by young individuals who grow rapidly. Hence, stretching the size of a company is compared to a growing organism, a process frequently accompanied by effort and discomfort.

A stiff upper lip (MS 1992:175) is *obstinate courage in the face of pain or adversity*. Hence, **to keep a stiff upper lip** (AHDI 1997:574) means to *show courage in the face of pain or adversity*. Clearly, it is the application of a facial expression which attempts to conceal the fact that one is experiencing problems and is apparently unaffected by some difficulty or demands that may cause suffering.

To be a pain in the neck (MS 1992: 190) or **a pain in the ass/butt** (AHDI 1997:792) is a metaphorical expression representing the meaning *to be an unpleasant person or to be a nuisance*. Any pain in any part of a body is definitely unwelcome and problematic; hence any such allusion to a person clearly indicates they are best avoided.

(To be) at pains or **to take pains** (AHDI 1997:53) relates to a situation in which extra effort is needed to accomplish a task: *make a special effort or take extra trouble to do something*. Apparently, no physical harm is done, thus no real suffering or pain is inflicted.

Bad trip (AHDI 1997:68) refers to pain through the description of the experience, i.e. *a frightening or otherwise very unpleasant experience*. The phrase comes from the mid-1900s, and it meant *experiencing hallucinations, pain, or other trouble effects from taking a drug, esp. LSD*. Later on, the expression extended its range of meaning to cover other instances of *extremely unpleasant experience*.

To bite the bullet represents the meaning *to behave bravely or stoically when facing pain or a difficult situation* (AHDI 1997:103); *to meet or confront a difficult or painful situation directly and courageously* (MWDA 1999:78). The phrase is clearly of military origin and designates an attitude of bravery and endurance.

To break someone's heart (AHDI 1997:129) is an expression used to refer to *causing severe emotional pain or grief*. Evidently, this expression relates to the non-physical negative emotional state embodied by emotional pain.

To carry a/the torch for someone (AHDI 1997:171) denotes emotional pain caused by unrequited feelings; it means *to continue to feel the pain of unreciprocated love for someone*. The *torch* in the expression alludes to the heat of love or passion.

While discussing the effects of drinking, a person who is said to *feel no pain* (AHDI 1997:332) is meant as *intoxicated*. The expression alludes to being oblivious to pain because of the consumption of a large amount of liquor. Drunken people are often thought of as being less likely to hurt themselves as a result of easily losing and regaining balance. Furthermore, once hurt, they are not susceptible to pain, as the amount of intoxicant in the blood cripples the neural transmission of information of all sorts (whether of sensory information or of inflicted/experienced pain).

When something happens *for one's pains* (AHDI 1997:360) it is so *in return for the trouble one has taken*, additionally implying that *the return was not appropriate to the effort made*.

If a person or a group of people are *in the throes* (AHDI 1997:556) where the noun *throe* designates *a severe pang or spasm of pain*, they are *in the midst of, especially of a difficult struggle*.

To kick up (AHDI 1997:584) means to *malfunction, cause trouble or pain*. The straightforward reference to pain can easily be interpreted as the force applied to the leg movement while kicking an object which, in turn, absorbs the effect of the shock, hence experiencing the unpleasant sensation.

People are often exposed to unfavourable conditions. On some occasions an individual has to *learn to live with something* (AHDI 1997:608) i.e. he/she has to *get used to or accustom oneself to something that is painful, annoying, or unpleasant*.

No pain, no gain (AHDI 1997:713) is understood as *suffering is needed to make progress*, and describes the common fact of life that for development to take place some effort has to be expended.

Pound of flesh (WMDA 1999:434) designates *infliction to the exact letter of the law, without mercy, of a punishment that is cruelly painful*.

Primal scream (WMDA 1999:436) *A gut-wrenching, infantile, and therapeutic scream of emotional release. The term comes from a type of psychotherapy known as primal scream therapy in which the patient is brought to focus on repressed pain from infancy or childhood. The primal scream is made when a patient makes contact with the primal trauma thought to lie at the core of neurosis. In popular use, it refers to a deeply felt cry of rage or pain.*

Various idioms and other phrases are inevitably evoked and triggered by the concept 'pain': however, owing to space restrictions they are not addressed here. Also, a detailed discussion of synonymous expressions of *pain* or *suffering* as well as types of diseases has not been taken up.

Concluding remarks

The lexicographical sources and corpus data analysed and referred to in the foregoing discussion, as well as those consulted but not directly quoted, show that the experience of pain is largely lexicalised with reference to a physical sensation

that is unwelcome in nature. It is worthy of note, that by far the largest group of expressions relate directly or indirectly to physical pain. Nevertheless, as the definition of the concept encompasses the emotional aspect as well, the linguistic forms present in English also reflect this area of experience. However, it needs to be pointed out that they are not as numerous represented, owing to the fact that prototypically pain is associated with physical rather than emotional states. The metaphorical extensions noted in relation to the discussed concept seem to highlight the aspects of endurance in the face of incoming suffering (*to grit one's teeth; to keep a stiff upper lip; to bite the bullet*), trouble and effort (*growing pains; no pain, no gain; to take pains; for one's pains*), nuisance or unpleasant experience (*to kick up; a pain in the neck*). The emotional hardships expressed are primarily related to emotional grief (*to break someone's heart*), unpleasant experience (*bad trip*) or unrequited feelings (*to carry a/the torch for*).

It would be interesting to note how the elements of the frame under discussion are lexicalised in other languages, for instance Polish, to see if the concepts are universally rendered or if culturally-conditioned variations are observed. This, however, deserves an individual research study.

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AN ANALYSIS OF THE EFFECTS OF VARIABLE EXTERNAL FACTORS ON THE BILINGUALISATION OF INDIVIDUAL LEARNERS

Abstract: In this paper an attempt will be made to analyse the effect of variable external factors commonly said to influence the effectiveness of the bilingualisation process (such as exposure to English, periods of total immersion and years of study in second language) using quantitative research. An attempt will also be made to investigate whether a correlation can be established between a student's preferred learning style and the extent to which any or all of the above factors may have more or less influence on their bilingualisation.

Key words: Second Language Acquisition, variable external factors, individual learner differences, learning style, bilingualisation.

Introduction

As Ellis points out, learners vary widely in how successful they are at learning a language "(...) learners vary not only in the speed of acquisition but also in their ultimate level of attainment, with a few achieving native-like competence and others stopping far short" (2004:525). While these differences in achievement can be attributed to a number of factors, it is individual learner differences that appear to be of vital importance when it comes to deciding the success or failure in learning another language and achieving bilingualism.

This article seeks to question, through quantitative research, how many of the world of second language acquisition's theories on factors influencing the likelihood of achieving *bilingualisation* actually translate into facts. It will also question whether simply knowing the kind of learning style one prefers and what factors matter most to those who prefer said learning style, may help them increase their chances of achieving bilingualism.

So it begins with the definition of the four main types of learner styles as theorised by Honey and Mumford (2009): *Activist, Theorist; Pragmatist and Reflector*.

[...] These are the learning approaches that individuals naturally prefer and they recommend that in order to maximise one's own personal learning each learner ought to: understand their learning style [and] seek out opportunities to learn using that style. [...]

As for the most commonly mentioned factors in the context of second language acquisition, the *Bilingual Language Profile*¹ (which is the main result of the *Bilingual Assessment Project*), the University of Texas at Austin published a list of non-SLA factors containing these factors as the most significant in terms of the role they play in language learning: age of acquisition/exposure; years of schooling; frequency/function of use; linguistic environment; [...]; proficiency [...]. The more specific aims set to the research conducted using a sample population of 100 bilinguals, are therefore to analyse which of the above factors, and more, seem to have the biggest impact on individuals aligning with different learner styles. The ultimate goal of the research evidently being to determine whether any of the newly-defined most influential 'non-SLA' or 'external' factors can be (or indeed already are) manipulated or utilised efficiently by second language acquisition establishments. Correlations between any number of factors across different groups of learners must also be taken into account, as it is to be expected that certain factors will have greater impact when applicable in conjunction with others, rather than in isolation.

These above-mentioned correlations will be published in a wider research project, which constitutes the author's doctoral research into the influence of external factors on the process of *bilingualisation* for subjects having demonstrated a preference for different learner styles. This particular paper will commence with a brief overview of the theoretical background and research methodology which make up the foundations for the research, before delving into the results obtained from the study group composing of 100 bilingual individuals. Different conclusions will then be drawn based on these results, some confirming, others challenging common theories concerning external factors in the realm of *Second Language Acquisition*.

Theoretical Foundations: An Overview of Bilingualism and Learner Styles

In his paper entitled '*An Investigation through Different Types of Bilinguals and Bilingualism*', Hamzeh Moradi defines bilingualism as *the use [with some degree of proficiency] of at least two languages either by a group of speakers or*

¹ The BLP is an instrument which enables researchers to collect and collate data on the functional language abilities of bilinguals through self-reports on language history, proficiency, use, and attitudes in either of the bilingual subject's acquired languages.

by an individual. He continues, however, to specify that this definition comes with a number of caveats leading to different types of bilinguals with different levels of proficiency and different levels of dominance of one language over the other. Indeed, the ability to speak a second language has become so commonplace, that in many countries, it is not unusual for people to consider themselves bilingual from the moment they are able to hold a comprehensible conversation in two languages. So while the bar for what would popularly be considered to constitute bilingualism is set quite low, and even J. Lyons states that the theoretical ideal of *equilingualism* is rare in practice, for the purposes of this paper, only the most proficient classes of bilinguals (C1 and C2), were used in order to narrow the pool of subjects to definite and accomplished bilinguals. Such a decision enables this research to be more focused in unearthing the factors which have had considerable impact on the bilingualisation of people who are now genuinely bilingual, as opposed to merely apt in two languages.

Interestingly, H. Moradi then references H. Baetens Beardsmore while continuing his definition in which he states that:

[...] Bilingualism is best regarded as occurring on a continuum. At one end of the continuum is the monolingual speaker; at the other, the individual who has acquired both languages in naturalistic contexts in childhood and who is best described as speaking LA and LB with equal and native like fluency. [...]

This statement makes the assumption that true bilingualism is attained through acquisition in a naturalistic context, and moreover, acquisition in childhood. While these factors are commonly recognised as playing an important role in the *bilingualisation process*, this paper will start a step back by questioning exactly how much of an impact the factors involved in that assumption have. These include exposure to native speakers; periods of total immersion in a second language environment; the age at which the subject first started learning the second language, and the age at which they first felt comfortable using that language. The importance of those factors will be measured in general terms as well as specifically in the context of a comparison of bilinguals preferring different learner styles as detailed by Honey and Mumford's *Learning Style Questionnaire*.²

These learner styles break down as such: *Activists* are open-minded and approach learning by looking forward to new experiences which they can take part in actively. *Theorists* analyse concepts and facts to form their thoughts and opinions about how and where to store the information in their logical minds. *Pragmatists* are experimenters, eager to test theories and techniques in practice to

² This questionnaire (which was used for this study) is Honey and Mumford's Learning Style Questionnaire (2009) and is composed of 40 in-depth questions designed to promote self-awareness of one of four main learning styles. For further reading on this questionnaire, see Honey and Mumford (2009).

judge whether or not the information is worth retaining. Finally, *Reflectors* learn through observation and consideration of the entire picture in order to reach their conclusions.

Research methodology

For the purposes of this particular paper, we will be focusing solely on three common external factors: age of initial exposure to the second language, years of total immersion in the environment where the second language is spoken natively, and years of study in second language. Once the figures for each of these categories have been examined individually for every group of learners, we will further investigate correlations between these factors and the participants' tendency to achieve a balanced bilingualism or not.

Firstly however, we will begin by describing the methodology used and the pool of participants in this study. In terms of methodology, all efforts were made, as they should be, to ensure that any possibility of the research being influenced by incidental factors was removed. Wherever the potential possibility of arbitrariness was impossible to remove completely, it was taken into account when interpreting the results for that particular section of the study, to ensure the credibility of every part of this research. With regard to the pool of participants, the groups of learners were primarily selected for their confirmed bilingualism. The specific features of the Honey and Mumford questionnaire as well as those of the additional questionnaire I used for the purposes of this research both required it to be considered of prime importance that the participants in the study have a certain level of maturity and self-awareness. The final selection of one hundred bilingual students was chosen in most part from Education First in London.

The low degree of homogeneity among the participants (stemming from the fact that they come from a variety of backgrounds and are of different nationalities) is in the case of this study, considered an advantage, as it ensures that the results obtained can paint a more accurate representation of a wider demographic. The participants also present great diversity in terms of their age (the youngest participant is aged 17 while the oldest is 62). The average age was 26 years old and the mode was 19 with a standard deviation of 9 years. Of the total of one hundred participants, 20 were males and 80 females, as it happened to be the case that a much larger pool of females fitting the requirements to participate in the study were available. However, as this study pertains to 'external' factors only (meaning ones that can be controlled, rather than something one is born with), gender is not relevant in this research. Therefore, no special attention was given to the gender of subjects during the data analysis, and indeed the imbalance in male and female participants was immediately considered incidental (and should obviously not be taken to suggest that there are a greater number of female bilinguals in the world).

The decision to use at least one hundred participants was taken in order for the data to achieve statistical significance. Said data was collected through questionnaires and the results were interpreted via quantitative analysis. The level of proficiency of the subjects in either language is C1, C2 or above, and their level of maturity made them ideal candidates in terms of providing a useful, broad sample of bilinguals as well as of learners who demonstrated a preference in different learning styles. Honey and Mumford's *Learning Style Questionnaire* and the custom-made survey for this research were completed successively and in the same session via an online survey site. All of the resulting data was used to determine each participant's preferred learning style as well as the correlations between learning style preferences and the most significant factors in their achievement of *bilingualisation*.

Results of the study

As is to be expected when the *Learner Style Questionnaire* created by Honey and Mumford is used on a large pool of people, many of the participants tested showed an equal preference for up to two or three different Learner Styles. In order to ensure methodologically correct results, which may be used to examine each individual Learner Style, any participant showing an equal preference for two or more Learner Styles was removed from the study. The number of participants in each Learner Style pool after this adjustment therefore breaks down as follows: 16 participants showed a preference for the 'Activist' Learner Style; 17 for the 'Pragmatist' Learner Style; 26 for the 'Reflector' Learner Style; and 13 for the 'Theorist' Learner Style. Even at this early stage in the analysis of the results, it was interesting to note how many more participants demonstrated a preference for the *Reflector Learning Style*. Such a result could indicate that *Reflectors* are either more likely to become bilingual than *Theorists*, or inversely, that bilinguals are more likely to be *Reflectors* rather than *Theorists*, depending on which came first.

Age of first initiation to second language

The average age of participants demonstrating a preference for the *Activist Learner Style* when they first started learning their second language was: 8.7 years old, for the *Pragmatist Learner Style* it was: 10.5 years old, for the *Reflector Learner Style* it was: 9.6 years old, for the *Theorist Learner Style* it was: 8.4 years old. While these results show too little deviation from the average or from each other to draw any significant conclusions as to the effect of this external factor on *bilingualisation*, what is interesting is that the average age for every single group falls into what B.

Beardsmore categorised as ‘early bilinguals’, which is to say bilinguals who acquired their second language in pre-adolescent phase of life. The fact that all the subjects who took part in this study were of level C1 and above confirms his and Swain’s theory that early bilingualism tends to manifest itself as a native language, as opposed to late bilingualism which is unlikely to ever reach the same level of proficiency (in which case, they would not have met the criteria of level of bilingualism which was required of participants for their inclusion in this research).

That being said, it is also noteworthy that the group with the oldest average age of first initiation to their second language (the Pragmatists) is also the second most common in our pool of participants. Furthermore, the largest group (the Reflectors) did not have the youngest average age of first initiation to their second language. So while the average age of each group was consistently pre-adolescent, none of them could be said to be in the infantile age range, and this too could be interpreted to argue against common theories stating that the younger one begins learning a second-language, the more likely they are to actually become bilingual. Especially when considering another necessary caveat, which is that the subjects of the research may have stated a certain age as their age of first initiation to their ‘L2’ when in fact, that ‘initiation’ may have been followed by a long absence of exposure making it far less important than their later exposure to the language.

Years of total immersion in second language environment

Participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Activist Learner Style* had an average of 3.6 years of total immersion in their second language environment while participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Pragmatist Learner Style* had an average of 4.8 years of total immersion in their second language environment. Participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Reflector Learner Style* had an average of 7.9 years of total immersion in their second language environment, and finally, participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Theorist Learner Style* had an average of 1.3 years of total immersion in their second language environment.

As the pool of participants used for this survey consisted entirely of bilinguals, and that within this pool of bilinguals, learners with a preference for the *Reflector Learner Style* have the highest average number of years spent in their second language’s environment, it could be concluded that Reflectors are either: most likely to need more exposure to such an environment; or most likely to move to their second language’s environment for an extended period of time.

The results also suggest that on the other hand, participants demonstrating a preference for the ‘Theorist’ Learner Style are either: most likely to need the least exposure to such an environment; or least likely to move to their second language’s environment for an extended period of time.

Adjusted years of total immersion in second-language environment

The standard deviation value for this external factor was of 7.28 years either side of the average of 5.15 years of total immersion in L2. Therefore, to ensure the data is observed in the most credible way, we can look at each learner group's average again with any learner whose value is higher than 12.43 years removed and classified as an exception (indeed they may have permanently relocated to an English speaking country, in which case, any years beyond the 12th anniversary of their arrival could be considered not have further contributed to their *bilingualisation*). This could provide a better idea of a more standard bilingual person's average years of total immersion. With the adjusted figures, participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Activist Learner Style* had an average of 2.56 years of total immersion in their second language environment while participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Pragmatist Learner Style* had an average of 2.62 years of total immersion in their second language environment. Participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Reflector Learner Style* had an average of 2.79 years of total immersion in their second language environment, and finally, participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Theorist Learner Style* had an average of 2.17 years of total immersion in their second language environment.

Following the recalculations, it was comforting for the credibility of this research to note that excluding the exceptions had no impact on which group of learners need/seek the most exposure to their second language (Reflectors), and which group does so the least (Theorists). What these results do indicate however is that achieving bilingualism, irrespective of preferred Learner Style, takes an average of over two years of total immersion in one's second language environment.

Years of study in second language

As a whole, the participants in this study had an average of 9.1 years of study in their second language. Participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Activist Learner Style* had an average of 7.4 years of study in their second language and participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Pragmatist Learner Style* had an average of 9.2 years of study in their second language. Participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Reflector Learner Style* had an average of 9.7 years of study in their second language, and finally, participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Theorist Learner Style* had an average of 10.3 years of study in their second language.

This is a particularly interesting result as it reveals that the Learner Style group with the lowest number of years of study in their second language (the Activists),

is also the one with the smallest number of bilinguals. Inversely, the group with the largest number of bilinguals had the second-highest number of years of study in their second language. This could be interpreted as an effective argument in favour of learning English through traditional study environments. Indeed this could be taken as evidence that the *Activists'* nature of wanting to learn by experience rather than by listening and reflecting, tends to take them out of the classroom sooner, which ultimately leads to fewer of them becoming bilingual.

Comparison of confidence levels in L1 and L2

Although this is not an external factor, measuring all participants' confidence levels in their 'first' and 'second' language will provide valuable insights into some of the factors we have already analysed and establishing correlations between them. It will therefore be pertinent to begin by discussing the distinction between what Peal and Lambert describe as *balanced bilinguals* and *dominant* (or *unbalanced*) *bilinguals*³. Put simply, balanced bilinguals are close to what was touched upon in the introduction with the concept of *equilingualism*,⁴ as opposed to *dominant bilingualism* where one's proficiency in one language outweighs that of the other. When participants were asked to self-assess their confidence in their 'first' and 'second' languages, the average participant claimed to be 93.3% confident in their first language and 80.9% confident in their second. These high levels of confidence in L1 and L2 confirm that our pool consists entirely of genuine bilinguals, but also confirms J. Lyons' point that *equilingualism* is quite rare in practice, with only 10% of participants claiming to be completely *equilingual*.

On average, participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Activist Learner Style* claimed to be 95,4% confident in their L1, 80,8% confident in their L2 and 8% of them claimed to be equilingual. Participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Pragmatist Learner Style*, on average, claimed to be 92,8% confident in their L1, 84,8% confident in their L2 and 12,5% claimed to be equilingual. The participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Reflector Learner Style* claimed, on average, to be 92,7% confident in their L1, 82.5% confident in their L2 and 14.2% claimed to be equilingual. Finally, participants who demonstrated a preference for the *Theorist Learner Style* claimed, on average, to be 92.5% confident in their L1, 75.5% confident in their L2, and 7% claimed to be equilingual.

These results tell us that learners with a preference for the *Reflector Learner Style* were most likely to claim to be *equilingual*, while learners with a preference for the *Theorist Learner Style* were the least likely. Interestingly, on average, learners with a preference for the *Theorist Learner Style* also appeared to have the

³ For full explanation of balanced and dominant bilingualism, see Peal and Lambert (1962).

⁴ For full explanation of equilingualism, see H. Baetens Beardmore (1981).

biggest margin between their confidence levels in L1 and L2. This result could be interpreted to suggest that Theorists are least likely to become perfectly *balanced bilinguals* (or *equilingual*). This is particularly interesting when considering the fact that the average Theorist in this study started learning their second language at the youngest age. This again goes against the theory that age of initial exposure is a crucial factor in achieving bilingualism. Furthermore, recalling that the average *Theorist* in the study had the smallest number of years of exposure to the second language's native environment further points to the conclusion that years of exposure is a much more significant factor than age of initial exposure. Especially when combined with the fact that *Reflectors*, the group with the highest percentage of equilinguals is not only the group with the highest average number of years spent in an environment where the second language is spoken natively, they are also the group showing the highest number of bilinguals overall.

Another set of results which this section could put into question, is the factor of years of study in the second language as a necessary benefit to reaching a more balanced bilingualism. Indeed, the group with the highest average number of years of study (Theorists) also produced the greatest average imbalance in confidence between L1 and L2, and the lowest percentage of *equilinguals*. That being said, this fact could further be put in correlation with the fact that *Theorists* are also, as we know, the group with the smallest average number of years of exposure, which in addition to previous findings, would give rise to the conclusion that 'years of exposure' seems to be the most influential of the external factors analysed for this research.

Conclusions

To begin this conclusion, I would like to quote Singleton and Lengyel (Singleton 1995:4) in their open criticism of 'folk wisdom', especially with regards to the age at which one starts learning a second language.

[...] First, [...] empirical evidence cannot be taken to license the simplistic 'younger = better in all circumstances over any timescale' version of the Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) that one finds in folk wisdom and that seems to underline some of the 'classic' treatments of age and second-language learning (e.g. Tomb, 1925; Stangel, 1939; Penfield & Roberts, 1959; Lenneberg, 1967). Everything points to the situation being very much more complex and very much more interesting than such treatments would tend to suggest. [...]

[...] Second, even the 'younger = better in the long run' version of the CPH in respect of second-language learning needs to be seen in perspective of a general tendency and not as an absolute, immutable law. [A]n early start in a second-language is neither a strictly necessary nor a universally sufficient condition for the attainment of native-like proficiency. [...]

Singleton and Lengyel's statement falls perfectly in line with the results of this study which show that the age at which one begins learning a second language, while all being pre-adolescent in our pool of participants, is not necessarily a significant factor in the attainment of native-like proficiency in said second language. It also leads logically into the next conclusion we have come to which is that 'years of exposure' is a much more significant factor, with the group presenting the highest number of years of exposure not only having the most bilinguals in it, it is also the group claiming the smallest imbalance between their confidence levels in their first and second languages. Inversely, the group of learners with the lowest number of years of exposure (Theorists) had the greatest imbalance in bilingualism and the lowest level of confidence in their second language, despite them also having the highest number of years of study in their second language. Which brings us to this third factor: years of study in the participants' second language. It seems to make sense that the two groups of learners who prefer a more practical approach to learning would not have pursued to extend their years of study in the same way that the *Reflectors* and *Theorists* seem to have done. But while the group with the lowest number of years of study showed the lowest number of bilinguals and the second highest imbalance in bilingualism, the group with the highest number of years of study also showed the greatest imbalance in bilingualism.

These findings could be interpreted to mean that while insufficient studying of one's second language will lead to poor chances of becoming bilingual, having a greater number of years of study in one's second language will not yield the same results as increasing the amount of time spent in total immersion of one's second language. This too fits logically with the point of view of Honey and Mumford's Learning Styles, as an immersive experience will appeal to every style of learning whether one has a preference for experience like the Activists, analysis like the Theorists, practice like the Pragmatists or observation like the Reflectors.

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TEXTUAL FEATURES OF LEGAL TEXTS IN THE DOMAIN OF COMMERCIAL LAW

Abstract: The contribution discusses the characteristics of English legal texts in the context of their communicative function which is manifested by their illocutionary force grounded in their textual structure. The aim here is to verify the thesis that there is a significant degree of structural similarity in legal texts belonging to the same legal genre, which is reflected in the specific layout of the texts, their repetitive structures and recurring linguistic expressions. From the point of view of pragmatics the specific textual features of the texts making up the corpus make it possible to identify legal speech acts which carry illocutionary force referring the performative aspect of legal communication. The said illocutionary acts operate within the text or, more specifically, within its various parts which are discussed in the context of the felicity conditions and grammatical markers of the speech acts. The discussion is based on examples extracted from a corpus made up of authentic texts in the domain of commercial law.

Key words: illocutionary force, performatives, legal speech acts, communicative function.

Introductory remarks

Any discussion on the text features of an utterance from the textual standpoint revolves around the identification of the various purposes of the texts and the identification of the formal linguistic properties which distinguish one type of text from another (Gotti 2005:128, Kortmann 2005:230-235, Trask 1999). Reference is made to the seven standards of textuality¹ and the discussion on the specific formal features of the text which are believed to serve the purpose of fulfilling the communicative and pragmatic purpose of the given text, as a whole.

¹ The seven standards of textuality are: 1. cohesion, 4. acceptability, 2. coherence, 5. informativity, 3. intentionality, 6. situationality, 7. intertextuality (De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981).

The communicative potential of an utterance/text is often discussed with reference to its illocutionary force² which is defined as '[...] communicative function of an utterance being uttered in a specific context' (Jopek-Bosiacka 2010:158).

As regards the language of law the notion of the illocutionary meaning assigned to a text or a part of it relates to the performative function of the language which – in turn – relates to performing a specific action, instead of simply describing or stating facts about the world. In other words, performativity is about the instances of the language use where an utterance makes things happen; in our case, it leads to the enactment of law, to the production of the intended legal effect (Cao 2007:114, Jopek-Bosiacka 2010:158-159, Šarčević, 1997:246-147, Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:35-36).

A text analysed in the context of its *illocutionary value* is referred to as an *illocutionary act* (Jopek-Bosiacka 2010:159). On the grounds of the language of law the term *illocutionary act* is often understood in a somewhat narrowed sense and it is held as equivalent to the term *performative* (utterance) and *legal speech act* (Jopek-Bosiacka 2010:158-159, Mróz, Niewiadomski, Pawelec 2009:21-22, Williams 2005:53-62, Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:132), since in the field of legal language *performativity* is said to be the dominant illocutionary value of the texts or parts of the texts and these may be assumed to correspond to the various categories of speech acts.

To account for the inclusion of performatives in the textual features the following statement needs to be made. The illocutionary dimension of an utterance in the case of general, legal text is something that exceeds the structural limits of a single sentence and it is the fulfillment of the text-linguistic and extralinguistic conditions which makes the performatives operative by releasing the illocutionary force of the text or parts of the text.

Data and general methodological considerations

The analysis was conducted on the basis of a corpus made up of a variety of texts on file at one of the divisions of *the National Court Register* in Poland. These include instances of memorandum of associations, articles of associations, certificates of incorporation, certificates on a change of name and resolutions of

² The notion of illocution was coined by Austin (1962) in order to distinguish between the various facets of the meaning of an utterance. *Locutionary act* is said to correspond to the cognitive meaning of an utterance, whereas *illocutionary act* refers to the meaning in context and finally *perlocutionary act* concerns the effect of the action or the potential fulfillment of the action (Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:36). This terminology is related to the distinction between *performative* and *constative* utterances and makes up part of the *speech acts theory* initiated by Austin (1962).

shareholders. Cases of performatives were found in all these types of documents but the scope of the present study does not allow for a wide-ranging discussion in relation to the numerous legal genres on file. Thus, the author limited herself to the certificates referring to the relevant theoretical assumptions according to which specific types of certificates present relevant data for analysis in relation to the speech act theory.³

The search of the corpus data revealed that certificates do not constitute a homogenous genre as regards the illocutionary force of the message included therein. Notably, some certificates may be considered as ‘conventional and not communicative acts’ (Witczak-Plisieceka 2007:110) and they do not lead to any change in the extra-linguistic reality. More specifically, the physical and legal status of items is the same at the beginning and at the end of the performance. Following this line of reasoning, the author excluded the certificates which do not confer rights, but merely certify the fact these were conferred. It is assumed for the purpose of the analysis that this group of certificates may not be said to be ‘embodiments of typical speech acts in the original Austinian sense [...]’ (Witczak-Plisieceka 2007:111).

Following this criterion related to a change in the extra-linguistic reality, the author narrowed the language material analysed to certificates of incorporation and certificates on a change of company name issued by *the Companies House*. Furthermore, the said language data used for the analysis were limited to those where the principle of temporal contiguity was noted, i.e. the date of the linguistic performance is congruent with the date of the arising of specific legal rights, which allows for the assumption that the said legal speech act leads to a change in the extra-linguistic world.⁴ Additionally, it is assumed that in the context of the communication channel, as we have in the case of the said types of certificates, the speech acts in question serve the illocutionary function in that they have a performative effect towards the Recipient/Hearer for whom the said documents communicate primarily the change in his legal status.

From the linguistic perspective the illocutionary aspect of the legal texts (*legal speech acts/illocutionary acts*), or to be more specific their performativity, lends itself to discussion – as was already hinted upon – on the grounds of the speech act theory, where 1. speech acts are discussed in the context of the textual and circumstantial conditionings which need to be satisfied to make the speech act operative (*felicity conditions*), and 2. reference is made to specific types of speech acts, as distinguished in non-specialist and specialist languages. Thus, before

³ For example, Witczak-Plisieceka (2007) considers certificates as communicating specific speech acts. Notably, the scholar limited herself to the analysis of school, birth and marriage certificates. This discussion is intended to provide a domain-specific insight into the phenomenon of performatives as used in commercial law texts and thus complement the research carried out in the field so far.

⁴ The author excluded the certificates of incorporation which were issued post-factum in that they just confirm the change in the legal status which occurred earlier.

embarking on a discussion related to the textual features of the legal texts related to their illocutionary force let us introduce some of the basic tenets of speech act theory which will provide some theoretical ground for the analysis that follows.

Referring to the first point, as was already noted above, the operative force of a given legal speech act, also referred to as an illocutionary act, rests not only on the wording of the specific performative phrase, but it is conditioned by a number of extralinguistic conditions known as *felicity conditions*. The term *felicity conditions* was coined by Austin (1962) who used it to indicate the distinctiveness of *performatives* being qualified as felicitous or infelicitous as opposed to *constatives* which may be true or false. The concept of felicity conditions was further developed by Searle (1991) who is widely quoted and referred to in the literature of the subject (Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:34). Thus, contemporarily, most scholars refer to felicity conditions as circumstantial properties which can be broken down into the following points:

1. the propositional content conditions, which means that the given utterance has meaningful information,
2. the preparatory conditions, which implies that specific circumstances need to be present to allow the act to be performed,
3. the sincerity conditions, referring to the speaker's sincere and serious attitude,
4. the essential conditions, relating to what is referred to as accepted relevant social conventions (Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:36).

In the foregoing the author will test the language material extracted from the corpus against the linguistic conditions that need to be fulfilled in order to make a specific performative utterance operative. The relevant syntactic markers as formulated by Austin (1962) are widely quoted in the literature on the subject (Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:36):

1. the subject is in the first person,
2. the verb is in the simple present tense,
3. the indirect object, if at all present, is 'you',
4. it is possible to insert the adverb 'hereby',
5. the sentence is not negative.

The language material discussed in the analytical part of the paper refers to the taxonomy of speech acts as developed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1991).

The classes of speech acts as distinguished by Austin (1962) include *verdictives*, *exercitives*, *commissives*, *behabitives* and *expositives*. The distinctive feature of each class of speech acts refers to the function of a text or part of it. Hence verdictives are about giving opinions, exercitives relate to demonstrating the authority of a speaker/performer, commissives concern commitments, behabitives – social behaviour, and – finally – expositives are defined as demonstrations of the

speaker's beliefs (Mróz, Niewiadomski, Pawelec 2009:21-22, Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:46). The taxonomy of speech acts by Searle (1991) serves as a reference framework for most of the discussions related to the speech acts since it is said to offer 'most influential insight into the nature of illocutions' (Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:48).

Searl (1991) distinguishes the following speech acts: *representatives* (or *assertives*), *directives*, *commissives*, *expressives*, *declarations*. Representatives express the belief of the performer that they are stating the truth and thus commit the speaker to the truth of the message.

Directives and commissives are about the activity related to the influence of the act on the speaker. Thus directives are aimed at making the addressee perform specific action, while commissives 'commit the speaker to something' as Witczak-Plisiecka (2007:49) quotes after Searle (1991), in that they refer to as vowing, swearing, promising to conduct an act in law. The fourth class of speech acts as distinguished by Searle (1991) – expressives – refer to revealing various psychological states related to, for example, thanking or apologising.

Declarations embody highly institutionalised speech acts enacted by using the specific conventional linguistic formulae which refer to an act in law such as dismissing from work, appointing or baptizing.

The case study of commercial law certificates

It has already been stated that certificates of the type covered by the analysis provide transparent data for a discussion related to speech act theory. The illocutionary act in the case of the certificates in point refers to conferring rights, namely awarding rights to a commercial law entity, which is conditioned by incorporation of a company into the relevant register after this has been established by the drawing up of relevant documents (articles of association and memorandum of association).

Certificates contain expressions which constitute a frame for the message communicated with the implication of its performative function. If we hold the said text as an instance of a communicative act (Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:106) we may assume that 'the communication channel' may be equaled with the conventional Speaker/Hearer relation. In our case the name of the institution (signatures, authorisation, information on the communication means, the institution where the official is employed) corresponds to the Speaker, while the Company that is being entered into the said register may be considered as the Hearer, since the certificate is conventionally issued upon the request of the Company, thus they are the recipients of the said communicative act. The speech act communicated by the certificate may thus be presented as having the following units: (1) the title of the document, (2) the name of the recipient, i.e. the company on file with a specific number in the

register, (3) the authorisation, i.e. information on the official who communicates the change in the extra-linguistic world, (4) the performative phrase with the ‘idiosyncratic content’, i.e. the content which varies depending on the legal form of the company and its situation, (5) the name of the institution which issues the document and – from the linguistic point of view – releases the specific speech act. To make the illustration more transparent, the relevant sections of the sample document below are marked with numbers. Notably, number (3), corresponding to the authority issuing the certificate, recurs throughout the document, with the various elements revealing new facts about the authorisation, i.e. position of the official (3’), name of the institution employing them (3’’) and official seal of the office (3’’’). The conventionality of the form of certificates is also reflected in the layout of the documents, which follows the typical communicative act structure, as illustrated by the following example:

(1) *CERTIFICATE OF INCORPORATION OF A PRIVATE LIMITED
COMPANY*

(2) *COMPANY NUMBER XXX⁵*

(3’) *The Registrar of Companies for England and Wales, (4) hereby certifies that xxx is this day incorporated under the Companies Act 2006 as a private company, that the company is limited by shares, and the situation of its registered office is in England and Wales.*

(5) *Given at Companies House, Cardiff, in xxx.*

[in the footnote]

(3’’) *The above information was communicated by electronic means and authenticated by the Registrar of Companies under section 1115 of Companies Act 2006.*

[to the right]

(3’’’) *The official seal of the Registrar of Companies*

[to the left – the logo of the institution and the following inscription below]

Companies House

The contents of the certificate show that the felicity conditions as formulated by Searl (1991) seem to be successfully completed and consequently the legal speech act may be said to be operative i.e. the legal consequences stipulated in the documents become a fact, which means that the company is incorporated in the register referred to as Companies House as a private limited company with a registered office as specified. The act of incorporation means that the company acquires legal personality and its managements, liability and the ways of representation are defined in specific regulations (*Companies Act 2006*). To

⁵ The x’s stand for confidential data related to the company.

start with, the first condition referred to as the *propositional content condition* is fulfilled in that the message communicated emerges from the wording used in the certificate. Hence, the performative verb accompanied by the adverb *hereby* clearly signifies the emergence of the new status which is introduced by the act of incorporation. The illocutionary force of the performative is strengthened by the recurrent use of the term *incorporate* throughout the document (also in its nominal form *incorporation*) on the grounds of intertextual link. Namely, the said term is used in the relevant legal act and its meaning is unequivocal as regards the legal consequences in the domain of commercial law.

The second felicity condition, that is *the preparatory condition* as Searle (1991) puts it means that the person who makes the utterance, or - in our case formulated the text – must be authorised to do so (Malinowski 2006:97). In our case the illocutionary act is introduced by a principal who writes a statement introducing the new legal state and thus awards rights. The authorisation which is stipulated in the preparatory condition is made linguistically explicit by the inclusion of the denotation of the position of the person authorised, i.e. Registrar of Companies for England and Wales, and additionally by reference to the institution that is responsible for keeping the relevant records on file.

Furthermore, the third felicity condition, i.e. *the sincerity condition*, for such a certificate to be valid is the belief on the part of the performer that they are stating the truth, which is strengthened by the reference to the legal provisions, i.e. the Companies Act.

The *essential condition* is fulfilled in that the performer has the intention to inform the receiver of the illocutionary force of the utterance and this is done in line with the social conventions accepted in this type of communication. Namely, the text fits into the conventional layout and contents of the information which refers to the legal form, the fact of being incorporated and the situation of the registered office.

A closer analysis of the performative sentence within the document in question reveals that it has the essential grammatical features that are typical for a performative according to Austin's (1962) theory. Hence, the sentence is not negative and it is in the simple present tense. Furthermore, the use of the adverb *hereby* is a typical feature of performative sentences (Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:107, Jopek-Bosiacka 2010:159). The text-mapping adverbials, as Gotti (2005:106) calls them after Bhatia (1987), serve the purpose of referring to the part of text, in our case it is the sentence conveying the illocutionary meaning, and thus emphasise the words that have the performative function, excluding the possibility of erroneous interpretation.

It needs to be added that the grammatical structure of the performative sentence does not follow the canonical formula, as postulated by Austin (1962) and presented in the previous part of this paper (i.e. first person subject, *you* as indirect object, simple present active). The possible variations in this respect were later on accepted

by Austin Jopek-Bosiacka (2010:159) and sustained in the literature of the subject. For example, Jopek-Bosiacka (2010:159) and Witczak-Plisiecka (2007:106) accounted for the use of passive constructions in performative sentences. Moreover, the examples discussed by the scholars include cases of deviation from the subject in the first person (Witczak-Plisiecka 2007:107).⁶ Hence, the sentence extracted from the model *The Registrar of Companies for England and Wales*, (4) hereby certifies that ... clearly fits the pattern.

The speech act extends beyond the single sentence and its performative force emerges from the whole text, in our case the certificate which in the context of our discussion constitutes the basic unit of communication. Following this line of reasoning and pointing to the textual dimension of the performatives in the language of law, a remark needs to be made about the linguistic mechanisms that increase the cohesion of the text and thus improve the transparency of the illocutionary force of the utterance. The language materials presented is illustrative of - what Gotti (2005:104) calls - 'excessive recourse to lexical repetition', which clearly eliminates the risk of ambiguous interpretation. The case in point is the repetition of the term *company* instead of employing pronouns or synonymous terms.

The short overview of the structure of the sample text, discussed in the context of the circumstantial conditions and the grammatical form, encourages us to claim that the certificates discussed in the paper embody the typical speech acts in the Austin's sense and they can be fitted into Austin's (1962) and Searl's (1991) taxonomy of speech acts.

Referring to Austin's (1962) taxonomy of speech acts it may be assumed that the said certificates fit into the category of *Exercitives* since they present a case of the exercising of power by officials acting in the capacity of Registrars of Companies.

If we abandon the agent-oriented standpoint and assume the subject matter perspective focusing on the outcome of the performative, we are clearly able to classify the said type of certificates to Searl's (1991) class of *Declarations*, since they trigger a change in the extralinguistic world which consists of granting specific rights to the company, which become effective in the moment of its incorporation.

Conclusions

The discussion presented above points to the complexity and special character of communication in the domain of law. The texts are not only intended to provide description or state facts but they also have performative force which specifies their

⁶ Compare the use of subject in the third person singular included in the example quoted in Witczak-Plisiecka (2007:107), i.e. *Upon the recommendation of the Board of ... hereby confers upon ... the degree ...*.

illocutionary orientation and fulfills the communicative function of the given legal text, which is – predominantly – to produce legal effect.

It emerges from the discussion that the illocutionary meaning typical of the specific domain of law and type of legal text becomes operative by meeting specific formal requirements on the textual level. Achieving the specific communicative effect by conveying the specific illocutionary value does not only rest upon employing specific language formulae. It exceeds the border of a sentence and it is conditioned by some supra-sentence text features ensuring text cohesion and coherence, which strengthens the illocutionary force of a text. From the point of view of text linguistics, the specific, rigid, fossilised form of a text with its deviations from the accepted, stylistic conventions (archaic forms, lexical repetition) or domain-specific linguistic structures (e.g. use of pro-forms) seem to serve the higher, communicative purpose. The quotation from Gotti (2005:108) who comments upon the length of specialized texts seems to be an accurate conclusion here: ‘Textualisation is subservient to pragmatic requirements, as the need to ensure a single clear-cut interpretation prevails over text length’ (Gotti 2005:108).

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METAPHOCONSTRUCTIONS: COMBINING METAPHORS AND CONSTRUCTION

Abstract: This article demonstrates a corpus-based approach to the investigation of metaphorical constructions by combining key insights from Conceptual Theory of Metaphor (Kövecses 2002), Blending (Fauconnier and Turner 2002) and Construction Grammar (Goldberg 2006, Croft 2001). This approach rests on the retrieval of lexical units from the target domain and the identification of the metaphorical expressions associated with them. The author proposes to encode the conventionalized uses of symbolic units in terms of metaphorical constructions: that is, *metaphoconstructions*. It is argued that the meanings of individual metaphoconstructions not only reside in a set of correspondences between the two domains, but also depend on conceptual integration in a given situation of use. A corpus-based method presented in this article differs from the introspective method in that it allows us to extract metaphorical constructions more exhaustively and to quantify their frequency.

Keywords: conceptual metaphor, construction, domain, blending, corpus.

Introduction

Over the last three decades, research on metaphor has been dominated by the investigation of the relationship between language and thought, from the perspective of the research program now known as *cognitive linguistics*. In particular, cognitive metaphor theorists from Lakoff and Johnson (1980) onwards have argued that the common occurrence of metaphorical linguistic expressions is evidence of the existence of metaphorical thought, and especially of conceptual metaphors: sets of systematic correspondences, or mappings, between the two domains in conceptual structure.

Consequently, the cognitive study of metaphor has attempted to reveal general mappings rather than to exhaustively describe the specific linguistic expressions instantiating these mappings. Cognitive metaphor research rests mainly upon the traditional method of eclectically collecting citations or gathering data from introspection. The manual extraction of metaphors causes a number of problems, not the least of which is that it seriously limits the size of the material to be investigated, and it relies on researcher's intuition of what a metaphor is. According to Stefanowitsch (2006:64), another problem arises with the systematic characterization of a specific mapping: first, it is impossible to find out whether we have exhaustively extracted the relevant metaphors; second, we cannot quantify the results in order to establish the importance of a particular metaphor in a given language.

In recent years, the increasing availability of electronic corpora has opened up considerable opportunities for investigating metaphorical expressions in naturally-occurring discourse, as shown by a number of studies (e.g. Cameron and Deignan 2003; Deignan 2000; Semino 2002, 2006; Stefanowitsch 2006). Some researchers (e.g. Cameron 2003; Low 2003; Steen 1999) have begun to place strong emphasis on authentic data and the empirical verification of some earlier claims on particular conceptual metaphors.

Several strategies have been also proposed to overcome methodological shortcomings. Electronic corpora have been employed to investigate linguistic metaphors from a variety of perspectives. Some researchers have used corpora to search for individual lexical items from the source domain (cf. Deignan 1999, 2006; Hanks 2004, 2006) or for whole sets of such items (cf. Partington 1997, 2003, 2006; Koller 2006). Others have focused on investigating target domain vocabulary (Stefanowitsch 2004, 2006; Koivisto-Alanko and Tissari 2006). This paper presents one such strategy in detail. The basic idea behind this approach appears to be relatively straightforward: we select and search for a lexical item referring to the target domain under investigation and extract a sample of its occurrences in the corpus. In a second step, we then identify those cases where the search word is embedded in metaphorical expressions and thus, the metaphorical mappings occurring in the target domain. This general strategy has been adopted by some researchers in previous work (cf. Koivisto-Alanko 2000; Stefanowitsch 2004, 2006) but it has, to my knowledge, never been applied in combination with the tenets of Construction Grammar and Blending Theory to investigate the meaning and form of individual metaphorical constructions. In addition, no single study exists which has attempted to postulate the existence of so-called *metaphoconstructions* in a constructional cline.

The first aim of this article is therefore to establish more clearly and explicitly the nature of metaphoconstructions and to specify their properties. To attain this purpose, metaphorical expressions associated with the target domain of soccer are investigated, specifically, the verb *to play* and its collocates, e.g. *an encounter*; *a friendly*, *a fixture*, *a central defender*, *as a striker*, *catch-up* and *host to*. The second

aim is to demonstrate how the frequency of occurrence of a given lexical item and its collocates can be used to identify words that are very strongly attracted to a metaphorical construction and thus significantly associated with a given metaphorical mapping. To this end, differences in the metaphorical behavior of near-synonymous constructions are investigated, showing that the reliance on the corpus data is a methodological advantage that enables us to uncover subtle distributional differences between two semantically or functionally near-equivalent constructions from the same target domain.

Theoretical background

The analysis is grounded in theoretical frameworks provided by the Conceptual Theory of Metaphor, Blending and Construction Grammar. The Conceptual Theory of Metaphor formulated by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (1980), but also associated with the work of Kövecses (2002, 2006), draws a distinction between *conceptual metaphors* and *metaphorical expressions*. Conceptual metaphors are general mental mappings or correspondences from a (typically concrete) source domain to a (typically abstract) target domain, while metaphorical linguistic expressions are lexical units or other linguistic expressions instantiating these mappings. A conceptual domain or frame (Fillmore 1982) in turn is our conceptual representation, or knowledge, of any coherent organization of experience. For example, the metaphorical expression *to play a friendly fixture* can be regarded as instantiating the general metaphorical concept FOOTBALL MATCH IS MEETING. Another examples of conceptual metaphor include when we talk and think about soccer in terms of war, about a league in terms of a race, and many others. A practical shorthand way of presenting this view of metaphor is the following: CONCEPTUAL TARGET DOMAIN IS CONCEPTUAL SOURCE DOMAIN, e.g. the SOCCER IS WAR conceptual metaphor. This way of conceptual description can be particularly useful in discussion of metaphorical uses of the verb *to play* and its collocates.

Conceptual Metaphor Theory, however, does not offer a detailed explanation for the usage of metaphorical constructions in all cases described in this article, since it does not clarify grammatical characteristics of some metaphorical constructions. Thus, another important notion from the field of Cognitive Semantics will be introduced. This is a concept of *blending* (Fauconnier and Turner 2002). To simplify a great deal, blending theory is based on the notion of *mental spaces*. In contrast to semantic frames or domains, mental spaces are constructed online, in the moment of speaking or thinking. Furthermore, they are used to describe an area in the mind within which we create mental representations of the external world. Blending occurs when several mental spaces are constructed in one utterance or thought, and then these are integrated to create a new blended space.

A straightforward example of the significance of domains, conceptual metaphors and blending to the semantic analysis of the verb *to play* and its collocates can be illustrated with a sentence related to different semantic frames that will be examined in this article. At first glance, the words *play* and *defender* in the sentence *I played a defender* seem to evoke only one domain: the MEMBER OF the SOCCER TEAM domain. However, on closer examination it appears that the metaphorical expression *to play a defender* is a derivative of two conceptual metaphors: A MATCH IS A SPECTACLE and FOOTBALLERS ARE PARTICIPANTS OF PHYSICAL CONFLICT. More specifically, the verb *play* is a realization of the metaphorical mapping: TO PLAY A POSITION IS TO PLAY A ROLE. The noun *defender* in turn is a manifestation of the metaphorical mapping: A FOOTBALLER IS A PARTICIPANT OF PHYSICAL CONFLICT.

Construction Grammar, associated with the works of Goldberg (1995, 2006) and Croft (2001), rests on two assumptions: first, that lexical units and grammatical structures are represented in the mind as a whole in the form of constructions, and second, that sufficient frequency of grammatical units is a necessary condition for their entrenchment in a speaker/hearer's linguistic system, and thus for their construction status. Constructions are symbolic units (Langacker 1987), a combination of form and meaning, where both form and meaning can vary in complexity and schematicity. The form includes the following broad types (Croft 2001:17): a) *atomic* (that is, morphologically simple words that cannot be further divided into meaningful parts) and *specific*, i.e. word/lexicon; b) *atomic and schematic*, i.e. grammatical categories – for example, word classes [noun, verb, etc.] or grammatical relations [subject, object, etc.]; c) *complex but bound*, i.e. morphology (constructions whose parts are morphologically bound), e.g. [Noun-s]; d) *complex and (mostly) specific*, i.e. idioms [*pull-TNS NP-'s leg*]; e) *complex and (mostly) schematic*, i.e. syntactic rules [SUBJ + VERB-TNS + OBJ_L + *to/for NP + into + NP*] and associated rules of their semantic interpretation [Agent cause Theme to move to/for Recipient into Location]. The latter covers semantic, pragmatic and discourse-functional properties, i.e. semantic frames (domains) and the context in which constructions are found.

Following the principles of Construction Grammar outlined above, this article proposes to encode the conventionalized metaphorical uses of the verb *to play* and its collocates in terms of metaphorical constructions that derive their meaning from the conceptual mappings between the source domain and the target domain.

Data and method

The major source of data used in this article comes from specialized corpora collected in three languages, covering the years between 2008 and 2012. Corpora include different types of texts derived from internet websites: official news,

comments, biographies, written interviews with people linked with the sport, match reports and reviews, etc. The data were retrieved by means of a software program, MonoConc Pro. Much of the analysis was based on data from approximately 650 thousand word corpus of the English soccer news. The corpus yielded 2471 tokens of the verb *play*, from which some examples were selected and annotated with frame elements (that is, typical participants, props, and roles that can be found in a particular situation) and grammatical categories.

The corpus-based method employed to obtain the data from the corpus involves selecting and searching for the verb *to play* referring directly to the target domain of soccer and extracting (a sample of) its occurrences in the corpus. In this sample, we then identify all metaphoconstructions that the verb *to play* is a part of and classify them into coherent groups representing general and specific mappings.

The method, referred to as distinctive-collexeme analysis (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004), is adopted in this article to investigate differences between two semantically or functionally near-equivalent constructions, i.e. to identify those words that best distinguish between semantically or functionally near-equivalent constructions. It resembles Church et al.'s (1991) distinctive collocate analysis, which employs a variant of the t-test as a measure of dissimilarity of semantically similar words on the basis of their lexical collocates (e.g., Church et al. indicate how their t-test can identify collocates that differentiate between the adjectives *strong* and *powerful*). However, it differs from Church et al. in that it examines near-synonymous (or functionally near-equivalent) constructions rather than words, and that it looks at lexemes occurring in given slots in these constructions rather than at all words within a given span. In addition, the method is different from the one mentioned above, in that it compares frequencies of words in a construction not to their frequency in the corpus as a whole, but to their frequencies in the corresponding slot in a semantically near-equivalent construction. To be more specific, in order to calculate the association strength of a given word (in this case, its distinctiveness), the following four frequencies are required: the frequency of the word in construction A, the frequency of the same word in construction B, and the frequencies of construction A and construction B with words other than the collexeme in question. These can then be entered in a two-by-two table and examined by means of the Fisher exact test (Gries and Stefanowitsch 2004:104). The p-value provided by this test is taken as an indicator of association strength, i.e., a word's strength of attraction/repulsion to a construction: the smaller the p-value, the stronger the association.

Definition of metaphoconstruction

A primary motivation for devising a definition of metaphoconstruction is the observed necessity of an examination of methods and means of identifying metaphorical constructions in corpora and a subsequent analysis of their properties.

The following parameters can be established for the identification and extraction of metaphoconstructions in computer corpora:

- a. the nature of the constituents involved in a metaphoconstruction: no restrictions imposed on the types of the parts that form a metaphoconstruction as long as it consists of lexical items from both the source domain and the target domain and its forms are paired with some meaning/function;
- b. the number of elements that constitute a metaphoconstruction: metaphorical constructions can be composed of an unlimited number of elements as long as those constituents are considered to make up one symbolic unit;
- c. the frequency of occurrence: metaphorical linguistic expressions that are more frequently encountered become more entrenched in the linguistic system (that is, established as a cognitive pattern). This criterion is associated with Langacker's notion of entrenchment;
- d. the permissible distance between the elements involved in a metaphoconstruction: the constituents of the metaphoconstruction can be adjacent to each other or separated by intervening elements;
- e. the degree of lexical and syntactic flexibility of the elements involved: Langacker's view of symbolic unit (Langacker 1987) imposes no restrictions on the flexibility of the elements as long as those parts are concrete instances of a particular schema that instantiates them: for example, if three expressions are specific instances of the English caused-notion construction [V OBJ OBL], it is unimportant that these three instances may include different verbs in different tenses with different direct objects and oblique ones;
- f. semantics: by definition, the metaphoconstruction is a symbolic unit or construction that functions as a one semantic unit, i.e. has a sense just like a single morpheme or lexical item. Its meaning is not fully predictable from the components, as it depends on a set of conceptual correspondences between elements of two domains and conceptual integration in a given situation of use — namely, the way in which the meaning is constructed dynamically while thinking and speaking in a particular socio-cultural context.

According to the criteria formulated above, a metaphoconstruction can be defined as follows:

A metaphoconstruction is a pairing of form and meaning/function which is subjected to no restrictions on number, types, distance, and flexibility of constituents as long as it functions as one symbolic unit and comprises lexical items from the source domain and the target domain.

Findings and discussion

Metaphorical expressions associated with the verb *to play* and its collocates appear to be of several different kinds. As can be easily seen, in the examples presented in (1), they contain lexical items from both the source domain (*friendly, leg, catch-up, fixture, exhibitions, striker, part, host, clash, meeting*) and the target domain (*play*). The fact that some metaphorical expressions consist of both source and target domain lexical items has sometimes been recognized as a means of identifying metaphors in the corpus, but little or no attention has been devoted to the fact that such expressions constitute a specific type of constructions, a type that I will refer to as a *metaphoconstruction*. In an attempt to identify properties of this construction, let us examine some examples found in the corpus:

(1)

- a. [We]_{Subject, Team} *played* [one *friendly*]_{Direct Object, Match*}
- b. [...] when [they]_{Subject, Players} have *played* [the second *leg*]_{Direct Object, Competition}
[away from home]_{Stage Adjunct, Pitch Location*}
- c. [Owen and Berbatov]_{Subject, Players} *play* [*catch-up*]_{Direct Object, Match} with Rooney
[against Arsenal]_{Opposing Team*}
- d. Given that [the Ibrox side]_{Subject, Team} have *played* [one *fixture*]_{Direct Object, Match}
more [...].
- e. Although [he]_{Subject, Player} *played* [in all of the team's last few *exhibitions*]_{Event}
[...]._{Complement, Match*}
- f. [I]_{Subject, Player} used to *play* [*striker*]_{Direct Object, Player's Position} [for my football club]
_{Prepositional Complement, Team*}
- g. [I]_{Subject, Player} can *play* [*as a striker*]_{Positional Complement, Player's Position*}
- h. [...], [he]_{Subject, Player} again *played* [*his part*]_{Direct Object, Player's Role} [*in a battling*
performance]_{Event Complement, Match, Competition Stage} in the UEFA Cup.
- i. [The Sky Blues]_{Subject, Home Team} *play host to* [the North Queensland Fury]_{Direct}
_{Object, Away Team*}
- j. [Sydney's season-ending *clash*]_{NP, Match} [with the Jets]_{Prepositional Complement, Opposing}
Team will be *played* [at the SFS]_{Adjunct, Spatial Field Location} [at 5:00 p.m next Sunday]
_{Adjunct, Temporal Location*}
- k. [Patrick Nyarko]_{Subject, Player?} who *played* [well]_{Adjunct, Manner} [against Sounders
FC]_{Complement, Opposing team} [*in the teams' first meeting*]_{Event Complement, Match} [in
suburban Chicago]_{Adjunct, Field Location} [in May]_{Adjunct, Temporal Location?} [...].

In the sentences above, the examples of metaphorical expressions in italics do not refer to the soccer domain that they would refer to in metonymic uses. Rather, we can see that a large part of the way we speak about soccer in English

derives from the way we speak about physical conflicts, a race, social meetings and events, actor's performance, etc. In light of these examples, it appears that speakers of English make extensive use of the afore-mentioned domains to think about the concept of soccer. More specifically, particular form-concept pairings speakers use to talk about soccer are based on a deeper connection between some aspects of two domains. The specific form-concept pair of the soccer domain is comprehended in terms of the form-concept pair that belongs to one of the domains: war, physical conflict, a race, social meetings and events, actor's performance, etc. Furthermore, this connection is systematic in the sense that we can observe systematic correspondences between the soccer domain lexical items and those belonging to the source domains mentioned above. Thus, below, we find a number of metaphorical correspondences for each of the examples of linguistic expressions in italics above. These metaphorical expressions do not merely instantiate general mappings between two domains. In addition, they establish specific relationships between the target domain lexical item *play* and the source domain items such as a *friendly*, a *leg*, *catch-up*, etc. As the example (1h) illustrates, there may be more than two domains (and thus, more than one metaphor) involved in a metaphoconstruction: PLAYER'S PERFORMANCE IS ACTOR'S PERFORMANCE and A MATCH IS A BATTLE. Both schematic and specific relationships are stated in small capitals:

(2)

- a. General mapping: A SOCCER MATCH IS A MEETING; Specific relationship: TO PLAY A SOCCER MATCH IS TO PARTICIPATE IN A SOCIAL MEETING
- b. General mapping: PART OF COMPETITION IS PART OF A RACE; Specific relationship: TO PLAY A MATCH IS TO PARTICIPATE IN A LEG
- c. General mapping: COMPETITION IS A RACE; Specific relationship: AN ACT OF TRYING TO EQUAL WITH A PLAYER IN A NUMBER OF GOALS SCORED IN A PARTICULAR COMPETITION IS AN ACT OF TRYING TO REACH A PERSON WHO IS AHEAD IN A RACE
- d. General mapping: A SOCCER MATCH IS A MEETING; Specific relationship: TO PLAY A SOCCER MATCH IS TO PARTICIPATE IN A MEETING FIXED ON A PARTICULAR DATE AND AT A PARTICULAR PLACE
- e. General mapping: A SPORTING EVENT IS A CULTURAL EVENT; Specific relationship: TO PLAY A MATCH IS TO ATTEND AN EXHIBITION
- f. General mapping: PLAYER'S PERFORMANCE IS ACTOR'S PERFORMANCE; Specific relationship: TO PLAY A POSITION IS TO PLAY A ROLE

- g. General mapping: PLAYER'S PERFORMANCE IS ACTOR'S PERFORMANCE; Specific relationship: TO PLAY A POSITION IS TO PLAY A ROLE
- h. General mapping: PLAYER'S PERFORMANCE IS ACTOR'S PERFORMANCE; Specific relationships: TO PLAY A POSITION IS TO PLAY A ROLE, TO PLAY A MATCH IS TO FIGHT A BATTLE
- i. General mapping: A HOME MATCH IS A VISIT; Specific relationships: A HOME TEAM IS A HOST; AN AWAY TEAM IS A GUEST /VISITOR; TO PLAY HOME WITH AN AWAY TEAM IS TO PLAY HOST TO A GUEST
- j. General mapping: A MATCH IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT; Specific relationship: TO PLAY A MATCH IS TO GET INTO A CLASH
- k. General mapping: A SOCCER MATCH IS A MEETING; Specific relationship: TO PLAY A SOCCER MATCH IS TO PARTICIPATE IN A SOCIAL MEETING

As shown in (2), particular elements of the SOCCER domain, or frame, correspond to particular elements of the MEETING frame, the RACE frame, the PHYSICAL FIGHT frame, the CULTURAL EVENT frame, the THEATRICAL PERFORMANCE frame and the VISIT frame. Such correspondences between two frames give rise to metaphoconstructions mentioned earlier in italics. These metaphoconstructions thus are derivative of two conceptual domains being connected. The expression *play host to* is an example of the HOME MATCH IS A VISIT metaphorical mapping, while *clash* comes from A MATCH IS A PHYSICAL FIGHT, and so on. From this standpoint, metaphoconstructions are symbolic units (pairings of form and meaning) that exist in language only because they exist in the body/brain and thought. They are expressions of metaphorical concepts in the brain's conceptual system. So, on the one hand, metaphoconstructions make conceptual metaphors manifest, and on the other, we can use these metaphoconstructions to find metaphors in thought by assuming links between two frames.

Given the observations above, we can identify a number of properties and components that characterize a particular *metaphoconstruction* and influence its meaning. These components include the following: a specific concept (e.g. *play as a striker*), a specific form (e.g. phonological form: *play as a striker*, syntactic form/relation: VERB + PP), a specific conceptual mapping (e.g. TO PLAY A POSITION IS TO PLAY A ROLE), a specific meaning (its specific use in a particular situation).

Meaning structure of metaphoconstructions

The reason for positing separate specific constructions for some linguistic expressions is motivated by the fact that some aspect of the construction, in this case its meaning, is not strictly predictable from the components parts, but it depends

on conceptual mapping between two domains and conceptual integration in a given situation of use. To illustrate how each of the afore-mentioned components of metaphoconstruction contributes to its meaning construction, let us examine a fixed expression *to play catch-up*. The example in (1c) above shows that the verb *to play* occurs with the lexical item *catch-up*, evoking the metaphorical mapping: TO TRY TO EQUAL WITH A PARTICULAR PLAYER IN A NUMBER OF GOALS SCORED IN A MATCH IS TO TRY TO CATCH UP A PERSON WHO IS AHEAD IN A RACE. The sentence assumes the perspective of players who compete with another player in order to equal in a number of goals scored. In this case, the linguistic expression *catch-up* comes from the domain of race, whereas the corresponding conceptual metaphor that it makes manifest is PARTICIPATION IN A MATCH IS PARTICIPATION IN A RACE.

However, this conceptual metaphor does not completely explain both the meaning and the grammatical form of the metaphorical construction *to play catch-up*. The blending theory may be able to provide a more satisfactory explanation for its meaning-form construction than the model mentioned so far. In the theory of conceptual integration, we reject that the source domain structures solely the target domain and, instead, we view that the inherent structure of the target domain plays a much more prominent role in motivating metaphorical linguistic expressions such as *to play catch-up* than it is suggested by conceptual metaphor theory. In the theory of blending, both source and target domain contribute to the blended space, which inherits partial structure from each of the input spaces, but also yields new emergent meaning structures.

The blending theory and conceptual metaphor accounts for the construction of the example (1c) as follows. First, the blend inherits some structure from each of the inputs (the target and the source domain). From the target input space, structured by the domain of PARTICIPATION IN A MATCH, it inherits such elements as the identity of Owen and Berbatov as football players, the purpose of players' participation (try to equal with another player in a number of goals scored in the match against Arsenal), and perhaps the form of *play*. From the source input space, which draws on the domain of PARTICIPATION IN A RACE, it inherits the phonological form *catch up* and the purpose of participation in a race (try to catch up) which is identified with the purpose of the participation in a match (try to equal). The two input spaces share some structure, represented in the generic space, in which competitors compete for the particular purpose with another competitor in a competition.

In Figure 1, solid lines represent the cross-space correspondences that constitute the mapping between the input spaces, bold arrows represent projections between spaces, and the dashed arrow between *to try to equal with a particular player in a number of goals scored* and *play catch-up* in the blend represents the fact that *play catch-up* in the blend is associated with *an act of trying to equal with a player in a number of goals scored* in the target space. Besides inheriting partial structure from each input space, the blend yields new emergent meaning structure, which

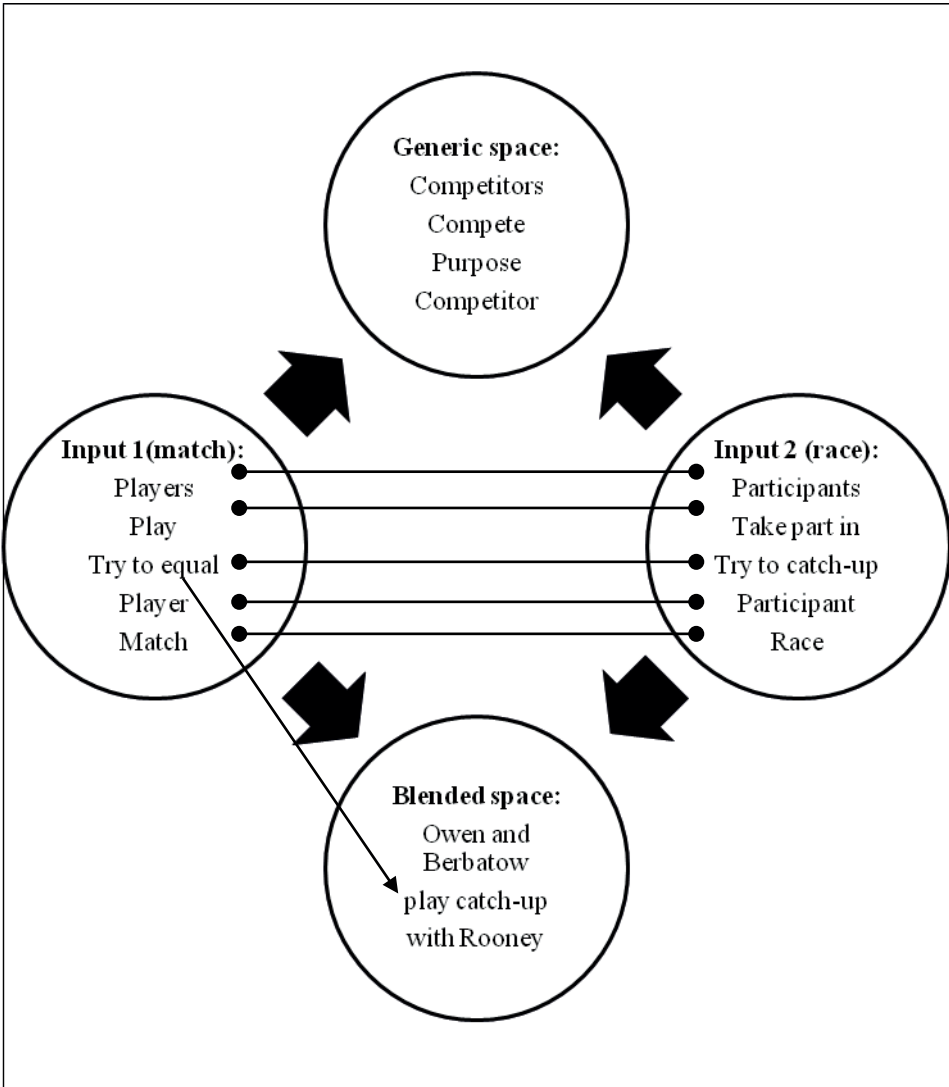


Figure 1. Meaning construction of the sentence *Owen and Berbatow play catch-up with Rooney against Arsenal* and the construction to *play catch-up*

results from the integration and fusion of some elements from the inputs. The target space projects the form-concept pair *play*, while the source space projects the phonological form-concept *catch up*. These elements are combined and fused together with other elements, giving rise to the form-concept pair *play catch-up* and the sentence *Owen and Berbatow play catch-up against Arsenal*, which means that Owen and Berbatow compete with Rooney in the match against Arsenal and try to equal with him in a number of goals scored against Arsenal.

Another example of metaphoconstructions *play host to*, found in the sentence *The Sky Blues play host to the North Queensland Fury*, evokes the conceptual metaphor A MATCH IS A VISIT. More specifically, this construction is a derivative of two conceptual domains being connected. We can observe systematic correspondences between the concept of *match* and that of *visit*. Here are some of these correspondences: A HOME TEAM IS A HOST who holds and arranges a sporting event; AN AWAY TEAM IS A GUEST who attends this event; TO PLAY HOME WITH AWAY TEAM IS TO PLAY HOST TO AWAY TEAM. The linguistic expression *host* comes from the source domain of visit, while the verb *to play* is derived from the domain of actor's performance: TO PLAY THE ROLE IS TO PLAY HOST. These observations lead me to suggest that the sentence pattern can be fully explained by blending theory, where the conceptual metaphor A MATCH IS A VISIT will be treated as two INPUT SPACES. The generic space of both the MATCH frame and the VISIT frame represents conceptual structure that is shared by both inputs. The ACTOR'S PERFORMANCE frame will be treated as the GENERIC SPACE and the SOURCE DOMAIN of both the MATCH frame and the VISIT frame. The blended space will combine and interact material from the inputs. By way of illustration, let us look at Figure 2.

The example and the metaphor can be considered as a case of blending in the following way. In Figure 2, solid lines represent the cross-space correspondences that constitute the metaphorical mapping between the input spaces, while bold arrows represent projections between spaces. The bold arrows between *the home team* and *The Sky Blues*, between *the away team* and *the North Queensland Fury*, as well as between *play home with away team* and *play host to* represents the fact that the *Sky Blues*, the *North Queensland Fury*, and *play host to* in the blend are associated with the *home team*, the *away team*, and *play home with away team* in the target space.

There are two input spaces (a soccer match and a visit), a generic space (the actor's performance frame), and a blended space. There are systematic correspondences between the elements of the source input and those of the target input:

| | | |
|--------------------------|---|--------------|
| Home team | ← | host |
| Play home with away team | ← | play host to |
| Away team | ← | guests |
| match | ← | visit |
| home | ← | host's home |

The generic space of both the MATCH frame and the VISIT frame contains the skeletal information “the act of playing the role of host”. In the blend we have the frame of VISIT in which *The Sky Blues* (a home team) *play host to* (play home with) *the North Queensland Fury* (an away team). It is noteworthy that the blend

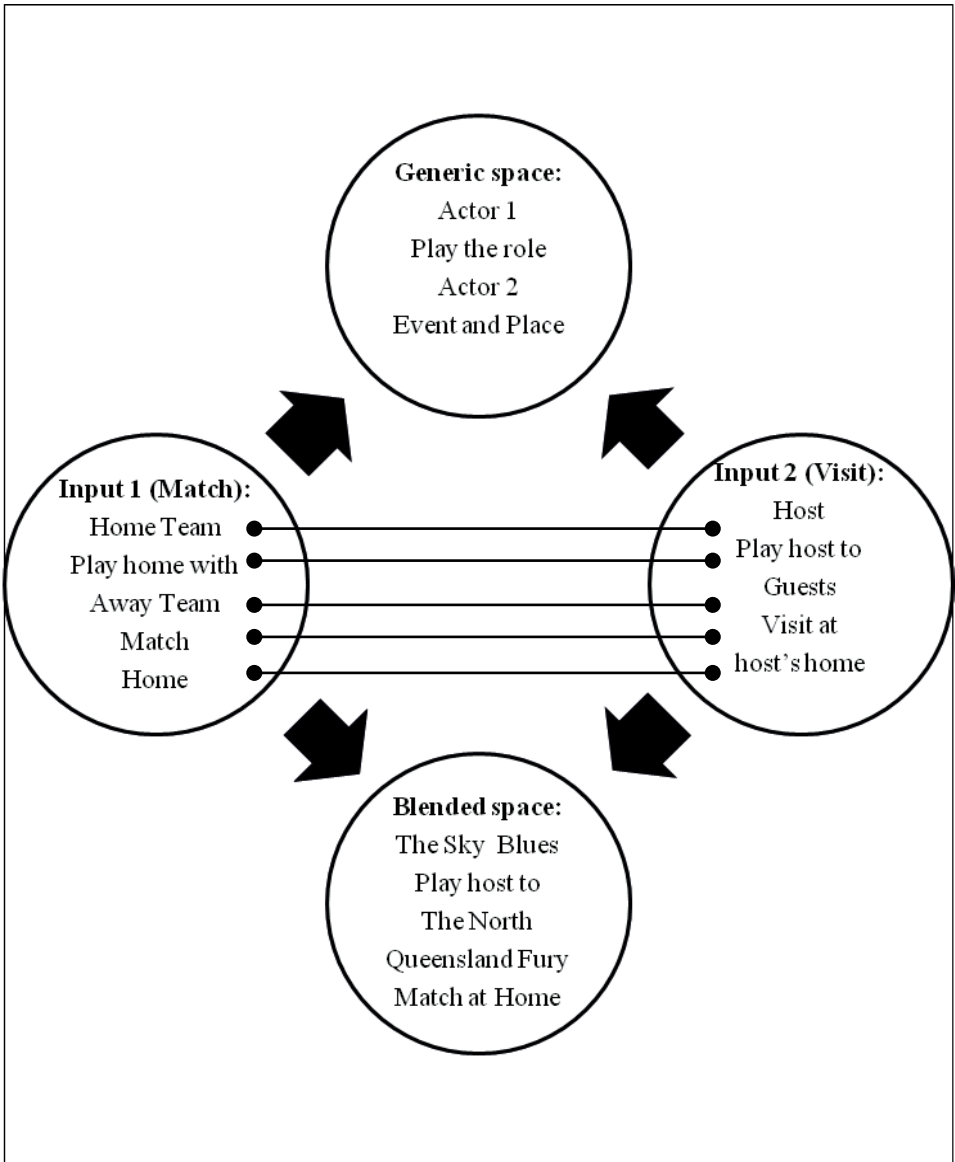


Figure 2. Meaning construction of the sentence *The Sky Blues play host to the North Queensland Fury* and the metaphoconstruction *play host to*

has the structure of one of the input spaces (i.e. a visit) in which particular roles of that frame are instantiated by elements of the other input space (i.e. a match). *Play host to* comes from the source input, while *The Sky Blues* and *the North Queensland Fury* come from the target. What makes the comprehension of the sentence possible is the set of conventional correspondences between the source

and target: the host corresponding to the home team, the guest to the away team, and the act of playing host to referring to playing home with. Figure 2 provides all this information.

The source domain of VISIT imposes part of its structure on the blended space. By virtue of instantiating the roles in the source frame by elements in the target frame, a new blended space emerges. Its newness stems from the fact that both participants in the target (*the Sky Blues* and *the North Queensland Fury*) will participate in the blended space as the host and the guest, the act of playing home with the away team will be fused with the act of playing host to the guest.

‘To play [role]’ construction versus ‘to play as [role]’ construction

Sentences such as those in (1f) and (1g) above reveal an interesting property of the verb *to play*, namely, that it requires in its bivalent uses a second complement realized either as a direct object or a prepositional phrase. In the former version (1f), the direct object refers to the specific position in a team or a formation. This reference to the certain position occupied by a player is identical to the use of *to play* indicating the performance of an actor. As in a theatrical performance, each player takes a specific part or role. To define the player’s role, the verbs occur in the same (copula-like) manner, as in the context of a performance on stage. The latter type of this construction is exemplified by the sentence (1g) which similarly mentions the position or role of a player in a formation. However, here this role is provided by a prepositional phrase that can be classified as a positional complement, since the preposition *as* together with the following noun refer to a player’s position. Both constructions are derived from the conceptual metaphor TO PLAY A POSITION IS TO PLAY A ROLE.

There are a number of the same lexical units (such as a *striker* and an *attacker*) that co-occur with the verb in both of these constructions, which may lead us to assume that the two constructions are semantically equivalent. However, a quantitative analysis of these constructions shows that there are also semantic restrictions imposed on them: that is, some nouns are more significantly attracted to ‘to play as [role]’ construction as compared to ‘to play [role]’ construction.

In order to calculate the association strength of a given lexical item, e.g., *forward* (in this case, its distinctiveness), the following four frequencies are required: the frequency of the word (*forward*) in the ‘to play as [role]’ construction, the frequency of the same word in the ‘to play [role]’ construction, and the frequencies of the ‘to play as [role]’ construction and the ‘to play [role]’ construction with words other than the collexeme in question. These have then been entered in a two-by-two table and examined by means of the Fisher exact test. Figure 3 shows the frequencies required for a distinctive collexeme analysis of the nouns in the ‘to

play as [role]'construction and the 'to play [role]' construction as well as the results of this analysis. It also provides the expected frequencies for each combination of noun and construction: (a) and (c). The figures (a, c, x, y) were extracted from a corpus, the other figures (b, d, f, z) are the results of additions and subtractions.

| 'to play as [role]'construction 'to play [role]' construction | a | c | e | f | x | y | z | b | d | (a) | (c) | P _{Fisher exact} |
|---|----|----|----|-----|----|----|-----|----|----|---------|---------|---------------------------|
| play as forward/forward | 17 | 3 | 20 | 140 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 80 | 60 | 12.125 | 7.875 | 0.013027017 |
| play as player/player | 3 | 0 | 3 | 157 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 94 | 63 | 1.81875 | 1.18125 | 0.22008598 |
| play as goalkeeper/ goalkeeper | 5 | 1 | 6 | 154 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 92 | 62 | 3.6375 | 2.3625 | 0.238201828 |
| play as striker/striker | 28 | 15 | 43 | 117 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 69 | 48 | 26.0688 | 16.9313 | 0.302410668 |
| play as attacker/attacker | 2 | 0 | 2 | 158 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 95 | 63 | 1.2125 | 0.7875 | 0.366037736 |
| play as back/back | 10 | 5 | 15 | 145 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 87 | 58 | 9.09375 | 5.90625 | 0.4173617 |
| play as sweeper/sweeper | 5 | 3 | 8 | 152 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 92 | 60 | 4.85 | 3.15 | 0.610397266 |
| play as midfielder/ midfielder | 12 | 9 | 21 | 139 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 85 | 54 | 12.7313 | 8.26875 | 0.72478518 |
| play as midfield/midfield | 1 | 1 | 2 | 158 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 96 | 62 | 1.2125 | 0.7875 | 0.846462264 |
| play as winger/winger | 5 | 6 | 11 | 149 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 92 | 57 | 6.66875 | 4.33125 | 0.915793484 |
| play as defender/defender | 1 | 4 | 5 | 155 | 97 | 63 | 160 | 96 | 59 | 3.03125 | 1.96875 | 0.991432248 |

a = Observed frequency of noun (e.g. forward) in 'to play as [role]'construction; **b** = Frequency of all other nouns in 'to play as [role]'construction; **c** = Observed frequency of the same noun in 'to play [role]'construction; **d** = Frequency of all other nouns in 'to play [role]'construction; **e** = Total frequency of noun (e.g. forward); **f** = Total frequency of all other nouns; **x** = Total frequency of to play as [role]'construction; **y** = Total frequency of to play [role]'construction; **z** = Total frequency of both constructions; **(a)** = Expected frequency of noun (e.g. forward) in 'to play as [role]'construction; **(c)** = Expected frequency of noun (e.g. forward) in 'to play [role]'construction; **P_{Fisher exact}** = index of distinctive collocation strength.

Figure 3. The results and the frequencies required for a distinctive analysis of the nouns in the 'to play as [role]'construction and the 'to play [role]' construction

The smallest p-values resulting from the calculation of Fisher exact for the distribution of nouns are: 0.013027017; 0.22008598; 0.238201828; 0.302410668. They tell us that the nouns (*forward*, *player*, *goalkeeper*, *striker*) are highly distinctive for one of the two constructions, but they do not tell us for which one. In order to determine this, let us compare the observed frequencies with the expected frequencies. As the expected frequencies provided in (a) and (c) indicate, these nouns occur more frequently than expected in the 'to play as [role]'construction as compared to the 'to play [role]' construction. Thus, although the nouns occur in both constructions, they are highly distinctive for the 'to play as [role]'construction. In the case of the 'to play [role]'construction, it can be seen that the most distinctive collexeme is *midfielder*.

In sum, the distinctive-collexeme analysis of pairs of semantically more-or-less equivalent expressions shows that nouns denoting a specific position or role played by a player are more significantly attracted to the ‘to play as [role]’ construction as compared to the ‘to play [role]’ construction.

Conclusion

The purpose of this article was to postulate the existence of metaphoconstructions, metaphorical pairings of form and meaning, where form is composed of lexical items derived from both the source domain and the target domain, while their meaning is dependent upon the conceptual metaphor and conceptual integration in a particular context. In order to extract and identify metaphoconstructions, a corpus-based approach to the investigation of metaphorical target domains has been proposed and demonstrated. This method relies on retrieving lexical items from the target domain and identifying the metaphorical constructions associated with them. It outperforms the introspective method in the identification of metaphorical mappings associated with a particular target domain, since it allows more exhaustive extraction of lexical items referring to the target domain under investigation and strict quantification of the results.

In order to perform a quantitative analysis of constructions, a distinctive collexeme analysis has been adopted. The method has been employed for investigating pairs of semantically similar constructions and the lexemes that occur in them, i.e. for identifying relative preferences for words that can (or should be able to) occur in both of them. The results of the study concerning the ‘to play [role]’ construction versus the ‘to play as [role]’ construction have revealed subtle differences between these semantically or functionally near-equivalent constructions. In the case of the ‘to play [role]’ construction versus the ‘to play as [role]’ construction, the distinctive-collexeme analysis has shown that nouns denoting a specific position or role played by a player are more significantly attracted to the ‘to play as [role]’ construction as compared to the ‘to play [role]’ construction. Furthermore, the results have confirmed that there are clearly distinctive collexemes for each of the two constructions.

The present article makes a noteworthy contribution to a growing body of literature on metaphors by postulating the existence of metaphoconstructions. The method used for the extraction and identification of metaphoconstructions can be systematically applied in a large number of target domains. Further research is also needed to investigate quantitative properties of metaphoconstructions. For example, the relative frequency of lexical items in a given metaphoconstruction may be used to assess the degree to which the construction in question is motivated by a metaphorical mapping. The relative frequency of lexical items in a set of metaphorical constructions may be used to determine the degree to which the metaphorical correspondence underlying them can be considered as a true conceptual metaphor.

The method used in this paper can have a wide range of practical and theoretical applications in language study and applied linguistics. First, it allows us to raise important issues about metaphorical correspondences: namely, (i) cross-cultural and cross-linguistic similarities and differences in the metaphorical conceptualization of experience; (ii) the productivity of given metaphorical mappings; (iii) the relevance of a particular metaphorical mapping to a given target domain. Second, it allows us to quantify the frequency of individual metaphors. Third, it can be employed for developing linguistic theory. Finally, it can be adopted for the purpose of identifying the meaning of metaphorical expressions and determining which lexical items or expressions are strongly associated with or repelled by a particular target domain.

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A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF POLISH AND ENGLISH IDIOMS CONTAINING WORDS FROM BIRD CLASS

Abstract: The principle aim of the article is to shed light on the differences between Polish and English idioms containing words from BIRD class. Among the illustrated examples some of the Polish instances include *mieć kaczę chód*, *głupia gęś* or *ptasi mózdzek* in comparison to their English equivalents. Additionally, the English cases concerning idioms outlined in the article involve *to take to something like a duck to water*, *to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs* or *to count one's chickens*, etc.

The article consists of three main parts. The first one presents a brief description of the phraseological unit in general as well as it constitutes an attempt to classify different types of the units and an abundance of the terminology connected with the phenomenon. Moreover, the next section explains in detail what exactly the term *idiom* denotes according to diverse authors, i.e. Seidl, Weinreich, etc. Furthermore, in the last part of the article the idioms with words from the class BIRD are analysed. Not only particular examples of the idioms are compared with their equivalents in another language but also the origin of the presented idioms is clarified. Finally, all the conclusions are listed in the summary.

Key words: idiom, phraseological unit, phraseology, bird, idiomacity.

Introduction

Like birds in the natural environment, metaphors are omnipresent in numerous, if not all languages as well as constituting an inseparable element of everyday speech. Metaphors not only enrich our discourse but also make it more vivid and comprehensible. Thus, the main idea of this article is to shed light on the differences concerning Polish and English idioms containing words from the BIRD class. On the one hand, considerable attention is focused on the Polish instances of

the phrases which are discussed in contrast with their English equivalents. Yet, on the other hand, the English examples of BIRD idioms are presented in comparison to their Polish translations.

Since the main focus of the article is idioms in addition to the fact that they constitute a specific type of phraseological unit, namely non-motivated phraseological fusion, the article starts with a definition of a phraseological unit. Moreover, the abundance of phraseological terms is briefly clarified. On top of that, apart from the definition of *idiom* itself, particular BIRD phrases, either in Polish or English, are exemplified and analysed.

General outlook on phraseological units and other phraseological terms

First of all, it is crucial to outline that in general the term phraseology comes from Greek, that is *phrases*, and it refers to ‘the way of speaking’. With reference to Bogacz (2011), the term mentioned denotes *a collection of phrases and idioms of a language* and we must add that it occurred in a Greek-Latin dictionary for the first time in the second half of the 16th century. Among numerous definitions suggested in OED the following two seem to be most relevant. With reference to this particular source, on the one hand phraseology can be viewed as a branch of lexicology devoted to both collecting and studying not only the expressions but also word combinations in a language. According to Bogacz (2011), this aspect can be referred to as theoretical phraseology, in contrast to linguistic phraseology, that is the expressions and word combinations in a language. The author further asserts that the phenomenon has been given a number of various names, most of which are derivatives of *idiom*, for instance *idiomatology* or *idiomacity*.

A phraseological unit constitutes the basic unit of analysis in phraseology, thus, it is essential to explain what it actually stands for. The term can be illustrated in accordance with both syntactical structure and semantic principle. As far as the syntactical criterion is concerned the term embraces two classes of expressions, the first one includes word-like units also labelled as semantic units, while the second group consists of pragmatic units, meaning sentence-like units, as implied by Bogacz (2011). Moreover, various scholars add even more headings within the field of phraseological unit in addition to both of the aforementioned classes that belong to it. For instance, among others the word-like units can be called nominations, as suggested by Glaser (1988) or composites, as Cowie (1988) advises, whereas sentence-like units can be termed functional expressions, after Howarth (1996), or set-groups, as Zgusta (1971) recommends, etc. Like both classes included within the concept of the phraseological unit also the latest one can be termed differently, for example phraseme (Melcuk 1988), word combination (Howarth 1996) or set-combination (Zgusta 1971), etc.

In line with semantic principle, phraseological units can be divided into motivated phraseological combinations or collocations, which means that their meaning can be inferred from their elements. Furthermore, partially-motivated phraseological unities whose meanings can be deduced by means of metaphor can be distinguished in addition to non-motivated phraseological fusions whose meanings cannot be found by knowing what their components mean. The last group is frequently referred to as idioms, pure idioms or, according to Rayevska (1979), unchangeable idioms.

Since the phenomenon of phraseological unit can be examined from different angles, yet another classification, namely structural arrangement, can be suggested. In regard to this point of reference, Rayevska (1979) points out verbal, adjectival, adverbial or nominal phraseological units. The three standards listed above do not fulfil all the possibilities, yet they constitute comprehensible classification of the term in question while presenting sufficient description at the same time.

However, when discussing the aspect of phraseological unit and various suggested classifications of it, one has to bear in mind that not only are none of the divisions limited in their boundaries but also that they constitute different approaches to the problem. Moreover, as Rayevska (1979:267) noticed:

Each of these, however, is not a completely isolated group, for it is sometimes impossible to draw a rigid line of demarcation between the given types. In a number of instances we find phraseological units of mixed nature which occupy an intermediate position.

All in all, the division of phraseological units and their further examination seem to be vital in order to distinguish them from free word-groups which, like phraseological units, are rather stable in terms of structure, yet in contrast to them they lack semantic unification, e.g. *to go by bus* or *to make a mistake* vs. *to make up one's mind*, meaning *to decide*, or *to go through something*, meaning *to examine something*, etc. Thus, it is easily observable that in contrast to two former examples the later instances of word-groups are not only structurally but also semantically bound. This leads to the assumption that they are not merely word-groups whose meaning changes when specific words are put together but they are phraseological word-groups with totally new meanings; as Antrushina et al. (1985) suggest, *the meaning of the whole word-group is something entirely new and far removed from the current meanings of constituents*. On the other hand, owing to the fact that speech in most languages is regulated by certain rules, for instance grammar or logic, the same author states that no construction in language is fully free, i.e. it is possible to talk about a *blue-eyed girl* but not about a *blue-eyed chair*. As Antrushina et al. (1985) clearly show, *free-word groups (...) are built up anew in the speech process whereas idioms are used as ready-made units with fixed and constant structures*. Additionally, since the last two examples mentioned above

cannot be interpreted on the basis of their constituent parts but as whole units, it can be assumed that they are idioms, at least according to some scholars, including Weinreich (1969) and Burkhanov (1998), and the definitions they provide. The explanation of an idiom constitutes the subject of investigation in the following section.

Among other authors also Antrushina et al. (1985) assert that the classification of the basic unit of analysis within phraseology regarding both semantic and structural criteria functions as the way of distinguishing a phraseological unit from a free word-group. Furthermore, the authors admit that such analysis is a highly complicated and rather problematic process.

This is probably the most discussed – and the most controversial – problem in the field of phraseology. The task of distinguishing between free word-groups and phraseological units is further complicated by the existence of a great number of marginal cases, the so-called semi-fixed or semi-free word-groups, also called non-phraseological word-groups which share with phraseological units their structural stability but lack their semantic unity and figurativeness (e. g. to go to school, to go by bus, to commit suicide). (Antrushina et al. 1985:177)

Definition of idiom

Just as the name of the branch of linguistics dealing with collecting and studying phrases in a language, that is phraseology, can be used interchangeably with the derivatives of idiom, for example idiomatology, also *phraseological unit* is frequently confused with *idiom*. As has been stated before, the phraseological unit functions as the superordinate term embracing different kinds of word-groups, including motivated or partially-motivated phrases in addition to phraseological unities or fusions. With regard to the semantic principle the latest ones constitute idioms or pure idioms also called unchangeable idioms, as suggested by Rayevska (1979). Thus, if *phraseological unit* creates a superordinate term, then *idiom* as a kind of phraseological unit can be perceived as a hyponym of the previous one.

Moreover, Antrushina et al. (1985) suggest that although both terms *phraseological unit* as well as *idiom* are perceived as more or less the same phenomenon by some scholars, they distinguish *idiom* as a kind of *phraseological unit*, adding to the view mentioned above. Thus, they *more or less* give the impression that the key terms examined do not necessarily mean exactly the same. What is more, the authors further explain that following the semantic criterion *idiom* denotes the phraseological unit whose meaning cannot be stated on the basis of the meanings of its components. In other words, this is a unit with completely transferred meaning. Like Rayevska (1979) also Antrushina et al. (1985) call this unit with entirely changed sense a phraseological fusion, i.e. pure idiom. The

latter authors also imply that phraseological fusions are demotivated, which means that the metaphor on which the transfer of meaning was based is not clear and comprehensible any more. This criterion places fusions in comparison to phraseological unities since the second term denotes a word-group whose meaning is in no way parallel to its elements. Yet, its sense can be understood and decoded from its constituents, owing to the fact that it is based on clearly understandable metaphor. This major difference between the two terms mentioned above means that unities are motivated.

As far as the structural criterion is concerned there are certain rules that contrast phraseological units, including idioms, with free-word groups. Among all the rules the restriction of substitution can be exemplified. It means that in the case of idioms none of the elements can be changed into another one, for instance if there is an idiom *as mad as a wet hen* meaning *crazy* the adjective *mad* cannot be substituted by *happy* or any other adjective. Another rule restricts idioms when it comes to additional elements; that is, no supplementary component can be attached to it. Regarding this fact it is not possible to say for example *as mad and crazy as a wet hen*. Moreover, Antrushina (1985) mentions the lack of grammatical variability when discussing idioms, which means that the idiom exemplified always occurs in the same form. Nonetheless, some exceptions to this rule are possible as the author claims presenting it with reference to certain idioms.

A shameful or dangerous family secret is picturesquely described as a skeleton in the cupboard, the first substantive component being frequently and easily used in the plural form, as in: I'm sure they have skeletons in every cupboard! A black sheep is a disreputable member of a family who, in especially serious cases, may be described as the blackest sheep of the family. (Antrushina 1985:180).

Yet, getting to grips with the terminology connected with idioms, a few definitions presented by various scholars seem to be worth examining. Owing to the existence of numerous phraseological classifications *idiom* can also be understood differently. Although the literature dedicated to phraseology brings out an abundance of terms within the field of study, Bogacz (2011) claims that *idiom* constitutes the term most widely used. In addition, the author adds that the meaning of an idiom cannot be deduced from the meaning of its parts, as stated previously, which establishes yet another common truth shared by numerous linguists. This widely accepted view can be found in van der Linden's (1989) explanation that *idiom is a non-compositional expression*. According to the scholar, idiom is a fixed structure, whose lexical or grammatical pattern cannot be changed and it functions as a whole.

Moreover, Weinreich (1969) adds that an *idiom is a complex expression whose meaning cannot be derived from the meanings of its elements*. However, on the basis of different works Bogacz (2011) suggests that to understand and apply the definitions provided one has to possess particular knowledge and be able

to distinguish idiomatic and non-idiomatic expressions. Thus, following Cruse (1986:37) who recommends the term *semantic constituent* to define an idiom, Bogacz (2011) explains it as *a word-group [which] may be classified as an idiom if it is lexically complex (i.e. consists of more than one lexical constituent), and at the same time it forms a single minimal semantic constituent*. Consequently, it needs to be pointed out that non-idiomatic expressions can be divided into separate semantic constituents and that each of them has its own distinctive meaning.

Some other sceptics, including Coulmas (1981), underline that in some cases the meaning of an idiom can be inferred from its constituent items, undermining at the same time some of the previous theories presented above. On the other hand, Coulmas' view confirms only the classification of phraseological units exemplified at the beginning of this section, namely the difference between both phraseological fusions and phraseological unities. Regarding this division, it is worth mentioning one more time that the instances of phrases whose meaning can be deduced from its elements constitute phraseological unities. This can be clearly seen in the example of the Polish phrase *mieć sokoli wzrok* (*to have an eagle eye*),¹ which is used about a person who has very good eyesight. One does not have to be a highly educated academician to understand the phrase, thus the name of the bird used in the phrase is widely known for its extraordinary ability to see from even a very long distance. In this particular example the literal meaning has been transferred from the bird to describe one of the characteristics of a human being. In other words, the bird's name in this phrase constitutes the source domain, whereas the human's eyesight is the target domain.

All in all, Bogacz (2011) draws a significant conclusion concerning the issue discussed that needs to be highlighted. In her view, whatever the approach or scholar, the most common definition of an idiom among both linguists as well as people who are not experts in this field is the one mentioned above. According to this, it is not possible to denote the meaning of the whole unit on the basis of its constituent parts and, in addition, they are not only unique to a given language but they also often do not have exact equivalents in other languages. This can be demonstrated in the example of the English idiom *to talk turkey*, which in Polish is explained as *mówić bez ogródek*, i.e. to speak honestly and openly, and it has nothing to do with a turkey, so it can be stated that the difference between these two languages is at the lexical level.

Furthermore, the fact that an idiom can be perceived as a unique phenomenon in a particular language can be justified by the fact that the term itself denotes 'private, own, peculiar' in the Greek from which the word comes. Thus, idioms constitute peculiar and original phrases commonly used in one language and not necessarily in another, meaning that what is understandable for a native speaker could be impossible for a foreigner to figure out.

¹ In the original version in Polish falcon is used instead of eagle.

Metaphor – a general outlook

As has already been mentioned on many occasions the meanings of idioms are based on metaphors, which constitute one of the types of meaning alterations based on transfer to another conceptual sphere. Lakoff (1992) states that *each metaphor is a structural mapping from one conceptual domain to another. When a metaphor is conventional, it forms a part of our everyday understanding of experience and is processed automatically, effortlessly, and without notice.* The scholar further emphasises that *the number of everyday conventional metaphors is very large, but most go unnoticed because they are so common and effortless.* This kind of mind-set finds confirmation in idioms, as the metaphors they are based on are not always clear to understand, as in the example *to goose up*, which means to increase the amount, size or quantity of something. Although in this conceptual metaphor, there is a correlation between a source domain element and a target domain element, i.e. *up* usually corresponds to *more*, it is still impossible to guess the meaning from the constituent parts of the phrase. In other words, the meaning cannot be discovered by a process of logical deduction only by knowing the word *goose* and *up*. Consequently, to use the idiom successfully requires certain knowledge not only from the speaker but also from the listener. Both sides have to know the phrase and its usage to fully understand it in a conversation. Owing to the fact that idioms are unique for particular languages it leads to the assumption that they constitute excellent indicators of certain features characteristic of a given nationality, country or a specific social group. On the other hand, in the case of the proverbial phrase *to kill the goose that lays golden eggs*, which denotes ‘to destroy a source of one’s wealth’ as exemplified by Górecka-Smolińska and Kleparski (2012), the meaning can be deduced from its parts. Thus, in this context the metaphor on which the phrase is based is quite clear to its user and does not require general erudition.

Since the main focus of the article is a comparative analysis of certain phraseological units containing different names of birds, it is noteworthy to mention the term *zoosemy*. The word has been coined to denote animal metaphors used to describe humans in addition to both their appearance and features of character. As Górecka-Smolińska and Kleparski (2012) claim that the first animal metaphors with regard to humans were found in Sanskrit, the ancestor of Indo-European languages, and the names of animals used in this sense were *goat* and *horse*. The authors state that *it is noteworthy that animal terms were employed in secondary senses with reference to HUMANS as early as in the era of Sanskrit described by the majority of linguists as the parent language of the Indo-European family* (Górecka-Smolińska and Kleparski 2012:51). It is not surprising that the first animal metaphors derived this early; after all, animals have always accompanied humans as they still do today.

On the basis of other linguistic works the authors outline the fact that the category MAMMALS used in secondary senses resembles people’s characters to

the greatest extent in comparison to other categories, which is reflected in the number of metaphors. Yet, another common category used to describe people is the BIRD class. So it can be pointed out that the popularity of a particular group or category depends on what human features can it reveal. Following this view, the authors exemplify ARACHNIDS as being not so popular as far as metaphors describing humankind are concerned, since the given group is the least similar to us. The two linguists further suggest that:

The inescapable conclusion which emerges from the study (...) is that people frequently refer to other people by applying names of those animals to which they are the closest and with which they are the most familiar (...). Apparently, human beings may be expected to be most frequently represented by the metaphorical expressions incorporating the names of domesticated animals since their closeness to people is both most evident and historically justified. (Górecka-Smolińska and Kleparski 2012:52)

In conclusion, metaphors help us to understand more complex concepts by the use of simpler ones, where the former constitutes a target domain and the later one is a source domain. Furthermore, animals have always accompanied humans, thus, animal metaphors seem to be a natural consequence of this harmonious coexistence. What is more, idioms with animal elements used to describe humankind are not accidental, since not all of the representatives of the animal kingdom possess relevant features.

Idioms in the English and Polish contexts

The following part is an attempt to present a meticulous analysis of English and Polish idioms with BIRD words. Not only will the meaning of certain idioms be presented, but also their use in sentences in addition to a comparison with their equivalents. The idioms analysed will contain only the instances of domesticated birds like *hen, chicken, duck*, etc. in addition to some examples of birds which are not domesticated, yet live in close proximity to people in city parks or forests, for instance *pigeon, stork, swan*, etc.

In their work, Górecka-Smolińska and Kleparski (2012) inform readers that zoosemic developments in English have been already studied by various scholars in addition to the fact that some of the research comes from the late 1920s. To a large extent the outcome of the research is that numerous animal features can be assigned to humans and that the number of animal metaphors reflects the resemblance between the two species. Hence, it can lead to the assumption that both animal metaphor and its use are not coincidental or unintended. Additionally, as far as BIRD metaphors are concerned, an abundance of their instances can be

observed in English and Polish idioms. As far as Polish phraseology is concerned, the two authors add that zoosemic transfer in Polish is quite similar to that in English, which means that the majority of zoosemic developments in the Polish language take into consideration the **BIRDS** domain next to **MAMMALS** which constitute a rich source of examples of animal metaphors presented in idiomatic expressions.

Domesticated birds

To begin with, certain idioms with either the names of birds or the hyperonym *bird* itself seem to be worth mentioning. Birds have always been associated with freedom, independence and their ability to fly, thus the phraseological unit *as free as a bird*, which in AID² (1994) is explained as ‘carefree’ or ‘completely free’, constitutes a natural consequence of people’s observation of the surrounding world. As a result of this thorough scrutiny, natural phenomena find a linguistic reflection. In other words, the expression can be used to describe a person’s attitude or behaviour as well as a state or situation in which a person is. The difference can easily be seen in the examples *The convict escaped from jail and was as free as a bird for two days* vs. *Jane is always happy and free as a bird* (AID 1994). In the first sentence the situation of a particular person is described, whereas, in case of the second utterance it seems quite obvious that the meaning of the idiom is rather ‘carefree’. Owing to the fact that like in the English context also in Polish culture birds evoke similar images, the phrase analysed has its Polish equivalent *wolny jak ptak*. Moreover, the English *bird’s eye view* also has a very close translation into *widok z lotu ptaka*. On the other hand, there are some negative aspects of birds’ life including their frequently small size or their fragility, as expressed in the Polish saying *po ptakach /po ptokach* when something is over. The dialectal version *po ptokach* became even more popular than the original one *po ptakach*. However, in this case Polish and English perception does not overlap and to express this idea in the English language one would say *it’s over and done with*. Adding to this pejorative perspective Polish *niebieski ptak*, used to describe a person who evades duties and responsibilities, is in English described as *adventurer* or *freebooter* and is in no way connected with bird metaphor. Thus, the lexical difference here is obvious.

These few instances above already emphasize the common view that in most cases idioms are not only unique to a specific language but also cannot be directly translated into another one. Hence, the sentence *Robert to niebieski ptak – zawsze szuka wymówek żeby wcześniej skończyć pracę* can be turned into *Robert is an adventurer – he always makes excuses to finish work earlier*. The sentence conveys

² Spears R. A., NTC’s American Idioms Dictionary (1994).

more or less the same meaning; that is, on the semantic level the sentences can be perceived as equivalents, yet on the lexical level the two examples differ regarding the idiomatic expression *niebieski ptak* translated into *adventurer* in English.

Other interesting examples of idioms with the hyperonym *bird* include *early bird* or *birds of a feather flock together*; both can be directly translated into Polish as *ranny ptaszek* and *ciągnie swój do swego*, respectively. The first of the two idioms denotes a person who literally likes getting up early and does it easily in addition to being hard-working, whereas the second one can be used to describe a specific kind of human relations. In other words the latter phraseological unit not only points out the social relation but also highlights the fact that people who have things in common want to spend time together. In this anthropocentric perspective one can clearly see that a characteristic of birds' life is transferred into people's life to illustrate our social networking in a picturesque way. As far as the former idiomatic expression is concerned, one has to bear in mind that it is a short form of the saying *the early bird catches the worm*, which in Polish goes *kto rano wstaje, temu Pan Bóg daje*. Unlike in the case of the idioms' short forms, which can be directly translated from one language into another showing both lexical and semantic equivalence, the original sayings have little in common concerning the structure or elements they are made up of. In the English version there is the word *bird* whereas in Polish interpretation there are no traits of animal metaphor. Instead, there is a reference to God, who distributes all goods to those who deserve it.

The number of fixed phrases including the lexeme *bird* or specific bird names signifies the quintessence of what people have thought about birds and how these creatures have been perceived. On the one hand, they are seen as an unattainable symbol of freedom, able to fly and observe the world from the heights, yet on the other hand there are numerous stereotypes based on their fragility, frequently small size or referring to their intelligence. The final feature, especially, often departs from the truth, for instance the *goose*, associated with lack of intelligence or even stupidity, is in fact a very intelligent bird, unlike the *owl* perceived by many as the symbol of wisdom. This common view also finds its expression in phraseology, for example in the English idiom *as wise as an owl* or in the Polish phrase *głupia gęś* used pejoratively to define a woman. Both phraseological units can be translated into the two languages in question, hence, to describe a knowledgeable person Polish speakers say *mądra sowa*, whereas English users say only *goose* to convey the same negatively loaded meaning as Polish *głupia gęś*. Consequently, it can be claimed that the phrases exemplified above are very alike in both languages; that is, in both of them the same birds are used to describe the same levels of intelligence.

Furthermore, when analyzing phraseological units including either the hyperonym *bird* or specific bird names, one has to bear in mind that these flying creatures are categorized with regard to folk or popular beliefs (Satkiewicz 2001:536). What is more, birds that are able to fly are often perceived in a better light than those who cannot, like domesticated birds, who constitute the specimen

of analysis in this paper compared to birds which are not domesticated, yet live near to people. As a result, birds like hen, goose, duck, etc. are usually seen as worse than wild goose, eagle or swan, which is reflected in phraseology as well. The explanation of this unequal attitude may be that not only birds but also farm animals in general have been domesticated by humankind, which indicates the superiority of the human race over animals (Kempf 1989:208). The majority of idioms that include the names of domesticated birds refer to such human features as stupidity, unreasonable thinking, cowardice or even calculation, for instance *goose*, used to describe a woman, *to chicken out* or *it's like water off a duck's back*, etc. Furthermore, the phraseological units discussed point out flaws of both appearance and age, for example *to be no spring chicken*, but also Polish phrases *brzydkie kaczątko* (an ugly duckling), *wyglądać jak zmokła kura* (to look miserable or to look like a drowned rat) and *kaczy chód* (to walk like a duck). As can be observed not all of the idioms listed, either in English or Polish, have exact equivalents, for instance the phrase *wyglądać jak zmokła kura* has the same form in English but there is *a drowned rat* instead of *hen*.

Additionally, such characteristics as aggression or pride can also be pictured by means of bird metaphors, as in *nadąć się jak indyk* (to put on airs and graces), *dumny jak paw* (to strut around like a peacock) or *rzucić się jak szara geś* (to throw one's weight about). It is worth mentioning that the two features mentioned are attributed mostly to men and that only one phrase out of the three listed has an English substitute containing the same bird name. Ignorance is yet another human characteristic that can be emphasized via animal metaphor, for instance in the Polish language *kura domowa*, while in the English speaking environment the same idea is expressed by the lexical item *hausfrau*. The examples only underline what has already been stated: some phraseological phrases do not have direct equivalents; that is, in one language an animal metaphor is used to denote certain features, whereas in another one there are no traces of zoosemy in the same context.

Apart from the whole spectrum of negative features transferred from certain birds to describe humankind, there are also some positive characteristics observed. Most of them, though, include birds' abilities rather than characteristics, and are used to describe things more often than people. For instance in the sentence *Selling this company is like selling the goose that lays golden eggs*, a company is compared to a goose. Moreover, the Polish version of this idiom is a very close equivalent and the only difference is that instead of a *goose* there is *a hen laying golden eggs*.

Additionally, the idioms describing people's temperament or behavior include *to go off at half cock*, which means to be nasty, *to play ducks and drakes with somebody*, meaning to treat someone disrespectfully or *to cook somebody's goose*, in other words to get into a mess. The idioms presented have Polish equivalents, but they are not based on animal metaphors and they show differences on various levels,

for instance *być w gorącej wodzie kąpanym*, as the first one mentioned, does not contain a bird name in addition to the fact that in the Polish idiom there is the verb *to be* unlike the verb *to go*, as is in the English phrase. Although the second phrase can be easily translated into Polish, in this language it is not an idiom at all, which leads to the assumption that there are no equivalents when it comes to this particular phraseological unit. The last one presented in this paragraph can be interpreted as an informal fixed expression *urządzić kogoś*. As a result, it may be noticed that like in the case of the second example, the English idiom can be translated, yet in the Polish language the translations do not constitute idiomatic expressions. The number of such expressions either in one language or the other shows to what extent animals' lives overlap with humans' activity and also provides clear confirmation of the view that domesticated birds have been perceived in a rather negative way due to their submissive position in relation to humankind.

Semi-domesticated birds

Further examples include phrases with names of birds that are not fully domesticated, yet they live in quite close proximity to people, for instance in parks, forests or nearby lakes, etc. Among others, such birds include sparrow, pigeon, magpie, swan and raven. Observed for centuries, these flying creatures contributed to the growth in peculiar mythology in which some cultural aspects or people's beliefs can be found. For instance, in both cultures, English as well as Polish, *stork* is presented as a bird bringing children. According to the Online Etymology Dictionary this common belief comes from German and Dutch nursery stories in addition to the fact that these birds nesting on one's roof were often associated with good luck connected with family happiness. With regard to phraseological units containing the word in question this view finds confirmation in the English saying *to keep the stork flying* or *to keep the stork busy* and also the birth of a baby can be expressed as *a visit from the stork*. Although in the Polish language there are no idioms reflecting this popular mindset, the bird occurs in different expressions showing other valuable virtues. Some of them include *chodzić jak bocian*, directly translated into *to walk like a stork* and *stać jak bocian na gnieździe*, understood as *to stand like a stork in the nest*. Both of the phrases refer to behavior and they mean to act in a dignified manner.

Another bird with some positive connotations is the *swan*. It is usually associated with both physical and inner beauty, which is reflected in the phraseology of both languages examined. The phrases include the English *swan song*, in the Polish language known as *labędzi śpiew* which denotes a final effort or burst of energy. Price (2011) explains that the phrase was coined regarding the belief that usually silent swans start singing beautifully at the end of their lives. As far as physical

appearance is concerned there is an idiom indicating positive connotations: *as graceful as a swan*, as in *Katie is a beautiful girl; she is as graceful as a swan* and the Polish phrase *łabędzia szyja*, translated as *a swan's neck*. The Online Etymology Dictionary also mentions *a black swan* which connotes with something extremely rare or even non-existent.

Like the two birds exemplified above phraseological units containing *pigeon* or its derivatives also often evoke such positive associations as harmonious and peaceful life together. Among others some of the phrases include *gruchać* or *żyć ze sobą jak para gołębików* (Eng. *to coo, to live together like a couple of pigeons*) as in *Godzinami gruchają jak dwa gołębki*. However, in the English language *to bill and coo* can be used about people to convey the same meaning, thus the sentence might sound *They bill and coo for hours*. In the example given above, the difference between the languages in terms of animal metaphors seem to be obvious; where there is only one word in the Polish language, in English there is an idiomatic expression instead. Nonetheless, among all the positively loaded expressions with *pigeon*, there are quite a few which generate rather negative figurative meanings, for example *a pigeon-eyed person* is a person intoxicated with alcohol, *a clay pigeon* is a naive person, *a stool pigeon* denotes a person, frequently a criminal, who cooperates with the police as an informer. Moreover, *to put / set the cat among the pigeons* is yet another phraseological unit, which means to do or say something that causes both trouble and anger.

Furthermore, idioms with birds that can be spotted in places where people live include ravens, magpies, sparrows or crows. Phraseological units with the birds listed usually symbolize various pejorative human characteristics, for instance *magpie* stands for relentless talkativeness as well denoting a person who likes collecting things. Unlike in the case of the second meaning, which is the same in both languages, as far as the first one is concerned, in the Polish version *crow* occurs instead in the same context, thus it is *krakać jak wrony*. Another example of animal metaphor with *crow* in the background is *wykrakać coś*, that is to predict something bad, though in this case it is not the bird itself on which the metaphor is based, but the sound the creature makes. What is more, to describe somebody's bad manners it can be said that someone *crowds about / over something*, meaning to brag about something, as in the sentence *Jane is crowing over her new job*. *Crow* also connotes with shame or humility, as in the idiom *to eat crow*, according to which a person feels ashamed due to the fact that they have to admit to being wrong. Stupidity constitutes another feature that can be expressed by an animal metaphor, namely *gapić się jak sroka w kość* (Eng. *to stare at something as a magpie at a bone*), as well as greed as in *złapać dwie sroki za ogon* (Eng. *to catch two magpies' tails*). Furthermore, the phrase *jeść jak wróbelek* (Eng. *to eat as little as a sparrow*) shows a small amount or quantity of food. *Sparrow* can also denote some positive traits like cunning or life experience, which also finds its linguistic expression in the idiom *stary wróbel* (Eng. *an old sparrow*).

In addition to the majority of negatively loaded idioms containing specific bird names, *raven* is perceived in a more positive light. In the Polish idiom *biały kruk* (Eng. *white raven*) the bird symbolizes something rare and unique, especially in the context of librarianship, meaning a very rare, thus valuable book. What is more, in this form the idiom is hardly ever used about people.

Summary

The paper shows many examples of how humankind draws a lot of knowledge from the world of birds and transfers this wisdom to their own life creating a vivid linguistic picture of the surrounding world. The better particular birds are known and the closer is their relationship with people, the greater is the number of phraseological units with birds' names. This can be emphasized by the fact that idioms containing names of domesticated birds cover a much larger part of the article than phrases with semi-domesticated birds. Consequently, birds like hen, duck, goose, etc. generate more phraseological units than idioms with swan, stork, raven or magpie.

In both languages examined huge similarity between the discussed phrases as well as between the connotations they evoke can be observed, for instance *labędzi śpiew* and *swan song*, *selling the goose that lays golden eggs* and *sprzedać kurę znoszącą złote jajka*, *wolny jak ptak* and *as free as a bird*, *goose* and *głupia geś*, etc. In some cases the linguistic equivalence is in the proportion 1:1 as in *labędzi śpiew* and *swan song* or *magpie*, interpreted as a person collecting things, in addition to the associations with *stork*. Nevertheless, people do not always assign correctly particular features to specific birds, which can be noted in the case of goose. For some reasons the bird is associated with a lack of intelligence, whereas in fact it is one of the smartest birds. Furthermore, there are some instances of phraseological units, either Polish or English, which can be somehow translated in one language or another, yet they do not have direct equivalents. This leads to the assumption that some of the birds have either various connotations in different cultures or they have no connotations at all. The examples include *to play ducks and drakes*, *to cook somebody's goose*, *a pigeon-eyed person* and the Polish phrases *rządzić się jak szara geś*, *stary wróbel* or *złapać dwie sroki za ogon*, etc.

Although phraseological units containing the hyperonym bird or other names of birds are quite numerous, the interest in using them does not reflect their number. Bearing the traces of both history and culture of a specific country they become rarely used or even extinct. No longer used in everyday speech, the phrases become archaic and finally forgotten, and they remain of interest mostly for linguists, etymologists or ornithologists. It is vital to mention that the attitude of speakers towards idioms and their use reflects, in a way, the fact that we escaped from nature. We changed our natural environment and we no longer live in a close

relationship with nature unlike our ancestors. Hence, the diminishing tendency of the use of animal metaphors seems to be a natural consequence of the changing world around us and its observation.

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LITERARY AND CULTURAL STUDIES

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WILLIAMITE PROPAGANDA IN THE ANGLO-DUTCH REVOLUTION

Abstract: The primary aim of this essay is to provide a revision of the events of 1688-89 in England, which – for over three hundred years – have been known as the ‘Glorious Revolution’. I wish to argue that without the military intervention of William of Orange, Stadholder of the United Provinces, the Revolution would not have taken place, thus it would be more appropriate to refer to these events as the ‘Anglo-Dutch Revolution’. Williamite propaganda – which the paper describes in details – played a crucial part in the success of the Revolution, as well as in the shaping of the interpretation (the so-called Whig interpretation) of the events after 1689, which dominated historiography for almost three hundred years. There is special emphasis in the essay on the analysis of the most important instrument of William of Orange’s propaganda, the *Declaration of Reasons* (issued on 30 September 1688), which justified the invasion and explained the Prince’s intentions.¹

Key words: English history, seventeenth century, political propaganda, Anglo-Dutch relations, revolution

On 5 November 1688, William of Orange, the Stadholder of the United Provinces, landed in the south of England with his large army, and forced James II (his uncle and father-in-law) into exile. A few months later William and his wife, Mary, were proclaimed king and queen of England.

These events have – for over three hundred years – been known as the *Glorious Revolution*. Both words of the term are misleading. The word *revolution* is

¹ I wish to dedicate this article to the memory of my beloved younger brother, Béla Borus, who died on Mount Pilatus in Switzerland on 9 November 2014.

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problematic for two reasons. First, it was not the mass of the people who dethroned James II. There was no national uprising in 1688-89. Second, the settlement was not radical. The Convention preserved the constitution, and there was little new in the *Declaration of Rights* (enacted as the *Bill of Rights* in December 1689). The monarch still had the power to summon and dissolve Parliaments, to veto legislation, to appoint and dismiss ministers, and to declare war and make peace (Speck 1989:163; Troost 2005:212; Coward 1995:360-361). The Whig leaders intentionally restricted their demands, because they feared that a powerful attack on the prerogative would drive William into the arms of the Tories (Rose 1999:210). In England the events of 1688-89 were *glorious* in the sense that – except for the loss of about ten lives – there was no bloodshed. This, however, did not apply to Scotland and Ireland where thousands of people were killed. At the same time, it was clearly inglorious that foreign aid had to be sought to drive a tyrant from the throne of England.

The term *Glorious Revolution* was coined by a Whig radical, John Hampden, in 1689, and it was popularised by King William's friend, Bishop Gilbert Burnet and nonconformist preachers (Schwoerer 1992:3; Troost 2005:212). William and his allies in England carried on an intensive propaganda campaign both before and after the Revolution. Their primary aim was to improve William's public image, and to explain his motives, purposes and policies. The interpretation this propaganda conveyed came to be generally accepted, and it dominated the historiography of the Revolution until the early 1970s.

The chief mode of explaining England's past in the 19th and early 20th centuries was the so-called Whig interpretation. The Whig approach was present-minded and strongly nationalistic. It celebrated modern English constitutionalism by emphasizing those episodes of England's past in which freedom seemed to triumph over oppression. To the Whig historians, English history and progress were synonymous. They believed that liberal England – which was the best of all possible worlds – grew inevitably out of the whole course of English history. In their eyes the Glorious Revolution was an inevitable stage in the development towards liberal democratic institutions.

In fact, there was nothing inevitable or preordained about the Revolution. The Glorious Revolution was essentially William of Orange's revolution. Without William's military intervention it would not have taken place, thus, it is more appropriate to refer to it as the Anglo-Dutch Revolution. Of course, we should shed no tears for James II who had alienated much of the political nation with his policies. Whatever his ultimate intentions, to many people it seemed that he wanted to introduce a Catholic absolutism. It is also true that the results of the Revolution were positive. It laid the foundations of a stable political system, it achieved religious toleration for Protestant Nonconformists, it resulted in a financial revolution and a new executive, the press became free, judges were no longer dependent on the government, and England became a first-rate European

power. All this, however, should not conceal the fact that James II's removal from the throne was the result of a conspiracy.

The conspiracy started in December 1687 when news came that Mary Beatrice of Modena, King James' second and Catholic wife, was pregnant. The possibility that the child would be a son, and that it would survive could not be ruled out. Up to this time, all William had to do was wait until the elderly James II died. Then he would inherit the throne through his wife, Princess Mary (Speck 1987:454).² Now, however, there was a danger that James' son would displace Mary in the line of succession. William had to take action.

England was crucial to William for two important reasons. First, his position at home, in the United Provinces, was unstable. William was strongly opposed by the anti-Orangist party, which wanted no war, and insisted on a decentralised form of government. The Stadholder had difficulty in convincing the inward-looking commercial world that their safety lay in European-wide diplomacy and war (Williams 1980:457-458). The fact that William's wife was in line to inherit the English throne *provided the necessary extra weight to make it possible for him to survive within the United Provinces* (Prall 1972:167). At the same time, England was crucial to William as a potential ally in the struggle against France. A large European coalition was needed to counter Louis XIV's aggression. In one way or another William had to bring England into an alliance against France. This is what the national security of the United Provinces demanded.

Louis XIV's domestic and foreign policies were especially aggressive at this time. In 1681 French troops took Strasbourg, Lorraine and Casale (in Piedmont). In the year after that, Louis' dragoons occupied Orange, William's small principality close to Avignon. In 1684 Genoa was largely destroyed and Luxemburg was annexed. In 1685 Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes, forcing in this way some 200.000 French Protestants into exile, and strengthening fears of Catholicism in both England and the Netherlands. In 1687 the Sun King introduced aggressive anti-Dutch trade measures. During the 1680s Louis XIV also quarrelled with Pope Innocent XI over control of the French Church, the election of the Archbishop-Elector of Cologne and the rights of the French embassy in Rome.

Until the mid-1680s the French king's strongest enemy, the Holy Roman Emperor was unable to counter Louis' aggression because of his war against the Turks. After the capture of Buda (September 1686), the victory near Mohács (August 1687), and the capture of Belgrade (September 1688), however, Leopold I was on the verge of winning a decisive victory over the Turks. Louis XIV decided to occupy the Rhineland to encourage the Turks and to prevent the strengthening of Hapsburg power in the west. William of Orange realised that if the French

² James was 56 years old in 1688. By 17th-century standards he was an old man. Charles II had died at the age of 55. William himself was 52 when he died. Mary II died of smallpox at the age of 32. Queen Anne was only 49 at the time of her death.

dominated the Rhineland they might prevent the Emperor from coming to the rescue of the Netherlands. The key to the situation was in England.

William had been a close observer of English affairs throughout James' reign. In early 1687 he sent his agents to England to establish contacts with the Parliamentary opposition. In December 1687, when James' queen announced that she was pregnant, William and his English allies became alarmed enough to begin to co-ordinate the network of contacts that had been established. In April 1688 William declared that if some prominent persons invited him, he would intervene. On 10 June the queen gave birth to a baby boy. Three weeks later seven English conspirators sent a letter to William in which they invited him to go to England with an army, and promised him considerable support.

Almost immediately after the birth of the Prince of Wales rumours began to circulate of a fraud. It was alleged that a baby had been smuggled into the queen's bedchamber in a warming pan as she pretended to give birth. This story might be easily discounted on considering the circumstances under which the queen gave birth to her son:

Mary Beatrice's labour proceeded smoothly as the large room filled with women. Friends, ladies of the bedchamber and relatives, including the dowager Queen Catherine, widow of King Charles II, were all there to attend the birth. A number of men entered the royal bedroom as well, priests were accompanied by most of the Privy Council and the Lord Chancellor, the latter stationing themselves close to the foot of the bed, partially screened from Mary Beatrice and Mrs Wilkes [her midwife]. This crowd included a good balance of Protestants and Catholics and in all numbered more than sixty people (Holmes 2005:149).

It was clearly in William's interest to believe the story of the baby in the warming pan, since *it provided him with an excuse to invade England in defence of the hereditary right of his wife* (Weil 1992:68). At first William failed to realise this, and in their letter of invitation the *immortal seven* criticised him for having congratulated James II on the birth of his son. *We must presume to inform your Highness – they wrote – that your compliment upon the birth of the child (which not one in a thousand here believes to be the Queen's) hath done you some injury.*³ Eventually William and his allies not only exploited the existing rumours but also promoted them.

The most important instrument of William's propaganda was his *Declaration of Reasons*⁴ issued on 30 September 1688. The document justified the invasion

³ The letter is to be found among the State Papers in the Public Record Office. Extracts from the document are reprinted in the *Appendices* of Prall, S. 1972. *The Bloodless Revolution*. New York: Anchor Books.

⁴ The full title of the document was *The Declaration of His Highness William Henry, Prince of Orange, of the Reasons Inducing Him to Appear in Arms in the Kingdom of England for Preserving*

and explained the Prince's intentions. Avoiding a direct attack on James II himself, the *Declaration* blamed his *evil counsellors* for introducing arbitrary government and overturning the religion, laws and liberties of the people. The document enumerated the violations of these counsellors, placing special emphasis on the use of the dispensing power. It was stated – quite wrongly – that the dispensing power (that is the king's power to allow exceptions to the law) had been *invented* by James' advisers. In reality the origins of this power can be traced back to the 13th century. Henry III was the first king to dispense (Edie 1977:435).

William – of course – was depicted as a deliverer, rather than a conqueror. His army – according to the document – was large enough only to protect him from the *violence* of James' *evil counsellors*. The *Declaration* said nothing about William's future role in England's government (or James', for that matter). It stated: *This our expedition is intended for no other design but to have a free and lawful parliament assembled as soon as possible* (Prall 1972:317).

The charge that James' son was a fraud was also included. *But, to crown all*, the document read:

those evil counsellors ... have published that the Queen hath brought forth a son; though there hath appeared both during the Queen's pretended bigness, and in the manner in which the birth was managed, so many just and visible grounds of suspicion that not only we ourselves, but all the good subjects of those kingdoms, do vehemently suspect that the pretended Prince of Wales was not borne by the Queen (Prall 1972:317).

The *Declaration of Reasons* appeared in four languages: English, Dutch, German and French. Twenty-one editions appeared in 1688, eight of them in English. The manifesto was distributed all over the British Isles and widely dispersed on the Continent as well (Schwoerer 1977:854).

The *Declaration of Reasons* was far from being the only instrument of propaganda used by William and his friends before the invasion. Printed broadsides were addressed to the English soldiers urging them to go over to William's side. Pamphlets appeared which portrayed William's character and his purposes in the most favourable light. Eventually, when William landed in Devon in November 1688, only about a thousand of James' soldiers went over to the Prince (Speck 1987:461). The scale of the desertion was small – which must have disappointed William – but it was large enough to shatter James' morale to such an extent as to make him unable to fight. The king ordered his army to retreat, sent his wife and baby son to France, and later on found refuge at the court of Louis XIV himself. Nobody had expected this.

of the Protestant Religion and for Restoring the Lawes and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland. It can be consulted in Cobett, W. (ed.) 1806-20. *The Parliamentary History of England* (36 Vols.) V. London. 1-11. Extracts from this document too can be found in the *Appendices* of Stuart Prall's above-mentioned book.

Many of those who had cooperated with William had done so only to be able to put pressure on James to change his policies. James' flight created a new situation and William began to revise his plans. Whatever his earlier intentions, now he looked to the throne, and started a new campaign of propaganda.

Between December 1688 and March 1689 eight new newspapers appeared and a large number of broadsides and pamphlets were printed (Schwoerer 1977:856). One of the aims of this new propaganda was to make William appear kingly to the English public. Physically the would-be-king was unattractive. He was short (just over five and a half feet tall), thin and frail, with a hump on his back. His health was poor. He suffered from chronic asthma. The pamphleteers, nevertheless, attributed to him a *robust and healthy* constitution. William was known to be cold, reserved, taciturn, irritable and short-tempered, yet the propagandists called him *benign, affable* and of *sweet temper* (Schwoerer 1977:849-850).

In order to influence the illiterate masses as well, pictures, playing cards and medals were also used in the propaganda. The designers of most of this material were Dutch, the masters of pictorial propaganda in Europe. One of the most frequently used symbols was the windmill. This was an allusion to another rumour: that James II's baby boy was in reality the son of a miller. The clear intention to shape public opinion and to influence even the lower classes suggests that the Anglo-Dutch Revolution was more than a simple *coup d'état*, carried out by a small number of people (Schwoerer 1977: 861; 874).

The effect of William's propaganda is not easy to assess. It is possible to argue – as Lois G. Schwoerer has done – that William became king *partly because of the success of his propaganda effort*, but this is not certain at all. The idea that a *broad consensus* in William's favour had been achieved is difficult to accept (Schwoerer 1977:847). The Convention that opened at Westminster on 22 January, could not even agree on the most fundamental questions. There were serious disagreements over the interpretation of the events of November and December 1688. What had actually happened? Had James abdicated the government, or had he simply deserted it, and so he was still king? Some argued that the king had been forced to leave by a successful rebellion, but that this was illegal. Another idea was that James had broken the *original contract* and, therefore, he had lost his right to be king. Some suggested that William had conquered England. Interestingly enough, in different ways, both the friends and enemies of King James used this latter argument.

The other question that divided the Convention was: what should be done in the absence of a monarch? Some recommended the unconditional recall of James, others his restoration together with limitations on the royal prerogative. There were five other serious suggestions: *a Regency, the crowning of Mary, the crowning of William, the crowning of William and Mary together, and a republican remodelling of the government* (Thompson 1977:34-36).

On 28 January the House of Commons voted that King James had *abdicated the government*, and that the throne was *vacant*. The Lords disagreed. Many regarded

a vacant throne a constitutional nonsense. Under the hereditary system the throne could not be vacant: either James II was still the king, or his daughter Mary was queen, or James' little son was king.

Eventually William lost his patience and intervened. He declared that unless he was given the crown, he would return to his own country, leaving England to the mercy of King James and his French supporters. It was this ultimatum, rather than the success of William's propaganda that made a compromise possible as a result of which William and Mary became joint sovereigns. In fact, as circumstances changed during the winter of 1688-89, William's propaganda – and especially his *Declaration of Reasons* – became a liability. The Jacobites were able to turn the *Declaration's* own arguments against William. The *Declaration* had made no mention of deposing King James (let alone William's intention to become king), and the document had limited the Prince's aims to the calling of Parliament. Thus, the *Declaration* could now be used as an anti-Williamite weapon.⁵ The warming pan legend also became inconvenient for William and his supporters, and had to be dropped as a justification for the Revolution. There were two main reasons for this. First, it was – of course – impossible to prove that a fraud had occurred. Second, the warming pan legend did not fit in with William's political aims. If William had gone to England to defend Mary's hereditary right, *it seemed appropriate to put Mary on the throne as James II's legitimate heir* (Weil 1992:71).

Parliament had little choice in deciding the succession, but it played a major role in legitimating it. A unique constitutional arrangement was agreed on. The Commons accepted that the crown was hereditary and not elective, and recognised the rights of Princess Mary. The Lords agreed to make an exception in favour of William, and to *elect* him king in this emergency situation. The crown was offered jointly to William and Mary. A dual monarchy was created, but administrative power was vested in William alone. Although it was widely believed that Mary was a regnant queen, she was legally and in reality little more than a consort queen. This deception helped to win a consensus for the settlement.⁶ When William was out of the country, Mary was able to exercise authority only as regent, but not even as regent did she possess *genuine sovereign power* (Schwoerer 1989:717).

In conclusion we can say that the traditional Whig story – the framework of which had been provided by William's propaganda – needs to be corrected on a number of points. There was nothing inevitable about the Revolution. The events of 1688-89 must be placed and studied in an international setting. The Revolution was – essentially – William's revolution. If English discontent had not coincided with William's ambitions in foreign policy, James II would have remained king.

⁵ For a detailed discussion of this topic see Claydon, T. 1996. "William III's Declaration of Reasons and the Glorious Revolution." [in:] *The Historical Journal*. 39. 87-108.

⁶ For a discussion of this point see Nenner, H. 1992. "Pretense and Pragmatism: the Response to Uncertainty in the Succession Crisis of 1689." [in:] Schwoerer, L. G. (ed.) *The Revolution of 1688-1689—Changing Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP. 83-94.

William saved England from a Catholic absolutism, but he was not a selfless hero. In 1688-89 he represented the national interests of the United Provinces, rather than those of England. This Anglo-Dutch Revolution could have worked out differently, but James' unexpected flight transformed the situation, which William was able to exploit. William's network of contacts and his systematic propaganda helped to avoid bloodshed in England, but it was his ultimatum that secured him the throne, rather than the success in shaping public opinion. The consequences of the Anglo-Dutch Revolution were positive. Among other things, a limited monarchy was established, a modern system of finance emerged, and a new executive was created. Yet these were not the direct results of the revolution settlement. They were *the fruits of war*,⁷ the consequences of Britain's involvement in the great struggle against France.

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⁷ The term is used by Geoffrey Holmes. See Chapters 16 and 17 of his 1995. *The Making of a Great Power*. London: Longman.

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EXPLORING *THE DARK TOWER*: STEPHEN KING'S POSTMODERN EPIC

Abstract: This paper focuses on the postmodernist conceits of Stephen King's postmodern epic, *The Dark Tower* series. In his septimology, King examines the very foundation of literary fiction as well as criticism by combining metafiction, intertextuality and the contemporary scientific multiple-worlds theory into a postmodernist chaos of information. King essentially presents a universal model which is composed of purely symbolic composites that encompass the four basic pillars of creating a written text, i.e. the author, objective reality, fictional universe, and language as a medium of written discourse. Furthermore, by dividing intertextuality into its intrinsic and extrinsic form, in combination with the multiple-worlds theory, King renders the opposition of high vs. low culture literature inert. He does so through the element of colliding fictional universes, therefore an act he positions in parallel with the flattening of the worlds of high and low culture, thus creating a vision of culture which functions on the principles of equality.

Key words: Stephen King, *The Dark Tower* series, metafiction, intrinsic intertextuality, extrinsic intertextuality, multiple-worlds theory

Introduction

This paper deals with the culmination of King's postmodernist literary tendencies in one ultimate literary piece. Stephen King's *The Dark Tower* series is comprised of several of the main characteristics of postmodern fiction. He combines elements of metafiction and intertextuality¹ with the scientific concept of the multiple-worlds theory².

¹ For more information linking these two concept to postmodernist literature, see Waugh (1984) and Kristeva (1980).

² The multiple-worlds theory, widely known as the multiverse theory, is a concept known to theoretical physics. For further discussion on the subject, see Greene (2011), among others.

What stands at the centre of this literary series is metafiction. It is a very flexible and creative literary practice which permeates all of the postmodernist concepts employed by King in his writing. Therefore, it could be stated that his magnum opus, *The Dark Tower* series, does not merely incorporate the phenomenon of self-conscious fiction, but centres on it. Metafiction serves as the central pillar around which each and every postmodernist element present in the series revolves.

By embedding all of these postmodernist tendencies deep within the layers of his epic story, King manages to merge together the classic Victorian Arthurian legend with elements of epic high fantasy of J.R.R. Tolkien (Waller, 2008:2), and uses aspects of the Victorian poetry of Robert Browning and the modernist impulses introduced to poetry by T.S. Eliot as an ever-resonating refrain for his literary epic. All of these and many more literary and cultural references are connected and combined into a constructive composite which is under the dominion of postmodernist thought.

The Dark Tower series is first and foremost overshadowed by chaos and confusion. It is essentially a never-ending sea of information which is comprised of intrinsic intertextual relations inherent solely to King's literary body of work, several extrinsic intertextual connections, as well as various pop-cultural references. They coexist side by side with an extensive classic heroic quest tale which, however, incorporates very non-traditional characters and settings. This postmodern series centres on Roland Deschain, a gunslinger, who wanders the world in search of the illusive Dark Tower, which King always describes with exceptional vagueness. The Dark Tower is the core of Roland's world and, as he comes to realise, not only his own world. During Roland's travels he encounters and ventures into several other worlds, which represent parallel universes. He does so either by encountering doors leading directly into them or through so called 'thinies' which are transparent and permeable membranes between realities and also gateways to other worlds. During his travels he encounters three very strange and surreal characters not akin to any form of an epic fantasy novel. Roland is drawn to three doors through which he pulls three different people into his world, namely Eddie Dean, a recovering drug addict, a little boy named Jake Chambers and a legless, schizophrenic African-American woman, Odetta Holmes (at times Detta Walker), whose personalities during the course of the story merge together, forming a new persona of Susannah Dean. All of these three characters are pulled by Roland from this world, our objective reality, although each of them from their respective time-lines. Eddie is transposed to Roland's world from the 1990's New York City, and Susannah comes from the 1960's. Jake is a unique case because he is pulled from his own world twice, both times in 1977; the first time is when he dies of the wounds inflicted by a car accident and the second time, he is saved by Roland right before this car accident. The first time Jake encounters Roland, in the first book of this septimology, entitled *The Gunslinger*, he dies in Roland's world. He subsequently reappears in King's third book *The Wastelands*.

Confusing Fictional Realities

In his literary epic, King very skilfully mirrors the chaos inherent in postmodernist writing. King adds to the confusion expressed by the quantity of textual information present in the tale by introducing a strange style of storytelling, a vision *he neither understands nor precisely knows where or how to pursue* (Magistrale 1992:142). Whenever a writer engages in metafictional practice, the *disorder, randomness, and nonlinearity [...] of a metafictional text's understanding of language* (Stoicheff, 1991:88) essentially creates its own order. The nonlinearity inherent in metafiction is employed by King in his storytelling; however, it is imperative to understand that it is not presented here in the sense of an anachronic narrative. The metafictional nonlinearity is, at its core, chaotic but in the end creates its own system. King thus explores the chaos of metafiction while maintaining linguistic and chronological order, however, the narration is mystified by his unclear vision of the story itself.

The confusion thus felt by the reader is uncanny, as it is never clear in which universe the characters find themselves, not to mention the alienation represented by the shroud of mystery surrounding the illusive quest for the Dark Tower which is not cleared up until the very end, if that. The various perplexing and disconnected images within the story itself exemplify and mimic the collision of universes into one another. King is remarkably synchronized with the contemporary multiple-worlds theory that is predicated on the notion that *there may be an infinite number of parallel universes containing space, time, and other forms of exotic matter* (Gresh and Weinberg 2007:192). King offers a model known to theoretical physics as a multiverse which is a theoretical concept where a *universe is a part of a gigantic [structure called a] multiverse* (2007:193). The multiverse is exactly what King tells us the worlds involved in the landscape of *The Dark Tower* series are. When we examine the case of Jake being pulled from his timeline twice, we can conclude that each time, he was pulled from two separate universes. Therefore, the Jake who appears in the third volume of the series is Jake but in his core, he represents a different version of the person who had already been killed twice (once in his world by a car and once in Roland's world, also called Mid-world). The two versions of New York thus represent separate worlds which contribute to the Kingian multiverse of *The Dark Tower* series.

Furthermore, Roland's and the rest of his companions' journey takes them to different histories and thus parallel universes which are only slightly different than their counterparts. For example, in the fourth volume entitled *Wizard and Glass*, the group derails a train which they have taken in a desolate city in Mid-world and arrive through a 'thinnie' into present day Topeka, Kansas but in an alternate reality. The confusion is apparent when Eddie tries to make sense of the place where they are: *Are we back home? If we are, where are all the people? And if something like Blaine [a train] has been stopping off in Topeka—our Topeka, Topeka, Kansas*

[...] (King 2003b:186). The very fact that there are no people present at a railway station serves as an indicator that they have arrived in a parallel universe. These are just two cases of many in a myriad of confusing images which the author employs in his postmodernist narrative. The collision of worlds in King's *The Dark Tower* series, the interconnecting realities, universes as well as histories which form a titanic multiverse, is mirrored in King's brilliant interpretation of universal history, metafiction and cultural fragmentation.

A Never-ending Cycle

The different historical periods of Eddy, Susannah, and Jake combined with the non-traditional and non-cathartic ending of *The Dark Tower* series coincides with King's belief in the concept of the cyclical model of history. King renders the whole concept of history inert. In the seventh and last book of the series, called *The Dark Tower*, Roland is finally at the end of his quest and steps through the door he has always been searching for. The gunslinger

paused for a moment, swaying on his feet. He thought he almost passed out. It was the heat of course; the damned heat. For a moment he had felt he was somewhere else. In the Tower itself, mayhap. But of course the desert was tricky, and full of mirages. The Dark Tower still lay thousands of wheels ahead (King 2004b:828).

History seems to be non-existent in this epic. King continually toys with his characters as well as the reader by rendering the central and most important symbol of the whole series a useless husk. The Tower becomes a symbol for nothing. It defies explanation, continuity, time as well as space. The Tower is all powerful, yet arbitrary. After more than four thousand pages, King's protagonist is precisely where the epic began with memories of his adventures fading away. This existential issue dominated by fragmentation, alienation and isolation of the main character is what lies at the core of postmodernist thought. As Butler notes in his *Postmodernism: A Very Short Introduction*, human beings in the postmodern era *live, not inside reality, but inside [their] representations of it* (2002:21). Reality as a whole thus becomes inert and fragmented, much like Roland's quest which is full of twists and turns, and in the end, amounts to nothing. King utilizes this knowledge and strengthens it by mirroring Roland's personal repetitive hell, in the form of his journey repeating itself over and over again, with the disillusionment felt by the postmodern man.

By the collision of worlds and his interpretation of the concept of history, King skilfully parallels the phrase which reflects the cultural zeitgeist of postmodern times: everything has already been done. Furthermore, he adamantly reaffirms this claim during the course of the whole literary epic by juxtaposing the collision of

worlds inside the multiverse with the cultural confusion and fragmentation present in today's world. King's employment of several historical periods characteristic of our world is an attempt to *establish an explicit narrative link between the reader's and the writer's present and the older historical reality* (Jameson 1992:21). This link is realized through various intertextual references inherent in high-culture literature as well as pop-culture which, together, form a chaotic composite that mirrors the fragmentation of today's culture. King is thus able to give a diagnosis of the problem which contemporary culture faces nowadays.

Remedying the Problems Faced by Contemporary Culture

The Dark Tower series is riddled with intertextual references not only to literature but also pop-culture. Ranging from Shakespeare and T.S. Eliot to the Rolling Stones and Z.Z. Top, King mashes together the elements of high and low culture not only of contemporary origin but also of different cultural periods (Waller, 2008:19). In the same way as King's fictional worlds collide via overlapping with one another, despite the fact that they are fundamentally different and separate realities, so do the cultural references present in the narrative. Therefore, the confusion in the multiverse of worlds becomes the mirror image of present day culture, a cultural multiverse. King not only gives a diagnosis of the problem in contemporary society but also tries to remedy the situation. In the same way as the worlds in his *The Dark Tower* series exist side by side, with exact equality, so should culture be viewed as unitary. In the same manner as he thins the barriers between realities in his fiction, so does he tear down the contemporary distinction between high and low culture. King is in concordance with Ursula Le Guin who thinks that:

The trouble with the Litfic [academically acclaimed fiction] vs Genre idea is that what looks like a reasonable distinction of varieties of fiction always hides a value judgment: Lit superior, Genre inferior. [...] But still the opposition of literature and genre is maintained; and as long as it is, false categorical value judgement will cling to it, with the false dichotomy of virtuous pleasure and guilty pleasure (Le Guin 2012).

The only way out from the fragmentation of today's cultural world is in what King suggests through him intertwining cultural references, and that is by simply flattening the two existing plateaus of high and low culture into one giant cultural multiverse which functions on the basis of equality rather than animosity. The very fact that King manages to create a literary epic by bringing together the high and low in culture and using it to point out existential, societal and cultural problems of contemporary society, suggests the possibility of minimizing the differences between high and low culture and, consequently, flattening its worlds.

Dividing Intertextuality

The multiverse comprised of various fictional realities, and cultural references opens the door to one of the strongest elements of postmodernism present in King's epic, intertextuality. The collapse of distinctions is described by Christopher Butler in his *Very Short Introduction to Postmodernism*, where he asserts that *all texts are now liberated to swim, with their linguistic or literary or generic companions, in a sea of intertextuality in which previously accepted distinctions between them hardly matter* (2002:24). As can be seen in connection with the flattening of cultures, as proposed by King in *The Dark Tower* series, by including the notion of intertextuality in literature, not only does literary criticism become ineffective, but this literary fact also dispels the traditional notion of two separate worlds in the literary tradition. Therefore, the distinction between high and low literature is rendered mute.

The Dark Tower series envelops two distinct plains of intertextuality. The first is the traditional form of intertextuality, i.e. the written form of a text with either explicit or implicit allusions to some other extrinsic texts previously written by other authors. The second plain is introduced by King's employment of various intertextual relations within his own literary corpus, which makes *The Dark Tower* series a veritable nexus of intrinsic intertextuality as well as his crowning achievement.

The extrinsic intertextuality expressed in *The Dark Tower* series has a deliberately explicit form. King does not stray from the works that influenced the creation of his postmodernist epic, on the contrary, he pays homage to the authors thanks to whom he was able to write it. In the afterword to the first of seven books, *The Gunslinger*, King acknowledges that the idea comes primarily from Robert Browning's poem *Childe Roland to the Dark Tower Came*, parts of which frequently and purposefully appear in the course of King's epic. He calls Browning's poem *gorgeous and rich and inexplicable* (King 1988:221), and continues by saying that he wishes to write *a long romantic novel embodying the feel, if not the exact sense* (1988:221) of the poem. As may be seen by the sense of constant confusion and the richness of textual information which King presents in his epic, he has kept his promise. But Browning is not by any means his only literary source.

The title of the third book of the series is *The Waste Lands*, which in itself does not directly suggest T.S. Eliot's involvement but taking to account the names of the two parts into which this book is divided, namely "Fear in a Handful of Dust" and "A Heap of Broken Images," directly points to T.S. Eliot's famous poem *The Waste Land*. Furthermore, Eliot's portrayal of the world after the destructive World War I is directly mirrored in King's description of the area of Roland's Mid-land, also known as the Waste Lands. Later in the story, it becomes known that Mid-land, just as our world around the time when modernism emerged, had been subject to a great war, which has destabilized the land and destroyed a vast majority

of its dwellings. And finally, as Robin Furth notes, the character of *Roland, the isolated individual, is a survivor, but he is no more than a fragment of a larger, lost mosaic. He has no meaning. Like the landscape he travels, his soul has become a wasteland* (Furth 2006:7). As Furth aptly points out, Roland's soul is equally, if not even more barren, than the desert and the waste lands which he wanders. This is one of numerous examples of King being a skilful writer. He combines Eliot's disillusionment of the self with a Poesque tendency of paralleling the environment to the state of the character's mind and thus reinforcing the desperation, isolation, and ultimate futility of both Roland and Mid-world itself, though it is not only Mid-world which is in jeopardy in this story.

The complicated nature not only of the story, but the very essence of King's literary fiction is fully realised through his employment of elements of intrinsic intertextuality within *The Dark Tower* series itself. It becomes further entangled when a strong metafictional element which permeates the intrinsic intertextuality is realised. The postmodernist epic is fully exposed when taking into account that King combines the previously discussed themes of intertextuality and the scientific notion of the multiple-worlds theory and binds them together under the bulwark of metafiction.

When Roland and his companions venture to Topeka and realize that it is abandoned, King speaks to the readers of his novels by making an allusion to one of his earlier works, *The Stand*. When the quartet comes to the abandoned Topeka, Jake picks up a newspaper with the headline: '*Captain Trips' Superflu Rages Unchecked, Govt. Leaders May Have Fled Country Topeka Hospitals Jammed with Sick, Dying Millions Pray for Cure* (King 2003a:196). 'Captain Trips' is the name of a genetically engineered superflu virus which has wiped out a vast majority of civilization in the literary world of *The Stand*. Furthermore, in *The Gunslinger* and other books within the series, a recurring character by the name of Walter (at times Randal Flagg) appears. Walter is one of the chief antagonists in this epic, but it becomes clear that he, rather like the Dark Tower itself, is a transdimensional and transuniversal being. First of all, he is the reason for Jake's car accident and subsequent death in his original world; therefore he possesses the ability to pass into different realities. Second of all, the character of Walter makes an appearance in several of King's other novels, for example, in *The Stand* as the infamous Randal Flagg, in *The Dead Zone* as well as *The Eyes of the Dragon*, and finally as Andre Linoge in King's screenplay entitled *The Storm of the Century*. He serves as a reader's conduit to various fictional universes created by King before the conception of *The Dark Tower* series. There is one more character who may be found in a different novel and that is father Donald Callahan, who *came to [Mid-world] from another reality, one in which the events described in Salem's Lot actually took place* (Wiater and Golden 2006:40). Combined with the multiple-worlds theory, these examples supporting the claim of intrinsic intertextuality illustrate King's practice of metafiction par excellence.

For King, as it could be suggested, it is not just about introducing a few migrating characters into his fiction; what he does in his literary epic is the active reconstruction of fictional reality, and the examination of *the structure of the represented world itself* (McHale, 1987: 59). In the past, many critics have termed King's work as science fiction, and nothing more. According to McHale, however, there is a fine line between science fiction and postmodernist fiction. *By staging "close encounters" between different worlds, placing them in confrontation, [science fiction] foregrounds their respective structures and the disparities between them.* (1987:60) This phenomenon can be found all throughout King's literary epic, and it is akin to *the ontological poetics in postmodernist fiction* (1987:60), more specifically, to metafictional practice. King is in accordance with Patricia Waugh who first proposed the notion of metafiction. According to her, metafictional practice can be defined as a style of writing which *self-consciously and systematically draws attention to its status as a literary artefact in order to pose questions about the relationship between fiction and reality* (Waugh 1984:2). King abides by the rules of metafictional practice to the letter when he draws attention to the status of *The Dark Tower* series as a literary artefact. He does so by the aforementioned inclusion of the intrinsic and extrinsic literary references which greatly undermine the whole story-line as well as the continuity of the narrative itself.

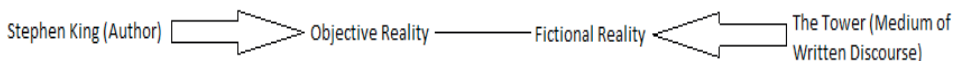
A Crash Course in Postmodernism: How Literature Works

In the course of this article, the multiverse has been described in relation to extralinguistic reality as well as intertextuality. *The Dark Tower* series is first and foremost a metafictional epic; the multiverse, which King's fiction undoubtedly is, becomes entangled in the confines of literature itself. There is a distinct *interconnectedness between [King's] previous literature, his own work, and the world of the readers* (Waller 2008:32). By transferring and combining both previously described notions of intertextuality and the multiple-worlds theory into King's literary fiction, it can be said that *The Dark Tower* series represents an advanced form of metafictional practice.

In *Song of Susannah*, the sixth book of *The Dark Tower* series, King performs yet another act of metafiction when he incorporates himself into his postmodernist epic. Eddie and Roland venture into our world to come and meet Stephen King himself, because they realize that they are mere pawns in the hands of a god. Before they meet King, Roland feels as though they are *approaching the centre of everything – the Tower itself, mayhap. It's as if, after all these years, the quest itself has become the point for me, and the end is frightening* (King 2004a:266). King thus reasserts and acknowledges his presence as the creator of his own literary fiction and not just *The Dark Tower* series, but all of his works, because he creates a metafictional and intertextual literary multiverse. By performing this metafictional

act of writing himself into a very important position within the constraints of his fiction, he places authority and meaning into his hands, thus making himself into a metaphorical gravitational source around which each and every literary text he has ever written revolves. He basically becomes the medium for the intrinsic intertextuality which dominates this postmodernist epic.

The Dark Tower series thus becomes a very convoluted, remarkable, and fitting account of the intricacies under which literary fiction as a whole operates. Both King and the Tower are static elements around which the story slowly develops. Therefore, it can be claimed that Stephen King's postmodernist epic is a description of the complex relations which subside in the background of literary fiction itself. On the grounds of this claim, the symbolism of King incorporating himself into his fiction in his own time and reality on one side, and the Tower inhabiting Mid-world on the other, it can be stated that King and the Tower are physically static, but internally very fluid counterparts. In this sense, the character of Stephen King represents the writer as the creator of fictional universes, his own world represents objective reality, Roland's Mid-world symbolizes the world in which narratives are realised (fictional reality) and finally, the Dark Tower stands for the medium of written discourse itself, the written language.



Having said that, King's epic allows this interpretation, much like Roland's quest, to wander a bit farther. When we consider this interpretation, we can expand it not just within King's literary body of work, but rather within the whole world of literature. In *The Waste Lands*, Eddie has a dream in which he sees the unattainable and illusive Dark Tower surrounded by blood, but *then he realized that it was not blood he was looking at, but roses. The field stretched on for miles, climbing a gentle slope of land, and standing at the horizon was the Dark Tower* (King 2003a:378).

In this epic, the rose takes on many levels of symbolism, encompassing the Tower as well as the character of King himself. If a rose may be perceived as a writer and assuming that the Tower represents the medium of written discourse, it can be categorically stated that the sea of roses present before the Tower in Eddie's vision is a symbol of each and every writer who has ever lived and bestowed his/her gifts upon literature. And although all writers strive to achieve linguistic perfection, it is unattainable in the same way as it is impossible for the roses to envelop the Tower itself. The only way to the Tower, paved with roses, could be perceived as a physical representation of intertextuality in writing because in order to get closer to the Tower, it is absurd to assume that you will not scratch yourself on a few thorns.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis given above, *The Dark Tower* series appears to be the apex of Stephen King's postmodernist writing. It serves as an ultimate representation of every postmodern tendency, theory and also practice embedded within his fictional corpus. King incorporates many elements native to postmodernist fiction and creates a postmodern narrative which is well worth studying. In his series, King explores various literary concepts by immersing his own past novels into the world of *The Dark Tower* series while applying the contemporary multiple-worlds theory into their very foundation. Through this act, he explores the intricacies of intertextuality as a driving force behind postmodernist literary discourse. Furthermore, King's approach to intertextuality results in the splitting of this concept into its intrinsic and extrinsic forms which, in his hands, has the capacity to bring forth another important issue inherent to his analysis which is the problem of the contemporary distinction between high and low literature as well as culture as such. King not only identifies this problem but also offers a solution in the form of flattening the plateaus of high and low culture into a postmodern composite which is characterized by equality. Lastly, King's magnum opus, *The Dark Tower* series may be interpreted as a kind of a model of literature presented as a synthesis of four main elements pivotal to King's story itself, namely the author as the creator of a fictional universe, objective reality from which authors draw their ideas, fictional reality which is the practical realization of written discourse, and, finally, the written discourse itself, a medium which ties together all of the three aforementioned pillars of literature as such.

Therefore, ranging from the multiple-worlds theory, through intrinsic and extrinsic intertextuality culminating in King's understanding of literature realized through his practice of metafiction, *The Dark Tower* series becomes an utterly singular and new form of literature: the Postmodern epic.

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JEWISH RELIGIOUS IDENTITY IN CHAIM POTOK'S NOVELS

Abstract: Chaim Potok¹ was a scholar, rabbi, and a novelist who wrote about the conflict between Judaism and the secular world and the discord within Judaism. His novels frequently portrayed observant Jewish communities and families in a loving and respectful way, opening a window onto the insular Jewish American world. The strength of his writing is in his ability to dramatize universal question of faith, commitment and identity among, mostly, Americans of Jewish roots. The article aims to discuss religious conflicts in Potok's *The Chosen*, *The Promise* and *In the Beginnings*.

Key words: Hasidism, Orthodox Judaism, rabbis, Zionism, American family

Chaim Potok, a rabbi who wrote both fiction and non-fiction, a philosopher, and an observant Jew is little known outside the Jewish American environs. A modern American writer, who *has no quarrel with his religion, but who has continually explored the conflict between Jewish values and culture of the American secular world within which the Jewish sphere exists* (Sternlicht 2000:1). Interestingly, he did not write about Jewish faith and culture from a liminal perspective, as it is oftentimes the case with many other Jewish American authors, *he contemplated the religion from within* (Chametzky 2001:986).

¹ Chaim Potok, born in 1929 in Buffalo New York, was educated in Orthodox Jewish schools. In 1950, he graduated from Yeshiva University in New York with a B.A. in English. He received his M.H.L. and rabbinic ordination in 1954 at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. Then Potok went on to earn his Ph.D. in philosophy in 1965 at the University of Pennsylvania. He received the Edward Lewis Wallant Award and was nominated for the national Book Award for *The Chosen* (Chametzky 2001:987).

Potok writes a systematic sequence of interwoven novels dealing with the Jewish community as well as Jewish-American cultural confrontation. In his works, Potok shows Jews not only as travellers to America and European immigrants, he also examines his Jewish characters as religious outsiders, skeptics, visionaries and mentors. Potok carefully explores the seemingly disparate Orthodox, Hasidic and more liberal expressions of Jewish tradition as well as Zionism². As Kremer (1989:28) says, *Potok writes about Jewish theology, liturgy, history, and scholarship and this task represents something new in American literature.*

The Chosen (1967) is essentially about the core of the Judaic tradition. The title of the book *The Chosen* refers to the belief of some, mostly religious Jewish people, that they are *God's chosen people, chosen to bring to the world monotheism, as well as God's words, messages and will through the Bible* (Sternlicht 2000:29). Yet, it is a story about friendship between Reuven Malter and Danny Saunders and the latter's personal change. They meet in baseball game as rivals. Both boys are brought up in Jewish families but Reuven in a less radical one. Reuven is an *apikoros*³ for Danny:

The word had meant, originally, a Jew educated in Judaism who denied basic tenets of his faith, like the existence of God, the revelation, the resurrection of the dead. [...] it also meant any educated Jew who might be reading, say, Darwin, and who was not wearing side curls and fringes outside his trousers (Potok 1995:30).

They also come from different backgrounds. Danny, 'a brilliant son' of Reb Saunders, is raised in a strict Orthodox Hasidic sect:

Jews from Southern Poland, who walked the Brooklyn streets like specters, with their black hats, long black coats, black beards, and ear locks. These Jews had their own rabbi, their own dynasty ruler, who could trace his family position of rabbinic leadership back to the time of the Ba'al. Shem Tov, the eighteen-century founder of Hasidism, whom they all regarded as a God-invested personality (Potok 1995:11).

Being a son of a *tzaddik*, a *Hasidic leader, a righteous one, a superhuman link between people and God* (Potok 1995:81), he is restricted to study and read only Talmud and Torah. However, the youthful inquisitiveness of a gifted boy makes him dip into works of Western thought.

Absorbed by Freudian psychoanalysis, he starts to question his religion and drifts away from his background, and in the same way he loses his chance as a

² Zionism, a term coined in 1890 by a Jewish activist Nathan Birnbaum, refers to the national movement for the return of the Jewish people to their homeland and the creation of the state Israel.

³ In Jewish culture an *apikoros* is the one who negates the rabbinic tradition.

successor of his father as a *tzaddik* who does not approve of his son's decision of not following the Hasidic tradition. With the help of his friend Reuven and the guidance of his father, Danny tries to comprehend complicated Freudian psychoanalytic theory: *He had wanted to read Freud. That had been his mistake. Freud had to be studied, not read. He had to be studied like a page of Talmud* (Potok 1995:287). Immersing himself in western culture and literature brings about a conflict between the father, who is firmly entrenched in the ideas of his Jewish world – he is a Jew first and a father second – and the son. Danny is inquisitive about the world outside his yeshiva⁴, and he searches for the answers to many questions which his father fails to or cannot answer. This influx of ideas that Danny brings into his father's world, causes a confrontation of ideas, which results in communication problems between father and son. Still, Danny's father 'communicates' with his son in silence. This is an old Hasidic traditional way of bringing up a son. Danny's father was brought up the same way, as he explains:

My father himself never talked to me, except when we studied together. He taught me with silence. He taught me to look into myself, to find my own strength, to walk around inside myself in company with my soul. (...) One learns of the pain of others by suffering one's own pain, by turning inside oneself, by finding one's own soul. And it is important to know of pain, he said (Potok 1995:91).

Although Danny respects his father's way of bringing him up in silence, while suffering at the same time, he draws away from his father's beliefs and way of living. Upon encountering Freud, Danny does not walk away as many religious Jews would do. He absorbs Freudian ideas and what goes with it – so-called 'Western Humanism'. Caught in the net of a strange method by which his father is teaching him compassion for human suffering of Jews, Danny finds in Freud the instrumentality for handling this pain and suffering, the Jewish way. It is in the nature of things that once you are inside an alien system of thought, no matter what door brings you in, you slowly begin to wander around inside that system in ever widening circles until more and more of the system becomes hospitable to you. That is precisely what happens to Danny Saunders in *the Chosen*. Danny eventually makes his peace with Freud by absorbing and utilizing Freudian psychoanalysis and instrumentality for the healing of human pain and suffering so commonly found in Judaism and Jewish tradition⁵. Danny's father put a great emphasis on suffering as an inseparable part of Jewish existence and Judaism. He says: *How the world makes us suffer. It is the will of God. We must accept the will of God* (Potok 1995:281).

⁴ In Jewish culture Yeshiva refers to a school where students study sacred texts, primarily the Talmud.

⁵ In Jewish tradition and philosophy suffering plays a significant role. There are three purposes resulting from human suffering, namely: education, punishment and testing (Leaman 1997).

For Danny, after comprehending Freud's theory, suffering has a different meaning. Everything is tightly linked in a causal chain to the origin of *that pathology* (Gladson 1986:4). Danny realizes that by understanding the origin you can more or less deal with this pathology. There is no intrinsic meaningfulness in the universe, no intrinsic sense to human action. Most actions come from a kind of unconsciousness inside people about which most of them are dimly aware. At the end of the book, Danny Saunders decides to devote his life to psychology. Although he cuts his ear locks and shaves his beard, he is still a Jew. His father comes to terms with his son's choice of life. He says, *Let my Daniel become a psychologist. I have no more fear now. All his life he will be a tzaddik. He will be a tzaddik for the world. And the world needs a tzaddik* (Potok 1995:283).

Asked by Reuven's father if he would bring up his son in the same way as his father brought up him, he replies, *Yes, if I can't find another way* (Potok 1995:235). Danny seems to stray from the path of Jewish tradition, the path of his father, but in fact he works for Judaism just as his father, only his method differs. Morgan (1983:17) explains:

In The Chosen, Danny Saunders, from the heart of his religious reading of the world, encounters an element in the very heart of the secular readings of the world – Freudian psychoanalytic theory. And these two elements are at odds with one another because Freud is utterly adversary to almost all the ways of structuring the human experience found in Western religion. And yet there are some magnificent things from Freud, profound insights into the nature of man. The question that confronts an individual like Danny Saunders is, How do you come in terms with the good things in Freud and what do you do with the things that cause you tremendous stress? That's culture confrontation.

In leaving his family, Danny is not leaving his Judaism. He is still an obedient Jew, but in a new more modern way, a Zionist one. He has every intention of remaining observant of the Commandments but he does not want the *tzaddikate* and the charisma of his father to be inherited by him. Danny admires his best friend, an *apikoros*, Reuven, for choosing a rabbinic career as he decides not to do it. As Guttman (1971:109) points out: *The comically symbolic baseball game that opens the novel, in which Danny Saunders' team wins, turns the game into a struggle over the essence of Judaism.* Likewise, Ribalow (2001:13) writes: *In that baseball game you have two aspects of Jewish Orthodoxy in contention. [...] the Eastern European aspect, which prefers to turn inward and not confront the outside world. [...] The West European more objective scientific aspect. These are in interaction with one another inside the core. That's the baseball game.*

The sequel, *The Promise* (1969), is Reuven Malter's story rather than Danny's. The first scene of the book is similar in its form and symbolism to the opening scene in *The Chosen*. Here we have a country fair, where Reuven meets a compulsive,

disturbed young Jew named Michael Gordon, the son of a Jewish scholar and humanist. Reuven, a student of a radical and fundamental rabbi, Jacob Kalman, dares to read forbidden books by Abraham Gordon, a liberal professor of Judaism, whose books contain a Hebrew warning: *This is the book of an apostate. Those who fear God are forbidden to read it* (Potok 1997:29). Guttman (1971:123) states: *Reuven's involvement with the Gordon family is thus a double one: he arranges for Michael's treatment by Danny Saunders (now a psychologist), and he is persuaded that Abraham's methods are sound ones*. Encountering Abraham's ideas, who *has been put into cherem, the Hebrew term for excommunication* (Potok 1997:49), and supporting his father's book dealing with new methods of interpreting Talmud, endangers his *smicha* (in Hebrew Ordination). His professor does not approve of new methodology and questions Reuven's father's work. This leads to Reuven's thoughts of abandoning his rabbinical studies and being given a *smicha*. Eventually, Reuven decides to take his *smicha* exams, in which he uses the new methodology of his father, and after the fierce discussion between two of his teachers, Rav Gershenson and an opponent of the new thought, Rav Kalman, he passes it.

In *The Promise* the confrontation is between a fundamentalist religion, represented here by Rev Kalman and other European rabbis, and general civilization, Western Humanism. *Reuve's father is a supporter of a methodology, we call scientific text criticism*, as Gladson (1986:4) points out.

He further comments: *It's a methodology that uses all the modern findings of archaeology, philology, ancient languages, and the new things that we know about the cultures of the ancient world and their interactions to explore the development of ancient texts*.

This causes tension between Reuven's father and Rav Kelman, who expresses his criticism of the book in strictly Orthodox Jewish newspapers, calling his article 'New book a threat to Torah Judaism'⁶. He claims that people who use new methods of interpreting the Bible should be excommunicated as

a scholar who used such a method was committing heresy; he was destroying not only Yiddishkeit⁷ but also the very essence of religion – the belief that the sacred texts were given by God to be studied by man, not to be written by him according to Jewish religious tradition. Those who feared God were forbidden to study such works of scholarship; they were forbidden to let their children study them. Indeed for the Jew the problem is considerably exacerbating, for the Jew all of Jewish law is predicated upon the idea that the first book of the Jewish Bible, the Torah, is literally word revealed by God to Moses at Sinai and may not be touched. The entire legal religious tradition of Judaism is founded upon the infallibility of that text: *to tamper with the sacred text is to do the violence to the core of*

⁶ *Torah* refers to the Five books of Moses which is the central concept in the religious Judaic tradition.

⁷ *Yiddishkeit* - Jewish tradition, history, Yiddish language, character or heritage of being a Jew, chiefly of Ashkenazi origin.

a tradition (Potok 1997:213). Reuven Malter resolves this particular tension by using the new methodology during the *smicha* exam and while working with his father on his book. However, he is not permitted to teach Talmud in the rabbinical school of the yeshiva, he can only teach at a graduate school. Despite the Jewish fundamentalism of Rav Kalman, the very structured way of seeing the world, the inability to maneuver and question the legacy of the past that orthodox Jews are expected to absorb, master and give back to the coming generation untouched, unaltered, there is a group of educated Jews such as Danny Saunders and Reuven Malter who *observe the Commandments and are followers of Judaism* (Potok 1997:224). As Reuven's father says: *Abraham Gordon has achieved something that is remarkable. To develop a theology for those who can no longer believe literally in God and revelation and who still wish to remain observant and not abandon the tradition - that is a remarkable achievement* (Potok 1997:224). As Ribalow (2001:18) notices: *you can be inside the core of Judaism and at the same time enjoy the world.*

In The Beginning (1975) is a story of a boy, David Laurie, growing up on the streets of New York and encountering anti-Semitism from boys of the same age. Being the son of a Jewish activist enables him to meet a wide range of other Jews having different outlooks upon life. As his father, an avid member of Zionist movement, is busy organizing help for Jews in Europe and raising money to bring them to America, young David is left alone to his studies. The only person who helps him in reading Torah is a friend of his father Mr. Bader. Studying Torah at the age of eleven, David is puzzled by different readings of it and explanations, he says:

Rashi⁸ says things I don't understand sometimes, Papa. I feel angry at Rashi sometimes. The teacher says Rashi is holy, but I feel angry at him. He puts things into the Torah which aren't there (Potok 1972:24).

Finding reading of the Torah imprecise, he searches for other sources to explain his doubts. He decides to get to know the Christian Bible and learn about *ideas and images in many of the subsequent passages which I could not grasp, but I understood more than I had come prepared thinking I would* (Potok 1972:38). All the time he spent reading and studying the New Testament, gives him the opportunity to see the Bible from different points. He sees the Bible not only from his own Jewish perspective, the perceptive of Rabbinic Judaism, which has its own special way of interpreting it, but David sees it through the perspective of the Western scholars. He reads books by Hertz and Hoffman, which shows him a new way of looking at the text. He begins to get a sense of what the words really meant in their original sense. David also sees the sophisticated artistry that went into the creation of the texts of the

⁸ *Rashi* (Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki) was the most famous and outstanding Biblical commentator of the Middle Ages.

Bible. His reading of such sources is not approved by his teachers and schoolmates as *they are anti-Semitic German goyim who tried to destroy the Bible* (Potok 1972:54). For a religious Jew, such a way of viewing the Bible is not acceptable but David Lurie is faced with an extraordinary dilemma when he suddenly realizes that imbedded inside the instrumentality are powerful truths:

It hurt that they thought me close to or already beyond the borderline of orthodoxy because I was reading scholarly books about the Bible. It hurt that no one understood I had entered a war zone, that the battlefield was the Torah, that the causalities were ideas, and that without the danger of serious exposure the field of combat could not be scouted, the nature of the enemy could not be learned, the weapons and strategy of counter attack could not be developed (Potok 1972:90).

As Gladson (1986:8) observes:

Scientific Bible Criticism is the most powerful instrumentality brought to bear upon that text. Biblical criticism opens up the layers of Biblical tradition. It reveals to us the contradiction inside the Biblical text. It shows us the extent to which the Bible is locked in a cultural context that is enormously broad in space and time.

David Lurie is aware of it. The text of the Bible fascinates him so much that he studies it, using the scientific method, in every bit of spare time he finds. Although his rabbinical teacher Rav Tuvia Sharfman despises this method, claiming that *it is a shallow work and a shallow mind is a sin against God*, he allows David to take his ordination exams, after which he proceeds to study the Bible at the university with secular professors.

David Lurie *In The Beginning* makes the intellectual decision to commit himself to this new instrumentality he comes across in his life. He knows fully well that no fundamentalist community can countenance at this point in time an alliance with Bible criticism, and so he leaves his world but not tradition. At the end of the book, while studying rare manuscripts in Frankfurt, he visits the concentration camp Bergen Belsen, where all his European family was slaughtered. He recites the Mourner's Kaddish and hears the words of his late uncle *never forget the past as you nourish the present* (Potok 1972:38). With such words he comes to terms with his 'new life' and the tradition of Judaism. As further explained by Walden (2013:132), David Lurie's 'road' acts a symbol of the Genesis's *berashith*⁹ 'in the beginning':

From the home and the yeshiva to Poland and the camps and back, from the isolated Orthodox and Hasidic ghettos of Williamsburg and Crown Heights [...]

⁹ In Hebrew *berashith* translates as 'in the beginning' as described in *Legends of the Bible* by Louis Ginzberg (1992).

to David's remembered prophetic bar mitzvah reading from Amos, Potok's moves from despair to hope, to the restoration of the health of the people of Israel.

These three books by Chaim Potok show similarity in presenting a human being and his experience in finding a new way of Judaism. All the characters, starting with Danny Saunders, Reuven Malter, Gershon Loran and ending with David Lurie find a new map of the human experience. Although they experience a tension and confrontation of ideas within their culture, they are still obedient to their Judaic culture as Judaism wants Jewish people to map the world with certain kinds of information that our protagonists possess. And that information consists of the value system, the tensions, the success and the failures, the dreams, and the terrors of the Jewish past. Moreover, as observed by Chametzky (2001:987): *In Potok's novels, the Jewish American experience inevitably evolves the practicing of religious ritual; it is not a quest to escape, redefine, or supplant religious belief.* These novels demonstrate how to negotiate protagonists' religious identity within a secular society.

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HISTORY AND FICTION: NGŪĠ WA THIONG'O'S VISION

Abstract: Since postcolonial writing has always been rooted in the historical process of colonization, the narratives, especially in the early stages of postcolonial literature, bore an imprint of the historical development in the colonies. With local writers often addressing the pressing historical and political issues of that time and authors being seen as “beacons, soothsayers, and seers of political movements” (Boehmer), literature became implicated in the turmoil of public happenings. The paper seeks to examine the relation between history and fiction as presented in Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o’s early novel *A Grain of Wheat*. Thiong’o, who is known for his zealous political activism, sees literature not only as a medium which reflects social reality but rather as a creative process that is conditioned by historical social forces and pressures. The paper challenges the concept of fiction as representation of history but also ruminates upon the role of Thiong’o’s writing within the context of Kenyan historiography.

Key words: postcolonial literature, history, politics, community, individualism

History is very important in any people. How we look at our past is very important in determining how we look at and how we evaluate the present.

(Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o, 1978)

The rootedness of postcolonial writing in the historical process of colonialism and the subsequent post-independence period, often referred to as the period of neo-colonial rule, has shaped the character of postcolonial literary production to a large extent. In fact, the very term *postcolonial* defines the inevitable affiliation of this type of literature to the historical condition of colonialism and thus delineates its thematic scope as well. History, its critical reading and interpretation, as well as its implications for the present of postcolonial communities, became part and parcel of postcolonial agenda. Especially in the period preceding the liberation from colonial

rule and during the early stages of post-independence development, postcolonial writers addressed the pressing historical and political issues of their time, thus contributing to the revival of cultural nationalism. In an attempt to challenge and counter the colonial discourse and to reconstitute the sense of communal identity, shattered and repressed by colonialism, the writers recognized the power of the written word and frequently utilized the novel form for pragmatic purposes.

In this respect, literature played a crucial role in the recovery of national consciousness in the early stages of anti-imperialist struggle. It was within the realm of fictional stories that the notions of national identity, history and culture, shaped and influenced by the colonialist discourse, were challenged, tampered with and contested. According to Eleke Boehmer, this early moment of anti-imperialist resistance, manifested by vehement literary activism, *laid the ideological and strategic bedrock of later developments* (2005:96). The focus on the reinterpretation and revision of history was accompanied by a revival of national myths which contributed to the rising nationalist mobilization. There was a significant shift in literary rhetoric, a *moving away from colonial definitions, transgressing the boundaries of colonialist discourse*” to *“borrowing, taking over, or appropriating the ideological, linguistic, and textual forms of the colonial power* (ibid.:101). The postcolonial writer thus became an advocate of revision, recovery and mobilization.

Interestingly, in the context of African literature, from the 1930s onwards writers’ commitment to social and political issues was regarded by many intellectuals as a moral duty. In words of Chinua Achebe, *[...] an African creative writer who tries to avoid the big social and political issues of contemporary Africa will end up being completely irrelevant—like that absurd man in the proverb who leaves his burning house to pursue a rat fleeing from the flames* (Achebe 1968). The pre-independence period in particular called for activism and involvement and many African writers were using literature as *a weapon of political liberation*, enlisting their work in the anti-colonialist cause (Boehmer 2005:175). There was an agreement that literature should be representative of the *moving spirit in the nationalist struggle* (ibid.) and that it should facilitate the much needed social transformation. Nadine Gordimer’s statement that politics occurs in African literature not as a vulgar interruption of the more exalted pursuits of life, but as fate (1973:33) embodies the accepted notion of the political character of African writing.

In that sense, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong’o’s understanding of the social commitment and responsibilities of a writer fully correspond with the abovementioned line of thought. Thiong’o, whose fiction and critical essays are characterized by his socialist visions, promotes active participation of writers in the process of social reconstruction and rejuvenation. *I think that any writer who is dealing with serious problems that confront an individual must write about the whole social and political society* (Thiong’o quoted in Sander, R. and B. Lindfors 2006:23). In his view, literature is seen not only as a mere tool of entertainment but rather as a

medium of social change; the real job of the writer is then to “raise consciousness of the people” (ibid.:37). Such an understanding of the purpose and function of literary production acknowledges the power and the potentialities of the written word within a larger socio-political context. The novel is then moulded in such a way so that it effectively mirrors and examines the outward reality and provides hints at possible improvements or the inevitable impetus to change.

Clearly, Thiong’o does not doubt the transformative power of literature. In fact, he strongly emphasizes the responsibility of the writer to react to historical, political or economic reality that s/he is a part of. In his book of essays *Writers in Politics*, he comments on this issue as follows: *A writer’s subject matter is history: i.e. the process of man acting on nature and changing it and in so doing acting on and changing himself. The entire changing relations of production and hence the changing power relations consequent on mutable modes of production is a whole territory of a writer’s literary concern* (Thiong’o 1981:72). Literature is then regarded not only as a medium which reflects social reality but rather as a vehicle for a creative transformation that is conditioned by historical social forces and pressures. *[I]t cannot elect to stand above or transcend economics, politics, class, race or what Achebe calls ‘the burning issue of the day’ because those very burning issues with which it deals take place within an economic, political, class and race context* (ibid.:6).

According to Thiong’o, however, the writer’s immersion in a particular socio-political situation compromises his neutrality. An impartial rendering of the outer reality is, in fact, seen as undesirable. Instead, the social responsibilities with which the writer is endowed require a clear delineation of his vision. As a spokesperson of a certain class position, he has to *articulate [his] world outlook which is in harmony with this or that class* (Thiong’o quoted in Sander, R. and B. Lindfors 2006:130). The same holds true for the writer’s stance towards the depiction of historical events. The need to counter the distorted views of the colonized countries and their history, as manifested by the imperialist discourse of European superpowers, drives his understanding of the writer’s commitment. In numerous interviews, Thiong’o repeatedly emphasizes the need to address and portray history *correctly*.¹ Such a position inevitably suggests a rather limited understanding of history and presupposes an ideological reading of

¹ E.g., in 1975, Thiong’o suggested in an interview that [...] *literature must be able to freely and correctly mirror our society in all its strength and weaknesses* (Thiong’o quoted in Sander, R. and B. Lindfors 2006:95) Moreover, *[t]here is no writer who is apolitical. The point is: Whose politics is a writer espousing in his works?* Though the statements do not necessarily rule out a pluralist interpretation of historical and social events, they clearly point at an ideologically motivated understanding of reality which finds its reflection in the writer’s work. While Thiong’o does not explain his exact understanding of a *correct* reflection, his numerous statements regarding the purpose of art and literature suggest that the word might be tied to one’s political and social views. In Thiong’o’s case, his interviews as well as his extensive work, both fiction and non-fiction, point at his unwavering belief in the socialist vision which inevitably finds its reflection in his work (as this paper demonstrates).

the past and its appropriate literary representation. Thiong'o's strong affinity for socialist ideas thus posits him on the side of the peasantry, struggling against the imperial and, later, neo-colonial oppression.

I believe that we in Africa or anywhere else for that matter have to use literature deliberately and consciously as a weapon of struggle in two ways: a) first, by trying as much as possible to correctly reflect the world of struggle in its stark reality, and b) secondly, by weighting our sympathies on the side of those forces struggling against national and class oppression and exploitation, say, against the entire system of imperialism in the world today (Thiong'o quoted in Sander, R. and B. Lindfors 2006:246).

Thiong'o's fiction does not aim to be historically mimetic. Instead, history is seen as a terrain that is open to reinterpretation and revision². Therefore, the author problematizes the concept of historical meaning "by blurring boundaries between national and individual events, between factual history and fiction, thus throwing into question the process by which subjects position themselves in history and the ways they might conceive and tell the story" (Kessler 1994:76). The novels not only document the history of the country, they also provide the author with the space to rewrite the history from the perspective of the formerly silent colonized subject who was believed to be deprived of his or her voice. *Ngugi posits narrative here as an agent of history because it provides the space for challenging our notions of national identities, uses of history, and ways in which they are deployed in power contestation in modern Kenya and Africa in general* (Ogude 1999:2). His novels thus not only reconstruct the history of the country but also take the liberty to modify and mould the historical narrative in such a way that suits his artistic and political purposes.

Thiong'o's early fiction, ranging from his debut novel *Weep not, Child* (1964) to *The River Between* (1965) and *A Grain of Wheat* (1967), verbalizes Kenyan historical experience with European colonialism. Patrick Williams suggests that it is possible to *read Ngugi's fictional output as an increasingly politically committed anatomizing of the troubled development of twentieth-century Kenya as a nation, or at least as a nation-state* (1999:17). Historical events, embedded in local and national politics, stand at the core of Thiong'o's narratives and emerge as a recurrent theme in his works, especially in *Weep not, Child* and *A Grain of Wheat* which derive their plot from events connected with the Mau Mau uprising, a turbulent period preceding the declaration of Kenyan independence in 1963. By returning to crucial historical moments and rewriting them from his perspective, Thiong'o counters the *simplistic European response to the African experience* (Thiong'o quoted in Sander, R. and B. Lindfors 2006:39) which often labelled the colonized culture as ahistorical.

² While Thiong'o advocates a revision of the past, his interpretation is strongly influenced by his ideological background (See footnote 1) and is thus rather unilateral.

For this reason, the novels, especially the explicitly political *A Grain of Wheat*, resort to quoting significant historical personae, such as *Waiyaki Wa Hinga*, Jomo Kenyatta or Harry Thuku (founder of the Young Kikuyu Association), who become essential parts of the fictional accounts of Kenyan history. The second chapter of the novel provides a fairly detailed account of Kenyan resistance movement, recounting the struggles of the abovementioned leaders and thus accentuating the moment of resistance in African history. Waiyaki's death, as the narrator informs us, planted the seed of the latter Mau Mau movement, around which the novel revolves. *Waiyaki's blood contained within it a seed, a grain, which gave birth to a movement whose main strength thereafter sprang from a bond with the soil* (Thiong'o 1986:12). As the depiction of the history of the resistance movement progresses, the roles attributed to historical Kenyan leaders are gradually handed over to fictional characters, such as Kihika, who will carry the struggle for independence in the fictional realm of the novel.

While the grandnarrative of Kenyan history is often broken into a kaleidoscopic mosaic of personal, individualized mininarratives of Thiong'o's protagonists, historical facts and crucial events of historical significance are part and parcel of his narratives as they are great reminders of communal achievements. Hence, the communal (national) sense of identity is derived from a shared historical experience and that is why the invocation of the past, especially of the glorious moments of exceptional heroism and bravery, plays a crucial role in reconstituting national identity. Thiong'o's novels can be therefore seen as tapestries of local narratives which are relevant to history of a much larger scope. In words of Patrick Williams, his books offer a look at *history from below* (1999:59) but at the same time, there is an inevitable intersection between the individual histories of his characters and the communal, national history.

In *A Grain of Wheat*, these two narrative threads are inextricably interwoven. Set in a fictional village of Thabai, the novel recounts the happenings preceding the declaration of Kenyan independence in 1963 by focusing on individual stories of selected villagers. Mugo, a survivor of a British detention camp, returns home celebrated as a hero since no one knows about his betrayal of Kihika, the legendary resistance fighter. Kihika's sister Mumbi struggles with her malfunctioning marriage to Gikonyo, another survivor of a British detention camp, while their relationship is threatened by Karanja, a collaborator with British administration. Thiong'o's approach to the pre-independence period is indeed directed from below; by *privileging the voice of the peasants, often deleted in grand nationalist narratives in favour of the 'elite'* (Ogude 1999:25), the novel focuses on the struggles and sacrifices of individuals.

A Grain of Wheat recounts the stories of the peasants, which are frequently mediated through flashbacks and memories, and problematizes the meaning of local events within a larger socio-historical context. Though the Mau Mau movement seems to be celebrated for its achievements in the fight for independence, Thiong'o casts a

critical look at its inner mechanism as well. By revealing the failures and incessant betrayals of ordinary people who were an integral part of the movement, he breaks away from the tendency to romanticize the fortitude of everyone involved. In that sense, *it is difficult to separate the heroes from the villains as virtually every character could be accused of committing a potentially shameful act during the colonial period* (McLeod 2000:97). Thiong'o's approach to Uhuru thus subverts the *triumphalist version of independence from the point of the national leadership* (Williams 1999:59) and supplants it with a more realistic narrative, one that casts a dark shadow over the euphoria and anticipation accompanying the Uhuru celebrations.

The question of individual participation in the scheme of greater historical significance, which occupied a central position in his previous novels, is examined here as well. Mugo's reluctance to participate in the movement and contribute to social changes is manifested by his ignorance of external events and his preference of seclusion. He would much rather be in the role of a passive observer and avoid communal demands altogether, as the following quotation exemplifies:

Had he not already escaped, unscathed, the early operations of the Emergency? Kenya had been in a state of Emergency since 1952. Some people had been taken to detention camps; others had run away to the forest: but this was a drama in a world not his own. He kept alone, feeling a day would come when horns, drums and trumpets would beat together to announce his entrance into the other world. (Thiong'o 1986:187)

Clearly, Mugo does not see himself as an active agent of the historical process of liberation. By detaching himself from the communal attempts at transformation, he relies on others to bring about the desired change. Interestingly, Mugo associates the transition to independence with some kind of a messianic figure, an external force announced by *horns, drums and trumpets* (ibid.). Of course, the irony of the passage is not lost on the reader. It is Mugo who is involuntarily associated with the role of the Messiah later on in the novel and it is the responsibility which comes with that role that eventually forces him to confess his sin. Although upon his return to Thabai Mugo becomes excited by the prospect of being the only son *who was born to save* (Thiong'o 1986: 134), it is clear that such a belief is unjustified and mistaken. The messianic aspect of the struggle for independence is emphasized by Kihika too; he, however, transfers this vocation to the whole community.

In Kenya we want deaths which will change things, that is to say, we want true sacrifice. But first we have to be ready to carry the cross. I die for you, you die for me, we become a sacrifice for one another [...] Everybody who takes the Oath of Unity to change things in Kenya is a Christ. Christ then is not one person. All those who take up the cross of liberating Kenya are the true Christs for us Kenyan people (Thiong'o 1986:95).

Hence, Thiong'o's vision of the individual role within the historical narrative is unequivocal. *I don't think individuals as such are saviors as such. They are more symbols of certain social forces which are started, and the individuals are mere agents of those forces which are already in society* (Thiong'o quoted in Sander, R. and B. Lindfors 2006:49). Mugo's cowardice and subsequent treachery thus demonstrate his *scepticism and cynicism towards heroism and hero worship*" (Ogude 1999:25-26) and point to the problematic creation of idols. Therefore, while the *Mau Mau war, the anticolonial struggle, provides Ngugi with the space to imagine the birth of a new Kenya* (Ogude 1999:23), he makes it quite clear that the potential for future rejuvenation lies with the community as a collective, united entity and not in dubious heroism of individuals like Mugo or even Kihika. The scepticism of *Weep not, Child* and *The River Between*, which both portrayed the communal disintegration and lack of concord and collective cooperation, is supplanted by a more hopeful vision. Here, the uniting element resides in the Mau Mau movement itself. Although the crowd tends to pinpoint and idealize the role of selected individuals in the fight for independence, the narrative is steered in the direction of communal achievements. Thiong'o's scepticism towards the exaltation of individuals is also manifested in the collective narrative voice since the inclusive narratorial *we* adopts a speaking position from within the community and stresses the importance of unity and solidarity.

In conclusion, Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o's belief that historical records are open to examination and reinterpretation leads him to an active scrutiny and remodelling of Kenyan historiography. His writing is implicated in the complex exploration of historical consciousness and challenges its representation in public discourse. In other words, by examining Kenyan history from his own perspective, the writer resists *the historical 'fiction' constructed by the colonial masters and tries to subvert the norms instituted by colonial historiography* (Sivan 2014). As the analysis of his third novel, *A Grain of Wheat*, demonstrates, Thiong'o is particularly interested in investigating history from below. His novel gives voice to peasants and thus validates their role in the history-making processes. While there is no denying that his stance is shaped by a specific ideological platform, Thiong'o's fictional account of the historical moment of independence, both on the personal and communal level, is nevertheless worth looking into. It encompasses his understanding of the role of the working class in the shaping of modern Kenyan history and its active contribution to the formation of a new nation.

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**TAMING OF THE RAKE: FROM A MAN ABOUT TOWN
TO A MAN AT HOME IN *THE TENANT OF WILDFELL
HALL* BY ANNE BRONTË**

Abstract: In *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* Anne Brontë considers one of the most burning questions of the Victorian period, i.e. the problem of male domestic violence. The novel contributed to the public debate on the defects of the legal system which discriminated against women and made them totally dependent on their fathers and husbands. However, the writer's diagnosis of the social issue does not focus on the formal aspects only, as she believed that political action should be accompanied by a far-reaching reconceptualisation of nineteenth-century models of femininity and masculinity. Brontë suggests that legal reform is not enough to eliminate such pathologies as marital abuse. She tries to dismantle stereotypes not only about female weakness and submissiveness, but also about male dominance and authority to demonstrate that men should be sentient and responsible participants in home life. The successful spiritual metamorphosis of four male characters: Lord Lowborough, Ralph Hattersley, young Arthur Huntingdon and Gilbert Markham is subject to scrutiny in the present paper in order to evidence that moral training embracing domestication of men was one of the keys to family bliss.

Key words: masculinity, home violence, Victorian, novel, reform

In *Character*, one of his most influential books, Samuel Smiles (1889:44) aptly encapsulates the essence of Victorian ideals of masculinity by stating that *[h]ome makes the man*. Anne Brontë seems to advocate a similar idea of domestic-oriented masculinity in her novel *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (1848), which depicts the process of moral redemption of four male characters: Lord Lowborough, Ralph Hattersley, young Arthur Huntingdon and Gilbert Markham. Thus the motif of internal metamorphosis of men who learn to respect female guidance, appreciate family bliss and adhere to the gentlemanly code of conduct becomes one of the

dominant themes of the text. As indicated by Lisa Surridge (2005:73), the novel constitutes an illustrative example of the shift from the image of a dissolute, self-indulgent man, disseminated among aristocracy under Regency and George IV, to the picture of a self-disciplined, prudent Victorian middle-class man. *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*, heralded by Elizabeth Leaver (2007:227) as *the most controversial and provocative of the seven Brontë novels*, demonstrates that the fight against home violence and spousal maltreatment, commenced in the Victorian period, should begin with reorientation of thinking about manliness and gender relations, as human mentality tends to be more resistant to changes than the judicial system.

Anne Brontë's postulate that it is possible to alter defective constructions of masculinity concurs with modern gender theories. In her groundbreaking work, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990) Judith Butler (1990:33) declares that gender is *a term in process, a becoming, a constructing that cannot rightfully be said to originate or to end*, acknowledging the fluent, transient nature of the category. One of the major channels through which deconstruction of given gender models becomes feasible is discourse. According to Michael Foucault (1976:100-101), *it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together [...] Discourse transmits and produces power: it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it*. Discourses circulating in society may exert a disciplining and prescriptive impact, therefore the literary, social, religious, legal, etc. discourses operating in the public space are capable of inculcating the recipients with new standards of conduct and give an incentive to internal transformation. The Victorian novel was deeply involved in negotiating the meaning of various social and moral issues, including the notion of masculinity, and actively responded to, or stimulated other discourses, paving the way for successful changes. The book scrutinised in the present paper is a good example of such a text, which entered into a polemic on the pitfalls of the Victorian system of separate spheres, double moral standard and legal biases.

Transformation of the law heading towards egalitarian society began in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. A number of consecutive parliamentary acts improved the legal position, or rather legal nonexistence, of Victorian women previously determined by the common-law rule of coverture, according to which, married women (called *femmes covert*, i.e. "covered women") had no individual political representation, and were obliged to abide by their husbands' decisions (Phegley 2012:17). In light of the doctrine, wives were deprived of legal identity, which rendered them invisible in the public sphere. Actually, women were little more than private properties of their husbands, whose will could be imposed on their spouses by legal means. One of the first bills that undermined the privileged status of men was the 1839 Custody of Infants Act, which granted women the right to claim custody of children under the age of seven, provided they were not found guilty of adultery (Phegley 2012:19). The next pioneering piece of legislation was the Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Act passed in 1857, enabling women to apply for separation or divorce in a

civil divorce court. The opening of the London Divorce Court in 1858 publicised the range and scale of family tragedies that had been taking place in the seclusion of domestic environment. Although the act provided women with legal instruments to obtain liberation from spousal oppression and raised public awareness of marital pathologies, it was still disadvantageous for wives, who were obliged to evidence not only their spouses' adultery (as men were required), but also either brutality, incest, bigamy or desertion (Phegley 2012:20). The problem of women's financial independence was finally solved in 1882, when the Married Women's Property Act secured their exclusive ownership of the money and possessions they acquired before and during marriage (Phegley 2012:26). When Anne Brontë was writing her novel most of the aforementioned acts were not introduced yet, that is why she tried to shed some light on the personal and political ramifications of female disenfranchisement. However, like many other writers, thinkers and moralists of the day she was convinced that legal transformation would be fruitless unless complemented with a substantial change of social attitudes to the traditional gender roles. *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* seems to reflect the novelist's idea that it was necessary for men to reform, particularly by incorporating feminine virtues (Joshi 2009:915).

The belief in the uplifting effect of men's domestication and the trust in female guidance may be noticed in a number of Victorian texts. Coventry Patmore, who coined the term "The Angel in the House" (1854), was one of the first to celebrate feminine purity. In his highly popular poems he advises men to undertake moral self-improvement in order to deserve their wives' devotion and affection (1905:38):

*On wings of love uplifted free,
And by her gentleness made great,
I'll teach how noble man should be
To match with such a lovely mate;*

Similarly, the prominent Victorian sage, John Ruskin, supported spiritual subjection of husbands to the ennobling, spiritual power of their wives. He seems to have promoted the chivalric code of conduct (1900:82) in which *the first and necessary impulse of every truly taught and knightly heart is this of blind service to its lady [...]*. Furthermore, he clearly emphasised the significance of men's involvement in domestic affairs (1900:98):

Generally we are under an impression that a man's duties are public, and a woman's private. But this is not altogether so. A man has a personal work or duty, relating to his own home, and a public work or duty, which is the expansion of the other, relating to the state.

John Stuart Mill (1870:175) was another influential man of letters who advocated equitable share of domestic commitments for both genders: *The association of men*

with women in daily life is much closer and more complete than it ever was before. Men's life is more domestic. The ardent feminist and social reformer regarded men's domestication as one of the means to combat family violence. Samuel Smiles (1889:325-326), likewise, tried to encourage contemporary men to develop feminine qualities and open their hearts to female influence:

And while woman is the natural cherisher of infancy, and the instructor of childhood, she is also the guide and counsellor of youth, and the confidant and companion of manhood [...] In short, the influence of woman more or less affects, for good or for evil, the entire destinies of man.

Anne Brontë also contributed to the debate on men's role in the domestic milieu, calling for reorientation of masculine ideals to facilitate women's emancipation and eradicate abusive behavioural patterns. Her didactic stance is presented in the preface to the second edition (2008:4), where she addresses both male and female readers: *I know that such characters do exist, and if I have warned one rash youth from following in their steps, or prevented one thoughtless girl from falling into the very natural error of my heroine, the book has not been written in vain.* By sketching the portraits of four reformed men who find personal fulfilment and gain respect after they abandon profligate, selfish, corruptive habits, and learn to appreciate feminine and gentlemanly virtues, Brontë evinces the potential success of a new, nonviolent, Christian model of manliness that was steadily gaining ground in the Victorian period.

The contemporary ideal of masculinity which incorporated those attributes best was that of gentlemanly masculinity. According to Philip Mason (1993:161), *[b]eing a gentleman had then, by the second half of the 19th century, become almost a religion.* The notion had a universal appeal, since it embraced virtues that the upper class respected and middle-class celebrated. The elitist quality of the term gentleman, granted exclusively to men of sterling character and impeccable manners, motivated men to construct their masculine identities in accordance with a proper ethical code, which upgraded modesty, benevolence and self-control in masculine demeanour. The seminal definition of the notion formulated by Cardinal Newman in 1852 in *The Idea of a University* (1999:189-190) aptly illustrates the main premises of the ideal:

It is almost a definition of a gentleman to say he is one who never inflicts pain [...] The true gentleman in like manner carefully avoids whatever may cause a jar or a jolt in the minds of those with whom he is cast [...] his great concern being to make every one at their ease and at home. He has his eyes on all his company; he is tender towards the bashful, gentle towards the distant, and merciful towards the absurd [...] He has too much good sense to be affronted at insults, he is too well employed to remember injuries, and too indolent to bear malice. He is patient,

forbearing, and resigned, on philosophical principles; he submits to pain, because it is inevitable, to bereavement, because it is irreparable, and to death, because it is his destiny [...]

The omnipresent focus on Christian values, which stigmatise violence, egoism and recklessness, made this model fit for both public and private use. A man capable of internalising such features was most likely to be an understanding, empathic and respectful husband, who would appreciate marital bliss and never think of resorting to harmful, offensive practices. Many Victorian sages, social activists and novelists engaged in the campaign of discrediting the Georgian model of extravagant, authoritative masculinity and promoting the gentlemanly, domesticated manhood to reinforce the effects of changes in matrimonial law.

Lisa Surridge (2005:9) notes that *Victorian novels [...]* take as a central theme the disciplining of spousal violence, both contemplating the public, legal means and creating one of the primary private means by which this was to occur. Apart from highlighting the need for political steps, Anne Brontë also takes into consideration the personal facets. She aptly highlights the benefits that not only Victorian wives, but also whole society could derive from the moral training of breadwinners. One of the numerous examples of male redemption in the novel is Lord Lowborough. Initially, he is a member of a gentlemen's club in London, a popular form of homosocial entertainment during the Georgian era. The club gained notoriety due to the wild *orgies* (Brontë 2008:163) that its members repeatedly organised. At first glance, Lowborough is the embodiment of a vain, debauched, wanton aristocrat, wasting money and time on gambling, alcohol and drugs. Together with his friends, Huntingdon, Grimsby, Hattersley and Hargrave, he leads an idle, unrestrained life, paying no regard to moral, religious and social principles. He quickly loses his fortune, ruins his reputation and jeopardises his health. However, when he hits rock bottom, he unexpectedly experiences a moment of self-reflection: *'It's only this, gentlemen, – that I think we'd better go no further. We'd better stop while we can.'* [...] *'And if you choose to visit the bottomless pit, I won't go with you – we must part company, for I swear I'll not move another step towards it!'* (Brontë 2008:161). Unfortunately, he is a man of weak will and soon gets tempted by his companions into reverting to his old, disastrous habits. The struggle with his demons lasts for a few more months, until he finds strong motivation to terminate his addictions for good: *'[...] But now I see what it is that keeps me back, and what's wanted to save me;'* [...] *'What is it, Lowborough?'* [...] *'A wife,' he answered;* (Brontë 2008:165). The *ruined and wretched* man (Brontë 2008:166), as he calls himself, hopes to find a guardian angel to help him amend his conduct and start a completely new chapter in life. The nobleman expresses a conviction that feminine tenderness, patience and benevolence will heal his wounds, elevate his soul and prove peaceful, domestic felicity superior to bodily pleasures. Yet Lord Lowborough's path to respectability and moral regeneration turns out to be even bumpier than he expected, because

his first wife, Annabella Wilmot, is a sweet and charming creature, but only on the surface. To his great dismay, the object of his admiration does not deserve the affection, being a materialistic and deceitful woman, who does not hesitate to develop a romantic relationship with one of her husband's married friends, Arthur Huntingdon. Instead of supporting her spouse in the pursuit of self-improvement, she puts a strain on his newly gained composure with her impertinent language and disrespectful attitude. However, the character does not disgrace himself again and holds to his resolution. The writer rewards his perseverance with a second, happier and more harmonious marriage, to a woman endowed with *genuine good sense, unswerving integrity, active piety, warmhearted benevolence*, whom he views as *a world too good for him* (Brontë 2008:389), and makes *one of the happiest and fondest wives in England* in return for her goodness (Brontë 2008:390). It is highly probable that Lord Lowborough would never succeed in refining his comportment but for his own determination, and yet the quest for a protective wife seems to be the main engine of his moral conversion.

Another member of the infamous club, Ralph Hattersley, likewise undergoes a moment of illumination as for the dangerous repercussions of his dissipated lifestyle and self-centred deportment. Nonetheless, in contrast to Lord Lowborough's desire for feminine counsel, Hattersley wishes to marry a submissive, meek and unprotesting woman, who would never attempt to change his way of life. Milicent Hargrave, his friend's sister, seems to be a perfect match. She humbly bears his insults, never complains about his vulgar behaviour, accepts his savage pastimes and refrains from revealing how miserable and depressed her husband's abuse and neglect make her. On the example of their relationship, Anne Brontë demonstrates that women's passivity actually may implicitly contribute to men's degeneration. Since Milicent does not externalise her real state of mind, her spouse falsely supposes that she is indifferent to his extravagancies. Only after another person, Helen Huntingdon, opens his eyes to the truth, can he comprehend the absurdity of this assumption. He discovers that it is convenient not to notice his spouse's suffering, as otherwise he would be forced to face the heinousness of his deeds. Helen decides to interfere into their relations, as she believes in Ralph's reparation and intends to rescue their marriage (Brontë 2008:245):

'[...] And I can tell you, Mr. Hattersley, that Milicent loves you more than you deserve, and that you have it in your power to make her very happy, instead of which you are her evil genius, and, I will venture to say, there is not a single day passes in which you do not inflict upon her some pang that you might spare her if you would'

The heroine argues that it is the husband that holds the key to their happiness. His wife is as amiable, generous and understanding as he has always wanted her to be; now it is his turn to become a suitable partner for such a woman. Mrs.

Huntingdon's intervention is not in vain, as Ralph reforms his demeanour and comes to perform his role of paterfamilias in a responsible and appreciative way. Josephine McDonagh (2008:xxviii) goes so far as to say that he turns into *the most loving, devoted, and respectable of husbands*. Furthermore, once he lets himself taste the serene atmosphere of the domestic temple, he understands what a blessing happy family is in a man's life (Brontë 2008:390):

Avoiding the temptations of the town, he continued to pass his life in the country immersed in the usual pursuits of a hearty, active country gentleman; his occupations being those of farming, and breeding horses and cattle, diversified with a little hunting and shooting, and enlivened by the occasional companionship of his friends (better friends than those of his youth), and the society of his happy little wife (now cheerful and confiding as heart could wish) and his fine family of stalwart sons and blooming daughters.

The Hattersleys subplot demonstrates the author's faith in men's self-development. No matter how vile a man's actions are, how reckless his habits, there is always a chance for atonement and spiritual rebirth. In addition, she pays attention to the common good that male redemption can foster. A morally reformed man does not only save his soul, but also strengthens his wife's purity and beneficence, as well as produces another generation of thoughtful, honest and upright citizens.

Deep concerns about her child's future welfare motivate Helen Huntingdon to introduce reformatory measures into her own son's upbringing. Young Arthur becomes rude and insubordinate under his father's corrupting influence. Mr. Huntingdon tries to mould his son's character according to his own principles of pleasure seeking, self-indulgence and dissipation, finding absolute delight in spoiling his wife's efforts to raise the boy in a responsible and virtuous way. Helen bitterly notes in her diary that her husband (Brontë 2008:277): *[does] his utmost to subvert [her] labours and transform [her] innocent, affectionate, tractable darling into a selfish, disobedient, and mischievous boy; thereby preparing the soil for those vices he has so successfully cultivated in his own perverted nature.* The mother's heart bleeds when she sees how easily the child picks up bad habits and crude language in male homosocial company (Brontë 2008:296): *So the little fellow came down every evening, in spite of his cross mamma, and learnt to tipple wine like papa, to swear like Mr. Hattersley, and to have his own way like a man, and sent mamma to the devil when she tried to prevent him.* Helen realises that her husband is resistant to positive guidance and impervious to reason, but she cannot give up on her beloved child. As an affectionate and solicitous mother she considers it crucial to prevent the boy from contaminating his soul by reckless and licentious acts. The heroine plays the role of guardian angel to her son, securing not only his health, reputation and manly honour but also his salvation. She is ready to sacrifice

her life for little Arthur's physical and spiritual wellbeing. In her opinion, the only way to protect her son from moral downfall is to separate him from the source of evil, i.e. his father. Fortunately, the child's wickedness turns out to be a temporary effect of Huntingdon's vile teachings, and he soon opens his heart to the mother's gentle care and ennobling instruction. Her patience, benevolence and wisdom soon bear fruit and soften the son's coarse deportment. *His apprehensions are more quick, his heart more overflowing with affection than ever his father's could have been; and it is no hopeless task to bend him to obedience and win him to love and know his own true friend, as long as there is no one to counteract my efforts* (Brontë 2008:313). The maternal supervision and guidance that Arthur receives help him to construct his manliness around feminine virtues, which ultimately consolidates his gentlemanly demeanour. Young Huntingdon never develops his father's weaknesses and becomes a respectable man and affectionate husband (Brontë 2008:414): *That pretty child is now a fine young man: he has realized his mother's brightest expectations, and is at present residing in Grassdale Manor with his young wife, the merry little Helen Hattersley, of yore*. The process of his maturation and successful internal metamorphosis provide evidence for feminine influence in a man's life. Moreover, the novelist indicates that male conduct is shaped in childhood. A child's innate goodness and innocence may be either spoiled by careless and irresponsible parenting or enhanced by proper moral education and sensible support. In addition, Brontë demonstrates that no punitive measures or legal actions will be needed to discipline men if they learn generosity, courtesy and self-control by having a paternal role model to follow and affectionate mother to nurture the emotional side of their nature.

Helen's second husband, Gilbert Markham, turns out to be a more attentive, reliable partner and sentient parent, however only after he manages to restrain his fiery temper and acquires a well-balanced demeanour. Gilbert differs from the three aforementioned characters, because he neither indulges in outrageous amusements, nor tarnishes his honour by ignoble actions. Nevertheless, he still lacks patience, moderation and self-discipline indispensable in the mid-nineteenth-century gentlemanly code of conduct. He is a hot-blooded youth who tends to jump to conclusions and mistreat people urged by his rash judgements. When he sees Helen, whom he secretly loves, embracing their mutual friend, Mr. Lawrence, he instantly suspects them of having a love affair. Wounded pride and jealousy drive him mad and next day he whips the supposed rival and throws him off his horse causing severe head injury; on top of that, he abandons the bleeding and dizzy victim like a ruthless rascal. Lisa Surridge (2005:82) suggests that Gilbert's assault on Frederick Lawrence is the most violent scene in the novel; it reveals Gilbert's capacity for horrifying cruelty, horrifying because committed without the dehumanising impact of alcohol. However, such passionate, pathological reactions are not his only sin. Markham's initial conduct in inter-gender relations is also rather questionable. He frivolously treats his advances to Eliza Millward, as he first

singles her out from local girls and then after meeting Helen, shuns her company abruptly, paying no regard to her feelings. The manner in which he tries to court Helen is also anything but gentlemanly. He burdens her with frequent visits to her lodgings, spies on her and demands recognition of his desire despite her reticence and insistence on loneliness. Only after reading Mrs. Huntingdon's diary, depicting the details of her disastrous marriage and subsequent escape, does he discover his mistakes and learn his lesson. The hero has to undergo internal metamorphosis in order to purge his character of dangerous impulses and selfish inclinations. He apologises to Mr. Lawrence and promises to withdraw from Helen's life (Brontë 2008:348): *'Yes, yes I remember it all: nobody can blame me more than I blame myself in my own heart – at any rate, nobody can regret more sincerely than I do the result of my brutality as you rightly term it'*. The ability to manifest repentance and self-reproach give hope for his future self-improvement. Nonetheless, before he gets worthy of marrying Mrs. Huntingdon, Markham has to suffer the loss of his beloved, who returns to her terminally ill husband to nurse him on his deathbed. The suspense, insecurity and waiting for another chance to meet her are a painful ordeal for the man. He describes the period of apprehension in the following words (Brontë 2008:388): *[...] my chagrin, my expectations and disappointments, my fluctuations of dull despondence and flickering hope, my varying resolutions, now to drop it, and now to persevere – now to make a bold push, and now to let things pass and patiently abide my time [...]*. His hesitations and dilemmas signal the internal conflict between the old self and the new self that he must handle. The process of self-training is wearing and arduous, but Markham benefits from the decision to restrain his violent temperament and soon transforms into a mature, principled and forbearing gentleman. When their paths cross again, *we see a man entirely without arrogance, entirely supplicant*, as Elizabeth Langland (1989:136) observes; even Helen's demanding and fastidious aunt recognises his merits and blesses her niece's second marriage in good conscience (Brontë 2008:416): *'[...] if she must marry again, I know of no one, now living and of a suitable age, to whom I would more willingly resign her than yourself, or who would be more likely to appreciate her worth and make her truly happy, as far as I can tell.'* Such a recommendation serves as the best certificate of Gilbert's improved manners, reformed character and undeniable moral credibility. He becomes an adherent of Victorian virtues and embodiment of the mid-nineteenth-century ideal of domesticated gentlemanly manliness.

To conclude, Anne Brontë's *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* addresses a few burning questions of the mid-Victorian period: the shameful problem of marital maltreatment, the need for legal reforms in family law and the danger of maintaining stereotypical representations of gender roles. Marion Shaw (2013:332) argues that the novelist expresses feminist views on inter-gender relations based on social and moral egalitarianism in terms of responsibilities and rights, underpinned by the Christian belief in the equality of souls before God. To dismantle the double moral standard

is to make an important step towards curing many social ills. Hence, the book traces the emergence of the domesticated model of masculinity based on feminine and gentlemanly principles, as one of the crucial factors in changing social attitude to domestic abuse. On the example of four male characters who score a triumph over their moral frailty and break themselves of deviant habits the writer proves the possibility of eroding the deep-rooted misconceptions about male prodigality and dominance and female docility. As Lisa Surridge (2005:74) suggests, *Brontë foregrounds the 'silent revolution' in masculine domestic behaviour*, a revolution that has been carried out by subsequent generations, and whose consequences still pervade the contemporary conceptualisations of heterosocial relations. John Tosh (1999:197) truly hits the nail on the head when he indicates the close link between the Victorian and current trends towards domesticating men: *The Victorians established the 'common sense' of the proposition that, to be fully human and fully masculine, men must be active and sentient participants in domestic life. One hundred years on, we still contend with the practical and emotional implications of that belief.*

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THE ROLE OF BUDDHIST PHILOSOPHY IN ALDOUS HUXLEY'S *ISLAND*

Abstract: Aldous Huxley's last novel, *Island*, presents the utopian, peaceful society of Pala, a secluded island in the Pacific Ocean. Selected principles of Mahayana Buddhism constitute the cornerstone of Pala's political, educational and agricultural systems and serve as the main source of moral values for its inhabitants. By introducing characters who represent both Palanese and Western mentality, the author presents the clash of Western and Eastern cultures and, as a result, unmasks the destructiveness of Western greed, materialism and militarism. Moreover, the novel constitutes a reflection upon the spiritual and intellectual benefits of Buddhism, as it presents the peaceful coexistence of the inhabitants of Pala and their pursuit of self-improvement, knowledge and spiritual enlightenment. The following paper aims to confront the views and attitudes of characters who represent the East and the West as well as to trace Buddhist motifs in Huxley's novel in order to examine their role both in all aspects of Pala's culture and in the philosophical message of *Island*.

Key words: Aldous Huxley, *Island*, Mahayana Buddhism, the East and the West, utopian novel

Introduction

In an interview for *The Paris Review* Aldous Huxley revealed his plans for writing a novel about *a society in which real efforts are made to realize human potentialities with an intention to show how humanity can make the best of both Eastern and Western worlds* (Fraser and Wickes 1960). He realised this plan in 1962 in his last novel, *Island*.

In the novel, features of both a utopian novel and a philosophical essay can be clearly distinguished, which together reflect Huxley's ideas regarding spirituality and the roles of science and religion in society, which he presented in his earlier non-fiction works (Woodcock 2007:223). In an essay, *Science, Liberty and Peace*,

Huxley reflects on the role of science in the moral and spiritual development of a society, as well as for achieving peace and developing personal liberty instead of supporting government interests and centralized power (Huxley 1950:53). In *Themes and Variations* he criticises hierarchical organisations, such as State and Church, for abusing power, and offers an alternative in the form of *the decentralization of wealth and power and the creation of a federated system of self-governing cooperatives* (Huxley 1964:170). His interest in Buddhism can be traced back to his earlier collections of essays, *Do what you Will* and *Ends and Means*, in which he examines the Buddhist point of view in comparison with Western philosophy. The teachings of the Buddha are also present in his extensive study of religion and mysticism, *The Perennial Philosophy*.

All of these ideas were put into practice in the society of Pala. Consequently, read as a philosophical treatise, the novel contains criticism of Western society as well as a proposition to save it from self-destruction by merging technology and science with Buddhist ethics.

The novel follows the journey of Will Farnaby, an Englishman, who is shipwrecked on the shore of Pala with a hidden mission to negotiate an oil deal for his employer, Joe Aldehyde. Initially, Will expects the Palanese to be a very primitive society, but during his thoroughgoing tour of the island he realizes that he has found a well-developed culture which, in many instances, is superior to the Western states. As Sion (2010:172) puts it, *cast upon an island, Farnaby finds a superior civilization of wise people. [...] The inhabitants of Pala have realized the perfection of their species by seeking only what is beneficial to human culture*. However, because of both internal and external political tensions, the utopian society faces destruction. Consequently, a few days after Will's arrival, Pala is invaded by military forces from a neighbouring country.

Huxley conveys the most crucial philosophical messages of the novel in three ways, the first of them being a book-within-a-book, *Notes on What's What, and What It Might be Reasonable to do about What's What* written by the Old Raja, a late ruler of the island, which provides philosophical commentary to the plot. Moreover, extensive explanations of every aspect of Palanese lifestyle, including its legends and beliefs, are included in Will's discussions with the inhabitants of the island who serve as his guides. These conversations inspire Will to compare what he sees in Pala with his native culture. As Will's trip progresses, he learns and reads more about the Palanese, which leads him to his own conclusions and observations that he shares with the Palanese as well as with the reader.

Philosophical basis of the Palanese Society

Palanese Buddhism is not an institutional religion but rather a set of beliefs of individuals based on Mahayana, one of the mainstream branches of Buddhism, combined with elements of Tantric Buddhism. Will learns about the history of

Buddhism in Pala from one of his guides, Ranga, who presents a short historical background of Palanese religion: *Buddhism came to Pala about twelve hundred years ago [...] from Bengal, and through Bengal, later on, from Tibet. Result: we're Mahayanists, and our Buddhism is shot through and through with Tantra* (Huxley 1973:77). Ranga also explains the importance of Tantric influences, which gave the Palanese a down-to-earth attitude to life and religion:

You don't renounce the world or deny its value; you don't try to escape into Nirvana apart from life [...], you accept the world, and you make use of it; you make use of everything you do, of everything that happens to you, of all the things you see and hear and taste and touch, as so many means to your liberation from the prison of yourself (Huxley 1973:77-78).

The Palanese lifestyle underwent thorough reform when a Scottish doctor, Andrew MacPhail, arrived on the island to perform surgery on the Old Raja. The modern Pala is a result of their friendship and the merging of their ideas, as they managed to combine Western science with Eastern philosophy, or *make the best of both worlds* (Huxley 1973:133), in order to create a society which would allow all individuals to peacefully coexist and develop both intellectually and spiritually. Dr Robert, Andrew's grandson, describes the founders of the modern Pala as *a pair [...] of complementary temperaments and talents, with complementary philosophies and complementary stocks of knowledge, each man supplying the other's deficiencies, each stimulating and fortifying the other's native capacities* (Huxley 1973:133). Dr Andrew managed to gain the respect of the Palanese, as he invented a way to relieve physical pain using hypnosis during operations and labour, which contributed to the demographic growth of the society. Moreover, his idea of ending physical suffering corresponded to one of the most crucial elements of the Buddha's teachings, called The Four Noble Truths, which acknowledge the existence and source of suffering as well as show the possibility of its cessation (Buswell 2004:51). As explained by Dr Robert: *'I show you sorrow,' the Buddha had said, 'and I show you the ending of sorrow.'* Well, here was Dr Andrew with a special kind of mental detachment which would put an end at least to one kind of sorrow, namely, physical pain (Huxley 1973:134). Having gained the trust of the Palanese, Dr Andrew and the Old Raja, moved on to more extensive reforms of the Palanese lifestyle, including the agriculture and language. Pala became a bilingual country with the introduction of English as a "stepmother tongue". The knowledge of English enabled the Palanese to educate themselves, as well as to read Buddhist scriptures in English translations from Sanskrit. Their final reform concerned the education system and was meant to raise future generations in the spirit of their combined thought. What resulted from this lifestyle revolution was a society which was technologically developed and capable of very advanced medical procedures, but at the same time spiritually advanced and persistent in their struggle towards enlightenment.

The Old Raja described in his book the philosophical core for a society based on two crucial virtues of Mahayana Buddhism, *karuna* (compassion) and *prajna* (wisdom). Compassion constitutes one of two universal virtues in most mainstream Buddhist schools and can be defined as *the wish that others be free of suffering* (Buswell 2004: 419). *Karuna* is also related to prohibitions against harming others and causing unnecessary suffering (Buswell 2004:420). The Palanese trained mynah birds to repeat *karuna, attention, here and now boys*, to remind the inhabitants of the island about compassion as well as about living in the present. Following their words constitutes one of the pieces of advice given to Will by Dr Robert, when he asks about the easiest way of self-actualization: *here and now, all you have to do is to follow the mynah bird's advice: Attention! Pay attention and you'll find yourselves, gradually or suddenly* (Huxley 1973:176). Moreover, the mynah birds cry for attention and the awareness of here and now, which may be identified with the notion of *sati*, mindfulness, that is attention to the present as well as to one's own body, feelings and state of mind (Buswell 2004:754). According to Bowering (2014:204), for the Palanese, attention is *a momentary escape from the memories and anticipations, from all the symptoms of the conscious 'I'*, and thus constitutes one of the central elements of what they call *the art of living*. They use the same technique in their *art of dying*. As explained by Susila, *being conscious of the universal and impersonal life that lives itself through each of us—that's the art of living, and that's what one can help the dying to go on practicing* (Huxley 1973:248).

Together, compassion and awareness are believed to lead to a better understanding of oneself, which in turn results in what the Old Raja presented in his book as *Good Being*:

Knowing who in fact we are results in Good Being, and Good Being results in the most appropriate kind of good doing. But good doing does not of itself result in Good Being. [...] There has never been a society in which most good doing was the product of Good Being and therefore constantly appropriate. This does not mean that there will never be such a society or that we in Pala are fools for trying to call it into existence (Huxley 1973:38-39).

Apart from certain rules of conduct and meditation, the Palanese use psychedelic mushrooms (called *moksha medicine*) as a short-cut to spiritual enlightenment, or an aid to achieving it. They believe the mushrooms to be a quick way of reaching self-actualisation, a source of self-knowledge and a liberating visionary experience, especially for those who cannot achieve similar states through meditation. Dr Robert describes the effects of *moksha medicine* as *liberation, the ending of sorrow, ceasing to be what you ignorantly think you are, and becoming what you are in fact* (Huxley 1973:171).

The second of the Buddhist values cultivated in Pala, *prajna*, can be defined as spiritual wisdom, or *the power of intuition [...] which is naturally much more than*

merely intellectual (Suzuki 1964:99). The Palanese understand wisdom not only as spiritual self-knowing, but also as a merging of it with elements of science, ecology and psychology. They call their attitude towards Western science *the new conscious wisdom* (Huxley 1973:201), as they believe that complementing it with compassion and spiritual insight brings it to the next level of advancement and applicability.

Analysis of the Characters

The characters of the novel can be divided into four groups, taking into account their attitudes and background, two of them being positive and two negative. The first of them includes characters of Palanese origin, for instance Dr Robert, his daughter-in-law Susila and other inhabitants of the island who serve as Will's guides. They represent a peaceful and sober attitude derived from the values of compassion and wisdom, combined with the respect for science that was typical of Pala. What is more, they are characterised by such features as striving for self-improvement and respect for nature and other people.

The second group, consisting of Will Farnaby and Dr Andrew, are outsiders who adapt to the Palanese lifestyle. Huxley presents a thorough study of Will's accommodation to the island's way of life. When he arrives on Pala, Will is bitter and disillusioned. Moreover, he is haunted by recurring memories of his dead wife and blames himself for her death. However, even though his life *has been a typical product of a materialistic, power-driven culture* (Sion 2010:171), he gradually acknowledges that the Palanese way of life offers a fresh insight into spirituality and antidotes for the Western vices. What changes Will are not only the revolutionary ideas he learns from the Palanese, but also a lesson in how to cope with his traumatizing childhood and feelings of guilt. In hypnotherapy sessions, Susila shows him how to concentrate on the present instead of regretting his past. As Sion (2010:171) puts it, *through his spiritual training, Farnaby learns not to dwell on the past or the future but to concentrate on enjoying the present*. Another event that changes Will is triggered by *moksha* medicine. Under the influence of this drug he experiences the loss of self and oneness with the universe, which consolidates his decision to adopt the Palanese lifestyle and abandon his work for Joe Aldehyde.

The third group includes the Rani and the Young Raja, the Palanese who aspire to the Western lifestyle. Together, they are the source of the main internal tensions leading to the fall of Pala. The Queen Mother, the Rani, despises the Palanese way of life and dreams of *the crusade of spirit*, by which she understands spreading her own ideology worldwide and becoming a famous spiritual leader. Her son, Murugan, the Young Raja, considers the Palanese way of life backward and primitive and craves the Western lifestyle, especially consumer goods. Inspired by the dictator of a nearby country, Colonel Dipa, he wishes to turn Pala into a

military state. Because of his attitude, he is not respected by the Palanese, who see him as interested in only *jazz records and sports cars and Hitlerian ideas about being a Great Leader and turning Pala into what he calls a Modern State* (Huxley 1973:77). Both Murugan and the Rani disdain the country which they rule and intend to change it by conspiring with Colonel Dipa. Their aspirations turn out to be destructive when the utopian state falls as it is overtaken by the military forces of Dipa, who, together with Joe Aldehyde, constitute the fourth group of characters, namely outside threats to the Palanese lifestyle. Both of them are powerful and wealthy, yet still seek more power and riches. Moreover, they show no consideration for people and nature, as they perceive Pala as merely a source of natural resources and its inhabitants as a cheap workforce.

The Differences between the Palanese and the Westerners

The combination of Western science and Eastern morality enabled the Palanese to establish political, agricultural and economic systems which also prevented the state from turning into a dictatorship. Huxley (1973:152) describes it as *a federation of self-governing units, geographical units, professional units, economic units*. Consequently, the citizens of Pala do not fear the rise of any financially and politically privileged caste: *there's plenty of scope for small-scale initiative and democratic leaders, but no place for any kind of dictator at the head of a centralized government* (Huxley 1973:152).

The Palanese, as a rice-growing nation, need cooperation between farmers in the processes of terracing and irrigation. Thus, agriculture is based on mutual cooperation agreements, or, as Dr Robert explains, *streamlined cooperative techniques for buying and selling and profit-sharing and financing* (Huxley 1973:150). The Palanese take pride in the fact that their society stands in clear opposition to Western capitalism and its fierce market competition. What surprises Will is also the fair, cooperative banking system. The Palanese produce their own money and mine gold, thus their gold-backed currency is very stable. Being self-sufficient when it comes to the production of food, Pala can afford modern farming and medical equipment which serve the good of all the citizens (Huxley 1973:151). In order for this model to work, Pala adapted ways to control its demographic growth, such as free and encouraged contraception. Another threat to this stable system, over-consumption, was solved by basing every aspect of life on Buddhist philosophy and the Four Noble Truths, which teach that desire for material things is one of the sources of suffering. Such an economic system also supports political stability, as it does not allow anybody to become significantly richer than others; as a result, nobody can gain influence or power due to their wealth. For Will, such a model opposes the Western world of economic disparity. Due to pacifism and a system which averts internal conflicts, Pala has no military forces or hierarchy and

does not engage in any wars. When the Palanese realise that they might be invaded, they decide to resort to non-violent resistance. As an opposition to this approach, Huxley presents the neighbouring country of Rendang, ruled by a power-hungry and violent dictator, Colonel Dipa.

Contrary to what is common in the West, Pala's religion is not institutional and relies solely on the personal experiences of an individual. Thus, the Palanese are focused on applying religious principles in practice rather than on rituals of organized worship. As Dr Robert explains: *we have no established church, and our religion stresses immediate experience and deploras belief in unverifiable dogmas [...]. So we're preserved from the plagues of popery, on the one hand, and fundamentalist revivalism, on the other* (Huxley 1973:152). Dr Robert also stresses the importance of scepticism, especially in the education of children, and the importance of a critical approach to everything they read or hear. The Palanese, who do not worship any personal god, teach their children to understand that all deities and gods are the creation of the human imagination. The Palanese scarecrows are sizable puppets of the Buddha, King Solomon and God the Father. Vijaya explains this idea: *It was the Old Raja's idea. [...] He wanted to make the children understand that all gods are homemade, and that it's we who pull their strings and so give them the power to pull ours* (Huxley 1973:207). The use of puppets teaches the children, and reminds the adults, not to worship an idol but to apply religious principles in every aspect of life. Frequently, the Palanese express their negative attitude towards Christians, who behave morally only because they expect a reward in heaven and fear condemnation in hell, which the Palanese see as an absolute opposite to living *here and now* and unconditional compassion. As Dr Robert comments, the Palanese are *just men and women and their children trying to make the best of the here and now, instead of living somewhere else, as you people mostly do, in some other time, some other home made imaginary universe* (Huxley 1973:99).

The Palanese education system is based on the rule of applying theory into practice. Mr Menon, the Under-Secretary of Education, explains this principle to Will: *never give children a chance of imagining that anything exists in isolation. Make it plain from the very beginning that all living is relationship. Show them relationships in the woods, in the fields, [...] in the village and in the country around it* (Huxley 1973:219). Both surprised and impressed, Will Farnaby compares the purely theoretical English education he received with the comprehensive, practical education in Pala. He admits: *in the school I went to, [...] we never got to know things, we only got to know words* (Huxley 1973:249). In a conversation with Mr Menon, Will comes to the conclusion that children in most Western countries are raised to be future mass-consumers, whereas, in Russia and China as "cannon fodder" and for strengthening the national state (Huxley 1973:208). Mr Menon claims the Palanese children, on the other hand, are educated to become *full-blown human beings* (Huxley 1973:209). From the earliest years, the children are introduced to the notion of *karuna* and its application in their relationships with

peers and families. The diversity of human characters is explained to them with animal metaphors, according to which humans can be divided into four groups (cats, sheep, martens and guinea pigs) each having different attitudes, preferences, but all deserving compassion and respect. As explained by one of the teachers, *talk about it in animal parables, and even very small children can understand the fact of human diversity and the need for mutual forbearance, mutual forgiveness* (Huxley 1973:214). The teaching of ethics, however, does not rely on prohibitions, like the Christian Decalogue, but on positive instructions of proper behaviour: *the old repressive "Thou shalt not" has been translated into a new expressive "Thou shalt"* (Huxley 1973:215). The Palanese children also begin a very early education in ecology, which is perceived as practical acts of compassion towards the environment. The lessons in respect for nature are also accompanied with images of man-made environmental destruction, as warnings of the potential tragic consequences of one's actions.

Since Palanese children are raised on Buddhist tales and legends, the teachers use the morals of these stories as illustrations of complicated notions. For instance, intuitive understanding is taught by the example of the legend about the Flower Sermon given by the Buddha, during which *he held up a flower to a gathering of students, without uttering a word* (Suzuki 1964:9). The sermon was meant to be, according to Harmless (2008:192), *wordless passing of teaching, from master to the disciple* and, for the Palanese children, a lesson that some spiritual lessons should be understood intuitively, as opposed to the intellectual understanding of science. The students are also instructed to make use of both kinds of understanding and to combine them. In order to develop the intellectual skills of their students and teach logic, Palanese schools make extensive use of educational games. Moreover, the children are not taught only science and arts, but also methods of self-control and the possibilities of achieving self-fulfilment called *Destiny Control*, which can be described as a method of meditation which is supposed to lead to greater understanding and awareness.

In order to illustrate the differences between the Western and Eastern relationship between people and nature, Huxley used the legend of Muchalinda. During a visit to a Palanese home, Will notices a curious statue of the Buddha who is sheltered by a snake's hood. *What he had taken for an oddly ornamented [...] pedestal has suddenly revealed itself as a huge coiled snake. And that downward tapering canopy under which the Buddha was sitting, was the expanded hood [...] of a giant cobra* (Huxley 1973:199). His hostess tells him the legend which explains the meaning of this depiction of the Buddha. When, during the time of his enlightenment, the Buddha was meditating under a tree, Muchalinda, the king of snakes, came out to pay his respects. As Huxley (1973:200) puts it, *the Snake King crawled out of his hole, yards and yards of him, to pay Nature's homage to Wisdom*. When a sudden storm began, the cobra wrapped itself around the Buddha and spread his hood over his head in order to protect him from the wind and torrential

rain. Will notices that such a portrayal of snakes differs significantly from how they are represented in Western culture, as his closest association with the statue is a quote from the book of Genesis: *I will put enmity between thee and the woman and between her seed and thy seed* (Huxley 1973:200), which establishes snakes as eternal enemies of humans. The difference in how a snake is depicted in Christian and Buddhist scriptures leads to changed perceptions of nature in general. The Palanese consider themselves to be an integral part of nature and represent a perfect communion between people and their environment. What the Palanese teach their children is respect and compassion towards nature, which the animals can return, as snakes do not hurt people who treat them with respect. The Westerners, as represented by Will, consider themselves the rulers of nature, which they see as a dangerous wild power which has to be controlled, leading them to have a cautious or even hostile attitude towards some animals. Will's host perceives such a mindset as a source of *pointless cockfights between Man and Nature, between Nature and God, between the Flesh and the Spirit* (Huxley 1973:200).

Furthermore, in the discussions with Ranga, one of the Palanese, Will starts to notice and understand the differences between Western and Eastern philosophy. Ranga claims that even though the Western philosophers make elaborate statements on crucial issues such as the nature of man and the universe, they do not offer any ways of testing the validity of their ideas nor their practical application. As Ranga comments: *Western philosophers, even the best of them – they're nothing more than good talkers. Eastern philosophers are often rather bad talkers, but that doesn't matter. Talk isn't the point. Their philosophy is pragmatic and operational* (Huxley 1973:78).

Conclusions

Pala's society was built around a core of strong Buddhist morals harmoniously combined with the necessary scientific advances. What led to the fall of the island was a change of balance in this equation. Even though Huxley considered his novel *a Topian rather than a Utopian phantasy, a phantasy dealing with a place, a real place and time* (as quoted in Claeys 2010:116), he intended to show that a peaceful society stands no chance of survival if it is surrounded by greed and corruption. In the interview for *The Paris Review* he stated: *I'm afraid it must end with paradise lost—if one is to be realistic* (Fraser and Wickes 1960). As Sion comments on the fall of Pala: *the theme supports Huxley's view that a materially obsessed Western civilization based on power and wealth thwarts any chance of human fulfillment, which can only come through meditative self-understanding* (Sion 2010:172). Consequently, the message gained by Will and passed on to the readers is that a society benefits its citizens only if it aims at intellectual and moral development, not strengthening military or economic power.

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REVIEWS

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***TEACHING ADAPTATIONS,*
D. CARTMELL, I. WHELEHAN (EDS.)
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN, 2014. 195 PP.
ISBN 978-1-137-31112-3**

The volume reviewed herein has been published within the Palgrave MacMillan TEACHING THE NEW ENGLISH SERIES, which is aimed at a discussion of new and developing areas of the curriculum of English degree courses taught at universities, or presenting those more traditional avenues in a new context. *Teaching Adaptations* is a collection of ten essays authored by scholars coming from different parts of the world, who have taught Adaptation Studies and decided to share with the readers both their theoretical reflection and practical experience.

The publication is aimed at providing evidence that a course/class on adaptations can go far beyond a comparative analysis of a source text and its audio-visual counterpart. It is a valuable source of inspirations for inclusion of adaptations into the curriculum, providing at the same time certain theoretical insights. The introductory chapter "A Short History of Adaptation Studies in the Classroom" authored by the editors, Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan, focuses on the evolving inclusion of film adaptations in English courses, and the way in which courses on adaptations have been gradually introduced into the English studies curricula at De Montfort University in Leicester, which at present hosts the Centre for Adaptations and offers a number of courses on adaptations at both Bachelor's and Master's levels.

For those in search of some practical solutions for teaching film and literature courses three articles in particular can be recommended: Shelley Cobb's "Canons, Critical Approaches, and Contexts," Kamilla Elliott's "Doing Adaptation: The Adaptation as Critic" and Rachel Carroll's "Coming soon . . . Teaching the Contemporaneous Adaptation."

Cobb presents the results of her research into the canon of adaptation studies which seems to have emerged at those universities in the US, UK and Australia, where such courses are taught. Some of the courses are structured around one literary author (e.g. Shakespeare or Austen), but most include a varied selection of texts and their adaptations, always with at least one classic novel adaptation, while up to 50 percent of the course content are contemporary novel adaptations. The sample syllabi indicate the dominance of the formalist and aesthetic approach in adaptation analysis, which Cobb seems to find quite limiting, suggesting that one of the goals of teaching a course on adaptations should be making students realise that adaptations *use the source texts to speak to its own cultural-historical moment* (2014:23). She illustrates her point referring to the course she herself teaches.

Elliott refers to her experience of teaching a film and literature course at the University of California, Berkley in 1996. Finding the students surprisingly conservative about literary adaptations, she introduced a creative-critical project which proved inspirational for everybody involved. The project consisted in doing one's own adaptation of a literary text and writing an essay containing a critical reflection that the process of adaptation and its final result led the adaptor to. The media in which the students worked were multiple and the reflections were insightful. Elliott provides a number of examples, including a three-tier cake being an adaptation of three chapters of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and a unwinnable board game to which *Gone with the Wind* was adapted, and what is also particularly valuable, she provides her instructions for the project as well as the marking descriptors in the appendixes. The project taught the students a great deal about the very process of adaptation, let them present their own aesthetics and represent their own values, while the critical essay made them place their own efforts in a certain theoretical context. Elliott's article, besides providing certain ideas which can be applied in the classroom, does one more thing – reminds us that we, as teachers, can learn a lot from our students and be surprised by their creativity.

Carroll's discusses an active learning strategy which she applied in the classroom and which she called "Adaptation Watch." Students involved were monitoring the discourses of publicity and reception surrounding the launching of a film or television adaptation which took place during the period of time in which the course was taught. The students were to focus on the critical, televisual or cinematic contexts in which those adaptations functioned. The three examples provided include *Brideshead Revisited* (2008) evoking in the viewers nostalgia for the 1981 television serial, *Wuthering Heights* (2011) featuring a black actor as Heathcliff, and *Life of Pi* (2012) being an adaptation of a contemporary "unfilmable" novel awarded with the Man Booker Prize. Carroll argues that by focusing on the public discourse surrounding the adaptations students could learn a great deal about the construction of cultural values, about the process of opinion shaping and about the way in which cultural industries work.

Another article which refers directly to the author's teaching experience is Ariane Hudelet's "Avoiding 'Compare and Contrast': Applied Theory as a Way to Circumvent the 'Fidelity Issue,'" in which the author refers to the place of teaching adaptations in the education of future teachers in France and to her own experience of teaching an adaptation class at Paris Diderot University. The class consisted in analyses of case studies (multiple adaptations of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* and *Apocalypse Now* versus Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*) and in some theoretical reflection based on the students' reading of Robert Stam's introduction to *A Companion to Film Adaptation*. Hudelet discusses in detail the way in which her students related to the theoretical ideas and what practical illustration they found in the film clips of their own selection. Again, similarly to Kamilla Elliott's experience, the scope of the students' reflection and the richness of conclusions proved Hudelet's approach to teaching adaptations worthwhile and the experience she shares with the readers might lead to finding solutions applicable in other academic environments.

In "Adapting' from School to University: Adaptations in the Transition" Natalie Hayton refers to her experience of teaching a course on children's literature and their adaptations at De Montfort University, enriched by her former research into fairy-tales. She discusses the way in which her students were encouraged to trace intertextual appropriation of fairy tales in children's literature, and – consequently – in adaptations of such works, using as one of the examples two of *Harry Potter* books and films and finding "Cinderella" elements in them. Hayton rightly concludes that fairy tales are perfect examples for explaining to the students the idea of recycling, rewriting, remaking, and circulation of texts in the cultural memory.

Laurence Raw, who teaches at Başkent University in Ankara, Turkey in his article "The Paragogy of Adaptation in an EFL Context" shares with his readers the experience of teaching an EFL course with a strong adaptation element as well as an American Drama course focusing on the issue of adaptation. The course participants, after reading a selection of plays, were preparing their own student-generated version, which turned out to be insightful and provided the teacher with a wealth of information about Turkish culture and the system of values held by the students. The students' adapting the texts (e.g. *Detective Story*, *Glengarry Glen Ross* or even "The Fall of the House of Usher") and relating them – reflectively – to their own background turned out to be illuminating for them, and frequently helped them immensely *negotiate what they perceived as linguistic difficulties presented by the texts* (2014:33).

Although the remaining four articles do not focus on specific examples of courses taught, they do refer to the academic context in which Adaptation Studies function. "Learning to Share: Adaptation Studies and Open Education Resources" by Imelda Whelehan and David Sadler is an account of the project the authors led through the calendar year 2012, titled "Bridging the Gap: Teaching adaptations across the disciplines and sharing content for curriculum renewal," funded by the

Australian government's Office for Learning and Teaching. The project – which turned out to be quite utopian in nature – was aimed at inter-institutional sharing of information pertaining to the ways in which adaptations are being taught across the country, which all sides involved could have benefited from. The project, despite its theoretical usefulness, did not really meet its leaders' expectations, as multiple problems, ranging from restrictions imposed by Australian property law, through certain cultural barriers, to simple lack of willingness to share materials, prevented the newly created Open Educational Resource from attaining the applicability it could have.

In "Teaching Adapting Screenwriters: Adaptation Theory through Creative Practice" Jamie Sherry draws from his own experience of teaching screenwriting, stressing the extent to which learning to write an adapted screenplay contributes to the students' awareness of the complexity of the adaptation process, while Alessandra Raengo's "Out of the Literary Comfort Zone: Adaptation, Embodiment, and Assimilation" discusses two adaptations, *The Jackie Robinson Story* (1950) and *Precious: Based on the Novel "Push" by Sapphire* (2009), the reception of which made her conclude that the commentators focused on the African American actors' bodies' "fidelity" in the two productions rather than on the relationship between the films and the source texts. As she argues, in the two films *the protagonists' body image overdetermines the perception of the adaptive process* (2014:109).

The volume closes with Deborah Cartmell's "Teaching Adaptations Through Marketing: Adaptations and the Language of Advertising in the 1930s" in which the author discusses the language of film advertising with reference to F.R. Leavis and Denys Thompson's 1933 *Culture and Environment*. Cartmell finishes her chapter with a reflection upon the significance of advertising material in "reading" adaptations, which might be useful in the classroom context. She suggests a number of questions concerning the advertising campaign of a given adaptation which can lead students into deeper understanding of how and why the source text got adapted, e.g.: about the way in which the poster refers to the source text, or about the explicit and implicit messages contained in the poster. Cartmell provides her own examples from the 1930s, *Little Women* (1933), among others.

The final section of *Teaching Adaptations* includes a three-page chronology of key events and publications in Adaptation Studies, since 1915 to the present, which is helpful in systematising the field.

The articles vary in their style and clarity of argumentation, as is always the case in multi-author collections. The volume leaves its readers with at least one main impression – teaching adaptations is worthwhile. It is so, because it enables the students to find new ways of understanding both literary and film texts, awakens them to the rich cultural, social and even political contexts in which decisions about making adaptations are made and stimulates their creativity and critical thinking, while the students' responses can be pleasantly surprising and insightful to the teachers.

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***THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE THROUGH THE PRISM
OF THE CENTURIES*, KLAUDIA BEDNÁROVÁ-GIBOVÁ,
PREŠOV: FILOZOFICKÁ FAKULTA PREŠOVskej
UNIVERZITY, 2014. 95 PP. ISBN 978-80-555-1092-7**

Historical linguistics can boast a long tradition of scholarly research. Ever since Sir William Jones found similarities between Sanskrit, Greek and Latin there has been an increased interest in the research on language typology and language history. A century later two other historical linguists, Jacob Grimm and Karl Verner made a breakthrough discovery which established the permanent place of diachrony among the branches of linguistics. Despite the ups and downs in attitudes towards historical linguistics, and historical semantics in particular, it is vital to familiarise students of English with the roots of the language which they chose as their major. It is, after all, language with its etymology and structure that is the mirror of culture and society.

The monograph reviewed here is entitled *The English Language through the Prism of the Centuries* and is intended as a textbook for first-year students at the MA level, who take the History of the English Language course. The textbook comprises 7 chapters, the first of which is of an introductory nature providing the reader with the details of the pre-English period, while the last one, chapter 7, includes 3 tests which the author used in the early days of her career as a university teacher. From the didactic perspective, the chapter with sample tests serves an important function, undoubtedly facilitating the process of preparing for the final exam, as well as being a thought-provoking revision of the material covered in the main body of the book. As for the introductory chapter, although it leads us smoothly to the Anglo-Saxon period via an insightful picture of the Proto-

Indo-European and Proto-Germanic beginnings, one may feel the lack of certain theoretical foundations concerning, for instance the laws governing language change or types of semantic change, to mention but a few.

The main body of the textbook, chapters 2 to 6, are characterised by an extremely consistent layout. Each is centred around a subsequent historical period starting with Old English (449-1100) through Middle English (1100-1500), Early Modern English (1500-1750) and Modern English (1750-1900) up to Late Modern English (1900-present). Within each of the chapters the sequence of sections follows the pattern as indicated below:

1. *Historical background*
2. *Cultural background*
3. *Linguistic situation*
4. (the name of the period) *illustrated*

The first two sections, titled *Historical background* and *Cultural background*, shed light on the most important aspects of the external history of the English language, such as invasions, political turmoil, technological innovations, literary achievements and such like. The next section, titled *Linguistic situation*, elucidates the internal history of a given period, providing the readers with the details of phonology, orthography, lexis and syntax. Last but not least, each chapter is rounded off with several samples of texts characteristic for the period discussed.

The consistent pattern of the sections is an undoubted merit of this textbook, as such neatness is of great significance for the students, who will always know where to find the information they need for revision or for an exam. The only question that may raise some doubt in the context of the textbook's layout is the position of the final section in each chapter. In the chapters on Old English, Middle English and Early Modern English the section ... *illustrated* is a subsection of *Linguistic situation*, whereas in the chapters on Modern English and Late Modern English it is treated as a separate final section of these two chapters. It is virtually impossible to deduce whether this was an intended pattern devised by the author or a mere oversight after organisational modifications. Nevertheless, the slight difference in the layout mentioned in no way detracts from the overall neatness and tidiness in the arrangement of sections and their contents.

The English Language through the Prism of the Centuries undoubtedly has a high didactic value. It is student-friendly both in its language and the scope of knowledge it tackles. Another great asset, which has already been pointed out, is the consistent layout of the sections throughout the textbook. However, there are some editorial errors, such as referring to Hladký 1998 (p. 27, 29), which – according to the bibliography – should be Hladký 1996 or doubling the word *with* (p. 58). Also a number of misprints have not been avoided, like the use of the symbol & (p. 58) instead of the word *and*, the verb *consist* (p. 70) instead of *consists* or

the compound *televisions announcers* (p. 72) instead of *television announcers*, as well as the use of the abbreviation *ELF* (p. 73) instead of *EFL*. There are also instances of the inconsistent use of the convention, according to which words cited are italicised and their meanings are provided in inverted commas (e.g.: p. 60, 62). Lastly, one may express certain doubts as to the names given to the later periods of the history of the English language, namely Modern English (1750-1900) and Late Modern English (1900-present). What may be somewhat controversial is the use of the name Late Modern English in the formal name of the chapter, and the employment of the abbreviation PRES instead of L.Mod.E. in a number of places throughout the textbook. Although historical linguists fail to see eye to eye as to the timelines of individual historical periods (see, for example, Baugh and Cable 2002, Fisiak 2000), most of them tend to name the most recent period Present-day English.

All in all, textbooks like the one reviewed here should be in demand, and should have specific groups of students as the target readers. Unfortunately, the overall trend among students of English, at least from the perspective of my university, is to choose other scopes of linguistics as their major and to stay, academically, away from research into historical linguistics. Hence, it is the task of us, university teachers and historians of language, to write textbooks which would encourage researchers-to-be to follow in the footsteps of renown historical linguists and focus their studies on language with a diachronic perspective. The monograph under review is a fine exemplar of a motivating and thought-provoking textbook, which is suitable not only for students of English but also for any lay person who wishes to set out on a journey into the past, and the heart, of the English language.

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***THE PHONOLOGY OF WELSH* by S.J. HANNAHS.
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 2013. pp. xiv, 183.
ISBN: 978-0-19-960123-3**

The book consists of seven chapters supplemented with a foreword and two indexes. It faces the challenges of Modern Welsh phonology through the optic of Optimality Theory.

Chapter one is a general introduction where goals of the book are put forward. On the very first page of the main text, the author proposes that phonology be understood as a “relatively unitary abstract system underlying the various dialects of a language”. Importantly, he emphasises the need to keep the synchronic and diachronic phonologies apart. The vantage point is that active phonological processes are productive and learnable to a large extent in the process of natural first language acquisition.

The second chapter offers a summary of the Welsh sound inventory and the transcriptional conventions. Interestingly, Hannahs recognises [tʃ] and [dʒ] as affricates, which may be considered slightly too precipitate. Firstly, they are relatively rare in the system and secondly, Griffen (1974, 1997) observes that they behave like single consonants.

Central to the analysis of the prosodic structure of Welsh, which is presented in chapter three, is the idea that a Welsh word is minimally bimoraic. This assumption helps explain why long vowels are found in open monosyllables (e.g. [ti:] tŷ ‘house’, [da:] da ‘good’, [fa:] ffa ‘beans’) and those closed with most single consonants (e.g. [si:ð] sudd ‘juice’, [di:n] dyn ‘man’, [ja:χ] iach ‘healthy’).

The shortness of vowels before consonant clusters and some single consonants, is accounted by those codas being moraic, for a long vowel and a moraic coda would yield a trimoraic monosyllable. The chapter further deals with consonant

clustering, gemination and stress placement, which revolve around the bimoraic minimal word and the trochaic foot structure.

Chapters four and five provide theoretical accounts of processes taking place in Welsh. Although analyses are presented from a phonological point of view, the author observes that vowel mutation, vowel affection and h-deletion are not entirely regular and should be approached cautiously. The process of antepenultimate deletion, which is discussed in chapter five, requires further insight. The author claims that the antepenultimate syllable in a trisyllabic word is linked directly to the prosodic word, which is why it can be deleted without an intervention in the foot structure (e.g. [əsgol] > [sgoljon] *ysgol* > *ysgolion* ‘school > pl.’ or [kupan] > [paned] *cwpan* > *cwpanaid* ‘cup > cupful’). However, the analysis works only if the initial syllable is deleted as a whole. Fynes-Clinton (1913) lists alternations whereby the antepenultimate vowel is done away with leaving the preceding consonant intact (e.g. [super] > [spera] *swper* > *swperau* ‘supper > pl.’ or [kalon] > [klondid] *calon* > *calondid* ‘hearth > cheering’). Such alternations are ignored in the book and they call for a refinement of the analysis of antepenultimate deletion.

In his endeavour to describe the regularities marshalling the sound changes known as the initial consonant mutations in chapter six, Hannahs draws a clear line between the phonology of Modern Welsh and that of its ancestor languages.

Chapter seven deals with two important processes, namely positional consonant devoicing called provection, and sound changes caused by concatenation. Although the chapter is dubbed “remaining issues...”, the phenomena discussed there are of no lesser importance.

To conclude, not only is *The Phonology of Welsh* a position worthwhile for researchers interested in Celtic languages but also for linguists from a variety of theoretical backgrounds. The data are clearly presented and categorised, while the analyses are introduced and justified with scholarly care and are accessible to a reader with even minimal understanding of the adopted theory. Compared to the only book-length publication on Welsh phonology, namely the collection of papers edited by Ball and Jones (1984), it is the first coherent and monolithic volume on the subject. However, the book fails to reflect the dialectal variety of the language, which is collectively analysed under the artificial umbrella of a standard called modern colloquial Welsh. The analysis would definitely have benefited from including phonological differences at least between north and south, and from juxtaposing phonological processes with precise sound inventories of the varieties in which they occur.

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